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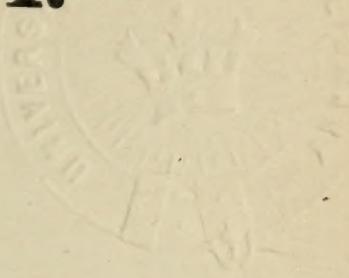


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THE FORUM.

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The Forum

JULY, 1906.

AMERICAN POLITICS.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT has announced emphatically and unequivocally that he will not, in any sense, be a candidate for renomination, nor will he accept such renomination even if it should be tendered him. Eliminating his name, therefore, from the list of Presidential possibilities, the most interesting and significant fact in American politics to-day is that he is advancing his party to a position which will make it very difficult for any one to be nominated and elected who is not a man of like calibre and character. If the rank and file of the Republican party follows the President — and there is every reason to believe that it is with him most enthusiastically — the next national platform of the party will be the most aggressive ever known in the history of the organization, and the nominee must necessarily be a man of courage and determination.

It is worth while to consider for a moment the policies to which the Republican party stands committed through the energy and moral bravery of President Roosevelt. It is due to him, and to him alone, that effective initiative was taken in the matter of governmental regulation of railroad rates. The most important legislation enacted in many years is the rate bill. It stands to-day a monument to the persistency, the foresight, and the courage of the President; and even Senator Tillman, a rockribbed, uncompromising Democrat, does not withhold the credit that is justly due.

This measure is, however, only the beginning, and not the end, of Mr. Roosevelt's advanced action. He is attacking trusts and huge corporate combinations whenever and wherever it can be shown that they are inimi-

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cal to the common welfare. For instance, only a few weeks ago suit was instituted at Indianapolis against what is known as the Drug trust. The parties to this combination include the Proprietary Association of America, the National Wholesale Druggists' Association, and the National Association of Retail Druggists. In a statement issued to the public by Attorney-General Moody, with the approval of the President, these associations are characterized as a conspiracy, formed for the ultimate object of fixing the price which shall be observed by all retail druggists in selling to the consumer the various commodities manufactured by the several members of the proprietary associations, any druggist who fails to maintain these prices being placed upon a blacklist and deprived of the right to purchase the articles in question.

President Roosevelt does not hesitate, either, boldly to attack the gigantic Standard Oil Trust, denouncing it in a message to Congress as an outlaw in trade, asserting that it has profited immensely by secret railroad rates, and has by unfair or unlawful means crushed competition. He states that the benefits enjoyed by this monopoly through secret railroad rates has amounted to \$750,000 a year; that in New England alone the consumers have been compelled to pay from \$300,000 to \$400,000 a year more for oil than would be the case if competition were not denied. He points out, also, that the Sugar trust, another great and powerful monopoly, "rarely, if ever, pays the lawful rate for transportation, and is thus improperly, and probably unlawfully, favored at the expense of its competitors and the general public."

And to demonstrate that the attack upon the trusts is being made all along the line, this paragraph of the President's message may be quoted:

The Department of Justice will take up the question of instituting prosecutions in at least certain of the cases. But it is most desirable to enact into law the bill introduced by Senator Knox to correct the interpretation of the immunity decision rendered in Judge Humphrey's decision. The hands of the Government have been greatly strengthened in securing an effective remedy by the recent decision of the Supreme Court in the case instituted by the Government against the Tobacco trust, which decision permits the Government to examine the books and records of any corporation engaged in interstate commerce; and by the recent conviction and punishment of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy railroad and certain of its officers.

Nor does the chapter end here. The Interstate Commerce commission, acting under an order of Congress, which may be said to be a reflection of the President's own determined position, is investigating charges against the Standard Oil Company that it has corrupted railroad employees and agents of independent oil companies, that it has dishonestly procured leases, and that it is guilty of giving short measure. Equally important is the exposé of the inside operations of the great coal-carrying roads, an

inquiry which was preceded by a formal statement from the Attorney-General, in which the administration made known its purpose to ascertain all possible facts relating to the transportation and sale of coal in interstate commerce; and also, through special attorneys appointed for the purpose, to discover whether legal proceedings should be instituted. In other words, the President thus made known his desire to examine closely into the operations of the anthracite and bituminous coal trusts, while one of the special attorneys is Charles E. Hughes, a possible candidate for the Republican gubernatorial nomination in New York State. The disclosures already made are likely to have considerable political effect. In addition to this, the Department of Justice has also instituted proceedings against the great monopoly of the Southern States, the Fertilizer trust; and that these proceedings might not suffer from possible delay, the President, acting upon the suggestion of the Attorney-General, vetoed a bill changing the time for holding the United States District Court of Tennessee.

And, last of all, the President, aroused by the exposure of conditions surrounding the handling of beef, had an investigation made by trusted agents, with the result that the Senate instantly passed a measure which provides for more rigid governmental inspection, and the House will undoubtedly agree to the proposed law in some form. The President's action has aroused the intense hostility of the Beef Trust, even as he incensed the Standard Oil trust, but this antagonism helps him rather than hurts him with the great mass of the people.

It might naturally be concluded that with these offensive operations against practically all of the great monopolies the President might rest content. Such is not the case. He sees other enormities which must be blasted away by the dynamite of executive and legislative power. He proposes, in addition to the other weighty matters on his hands, to take up the cudgels for a tax upon inheritances, and for governmental supervision of corporations doing an interstate business. His remarks upon these topics, uttered at the laying of the corner-stone of the new office building for the House of Representatives, are worth repeating. He said:

It is important to this people to grapple with the problems connected with the massing of enormous fortunes, and the use of those fortunes, both corporate and individual, in business. We should discriminate in the sharpest way between fortunes well won and fortunes ill won; between those gained as an incident to performing great services to the community as a whole, and those gained in evil fashion by keeping just within the limits of mere law-honesty. Of course, no amount of charity in spending such fortunes in any way compensates for misconduct in making them. As a matter of personal conviction, and without pretending to discuss the details or formulate the system, I feel that we shall ultimately have to consider the adoption of some such scheme as that of a progressive tax on all fortunes, beyond

a certain amount, either given in life or devised or bequeathed upon death to any individual — a tax so framed as to put it out of the power of the owner of one of these enormous fortunes to hand on more than a certain amount to any one individual; the tax, of course, to be imposed by the national and not the State government. Such taxation should, of course, be aimed merely at the inheritance or transmission in their entirety of those fortunes swollen beyond all healthy limits.

Again, the national government must in some form exercise supervision over corporations engaged in interstate business — and all large corporations are engaged in interstate business — whether by license or otherwise, so as to permit us to deal with the far-reaching evils of overcapitalization. This year we are making a beginning in the direction of serious effort to settle some of these economic problems by the railway rate legislation. Such legislation, if so framed, as I am sure it will be, as to secure definite and tangible results, will amount to something of itself; and it will amount to a great deal more in so far as it is taken as a first step in the direction of a policy of superintendence and control over corporate wealth engaged in interstate commerce, this superintendence and control not to be exercised in a spirit of malevolence toward the men who have created the wealth, but with the firm purpose both to do justice to them and to see that they in their turn do justice to the public at large.

President Roosevelt is doing more to break down the intrenchments of the all-powerful trusts than any of his predecessors. More than this, he has accomplished greater results than the liveliest imagination could have predicted when he entered upon his office. He is not fighting single-handed. Congress is affording him much aid and comfort; and such opposition as may manifest itself proves futile. Popular sentiment is unquestionably with him.

The question is, however, what effect will his action have upon candidates and policies in 1908? Two years are yet to elapse before the assembling of the National Republican convention. During that period, it may safely be assumed, President Roosevelt, having put his hand to the plough, will not turn backward. He will pursue the same fearless, energetic course, striking down evil wherever it raises its monstrous head. Where is the man in the Republican party who will be brave enough to deal with the corporations with a mailed hand? Who will propose, advocate, and defend a tax upon inheritances? In other words, President Roosevelt, himself not a candidate, is so shaping events as to make it impossible for the Republican party to nominate anyone other than a strong, courageous, determined leader. This candidate of the future must not only be pledged to the execution of the policies to which President Roosevelt has committed the Republican party, but he must also have given evidence of his ability to carry out his pledges. And, it might be said in passing, the Democratic candidate will be weighed in the same balance.

This uncertainty as to the future reduces to the realm of speculation any observations that may be made regarding the Presidential outlook.

There is, however, no lack of interesting gossip in political circles in Washington. The suggestion made in THE FORUM three months ago, that Speaker Cannon might well be considered a formidable candidate, if not barred by his threescore and ten years, has found ample confirmation. Much has been printed as to his availability and as to his mental and physical vigor, while in Illinois his name has been formally proposed for the nomination. The movement in Mr. Cannon's direction has not been assisted by him. On the contrary, he deprecates the talk which connects his name with the Presidency.

"The presidential bee is not buzzing in my head nor about my ears," he says, in his picturesque fashion, "and I do not expect to be afflicted by the buzzing of that insect. If, as representative and Speaker, I am able to contribute in the performance of my duties to the promotion of policies and the enactment of legislation which will bring the greatest good to the greatest number, the cup of my ambition will be full. I would rather do this than be President."

If, therefore, the people take Speaker Cannon at his word, the field is left open for the half-score of men who are certain to be in the lists. Foremost among them is William H. Taft, of Ohio, now Secretary of War. Mr. Taft possesses the rare combination of judicial temperament and executive capacity. He has, consequently, two paths before him. He can, if he so desires, accept a position next October upon the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States; or, if he believes the fates will prove propitious, he can put aside a certainty and seek the higher office of President. My judgment is that he will accept the judicial position. But in the event that Senator Foraker determines to be a candidate, a struggle for the control of the Ohio delegation would naturally result; and whether Mr. Taft would care to enter such a contest remains to be seen.

Vice-President Fairbanks is steadily growing in public favor. He is quiet, dignified, and able. Secretary Root, competent and conservative; Secretary Shaw, the modern apostle of protection; and half a dozen others, including Senators Spooner and Knox, are all being advocated by their coteries of friends. As for President Roosevelt, it is asserted that it is his desire, upon the conclusion of his presidential term, to enter the United States Senate as a Senator from the State of New York. This would appear to be a laudable ambition. Mr. Roosevelt will be only fifty years old when his term expires. He will be in the prime of life. He will bring to the Senatorship the valuable experiences of Chief Executive; he will be able to debate great questions with peculiar wisdom and insight; he will be a tower of strength to his party. It would be no derogation of his dignity to take a seat in the Senate. Other Presidents in the past have entered the National Legislature; and the political arena may still be expected to pos-

sess attraction for Mr. Roosevelt after he shall have descended from his present high estate.

Some little interest was created by the speech of Judge Alton B. Parker at Charlotte, N. C., wherein he suggested that the next Democratic presidential nominee should come from the South. He concluded his argument by asserting that even if the Democratic party went down to defeat under the leadership of a Southern man, such result would not be worse than the experiences since 1896.

The idea is not a new one. Many years ago the "Washington Post," which has always been regarded as a fair exponent of Southern sentiment, made a similar suggestion, but at that time it was deemed premature. Even now the Southern men in Congress do not seem to regard the proposition with much enthusiasm. They insist, with a breadth of view that is greatly to be commended, that if a Southern man presents himself as a candidate, he must do so without sectional appeal. One of the advocates of a Southern candidate is Representative Burleson, of Texas.

"If we nominate a Western man," he says, "we are certain to encounter the antagonism of the East. If we name an Eastern man, he would probably suffer because of the fact that the East refused to support Mr. Bryan when he was the party's candidate. The selection of a man of sound principles from the South would wipe out the feelings engendered between the East and the West, and enable us to present a united front to the common enemy."

Mr. Burleson has in his mind's eye, probably, as the Southern man of sound principles, his fellow-citizen Senator Bailey, of Texas. There is quite a movement in behalf of Senator Bailey, whose ability is unquestioned, who has always been a conservative, and who, if nominated, could deservedly wear the laurels of Democratic leadership. It is doubtful, however, whether a Southern man will be nominated by the Democrats in 1908. There is no reason why he should not be chosen. Surely the time has passed when sectional passions can be aroused; and Judge Parker is right when he asserts that the South has borne the burden in the heat of the day without asking any of the honors. The South is peculiarly rich in available material; and yet the probability is that when the convention assembles, the South will help to nominate, and will afterward cast its overwhelming vote for, a candidate from some other section of the country.

There are some politicians in Washington who believe that Judge Parker, fearful of the nomination of either Bryan or Hearst, has sought to undo both of them by flattering the South into the presentation of a candidate. Whether this be true or not, the fact remains that if a poll be taken of the Democrats who mould the opinion of their party, the result will be a prediction that either Bryan or Hearst will be the presidential nominee.

If, as is now asserted, Mr. Hearst proposes to run for governor of New York as an independent candidate, in the event that the State Democratic convention does not nominate him, it is not unlikely that he will poll a very large number of votes. There are some Republicans in Washington who are even willing to prophesy that he will be elected, in which case his name will be a prominent factor in the next National Democratic convention. In fact, since Mr. Hearst's phenomenal race for the mayoralty of New York, there is a disposition to accept almost any prediction made in his behalf. It would not be surprising if the two principal names before the next National Democratic convention were those of William Jennings Bryan and William Randolph Hearst. In fact, if the present movement toward Bryan continues, his name will be the only one seriously considered. The latest suggestion is that the West shall combine with the East in presenting Bryan and Hearst as the presidential and vice-presidential candidates respectively; but even if this should not be the outcome, it is significant that a very large number of Democrats, who either held aloof from their party in 1896 or who openly espoused the Republican candidates in 1900 and 1904, are now enrolling themselves under the Nebraskan's banner.

In the mean time, however, comes the Congressional campaign of 1906. The Republicans will, naturally, make every effort to retain control. They have never evaded responsibility, and they love power, and so they are already laboring for success, although many impartial observers frankly admit that it would be better for the Republicans if their hands were tied by a Democratic House during the two years preceding the Presidential election. The issue of the campaign will be tariff revision. During the present session of Congress the tariff has remained untouched. President Roosevelt contemplated some recommendations to Congress in the direction of tariff reform, but desisted in order to secure railroad-rate legislation.

Some of the members of the House, notably Mr. McCall, of Massachusetts, grew restive under this non-action. Mr. McCall wrote a formal letter to Representative Payne, the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, inviting attention to the declarations of the State platform of the Massachusetts Republicans, as adopted last October, wherein the Republicans in Congress were earnestly requested to consider the tariff for the purpose of revision and readjustment. Mr. McCall also pointed out the fact that if no revision was attempted during the present session, it would be impossible during the brief period of the next session to give any consideration to the subject. Despite this appeal, Chairman Payne wrote an emphatic letter of declination. He insisted that public interests do not

demand a change in the tariff; that a majority of the Republicans in the House do not concur in the opinion that there should be general revision of the tariff; that Congress is not prepared to review the tariff schedules in that calm, judicial frame of mind so necessary to the proper preparation of a tariff act at a time so near the coming Congressional elections; and much more to the same effect — the result being that the tariff remained untouched. This fact did not, however, relegate the tariff question to the background. On the contrary, during the general debate upon the various appropriation bills the speeches delivered upon the tariff question outnumbered those upon any other subject. These utterances were all for campaign purposes; but the fact that the tariff topic was uppermost in the minds of the partisan orators indicated the importance accorded it in the minds of those who profess to keep in touch with public sentiment.

The arguments of the stand-patters, so-called, were well expressed by Representative Landis, of Indiana, who emphasized the doctrine first enunciated by the late Mark Hanna of letting well-enough alone. Mr. Landis asserted that the Dingley bill, which is the present tariff law, had not only put money into the national treasury, but had restored industrial activity. "Would you give ear," he asked, "to free-traders masquerading in the guise of reciprocity champions and tariff revisionists at a time when the tide of hope and ambition and prosperity and glory is higher than ever before recorded in the history of civilization?" He claimed that since the Republicans had been in power they had not only overcome the Democratic problems of adversity, but they were solving the Republican problems of prosperity; and he added that the policy of the Democrats, as outlined by Representative Williams, of Mississippi, the minority leader in the House, was one which recognized mendicancy as a profession and threatened the establishment of a bureau of beggary. He contrasted present conditions with 1894, when, he asserted, all communities were taxed directly to maintain public soup houses, and were given an opportunity to pay their local treasuries, instead of having paid into the custom houses, the money that provided food and clothing and shelter.

"That was the period," he exclaimed, "when Coxey and his army of thousands marched over the hills and through the valleys to Washington to beg Congress to do something for their relief after the capacity of the local taxing officers had become exhausted. That was the period when 4,487 married men took advantage of an opportunity to earn fifty cents sawing wood in one day in New York City. That was the period when 12,000 unemployed workingmen marched to the Boston State House and demanded employment. That was the period when Boston, and Chicago, and Pittsburg, and every other large city in this republic fed, by charity, thousands and tens of thousands of hungry but idle honest men and women who were in want."

These words sound the keynote of the Republican answer to the con-

stantly growing demand for tariff revision. Conditions may be bad, it is admitted; trusts may be flourishing, to the great disadvantage of persons who are compelled to purchase necessities of life with advancing figures when wages do not correspondingly increase; the favored few may be increasing their wealth at the expense of the many; but still it is unwise to change the existing order of things. Whether the voters of the country will agree with this view of the matter is a question which will be decided at the polls next November. In the mean time, the Democrats propose to flood the Congressional districts with facts and figures showing that the products of the protected manufacturers are being sold abroad at lower prices than they can be obtained for in the United States — not only that American steel rails are sold in Canada for twenty dollars a ton as against twenty-seven dollars on this side of the border, but that the same disproportion exists as regards watches and other every-day articles. They will show that while in 1904 the tariff plank of the Republican National convention declared that the great question of tariff readjustment could be safely intrusted to a Republican Congress and a Republican President, a Republican President has maintained absolute silence upon the subject, and the leaders of a Republican House have declared against revision.

It is interesting to note in this connection that the Democrats are carefully disavowing their allegiance to absolute free-trade. Even Mr. Williams asserts that the Democratic party, if it were commissioned to revise the tariff, would be obliged to swerve from the ideal — that is, free-trade. And Representative Champ Clark, of Missouri, who was accredited in the last issue of *THE FORUM* with delivering a free-trade speech, courteously but vigorously denies that his deliverance could be so construed. It would seem, therefore, as if the principle of protection was not in danger, and that the only relief sought is a revision which shall correct the inequalities and the iniquities of the present schedules.

There is no doubt that the demand for tariff revision has grown exceedingly in the last two or three years; and it would seem to be the part of wisdom for the Republicans to recognize its increasing force. It is likely to be an important factor in the Congressional elections not only in Massachusetts, but in the Northwestern States. Even President Roosevelt's antagonistic attitude to the trusts will be used by the Democrats as a basis for asserting that if it were not for the high protective tariff these trusts could not have been swollen into gigantic monopolies. The Democrats honestly believe that if the Republicans do not promptly and energetically revise the tariff, the work of revision will be placed in Democratic hands; and there are many Republicans who hold the same view.

The outlook at present is, however, that the Republicans will hold firmly together upon the stand-pat policy throughout the approaching

campaign. The complexion of the Congressional campaign committee indicates this fact; for, while there are a few revisionists in the personnel of the advisory committee, Chairman Sherman and Secretary Louden-slager and Treasurer McKinley are all in favor of the policy enunciated by Speaker Cannon and the leaders of the House. The stand-pat speeches delivered in the House will be circulated during the campaign at the rate of fully a quarter of a million copies each day. Secretary Shaw, it is well known, does not believe that tariff revision ought to be attempted until after the next Presidential election.

There is one intensely practical side to the approaching campaign, which may not interest the country at large, but which is being seriously considered by the campaign managers. This is the question of raising funds. It is quite certain that many chests which have been opened in the past will this year be closed. The officials of the insurance companies, who have been accustomed to subscribe generously, are certainly not in the mood for further contributions. One of them has already run the gauntlet of a possible indictment for larceny; while others have been put upon the rack of Congressional inquiry. For instance, Senator Bulkeley, of Connecticut, who is also the President of the *Ætna* Fire Insurance Company, frankly admitted before a Congressional committee, that his company had contributed \$5,000 of its funds in 1896 to the Republican National Campaign committee to assist in the defeat of Mr. Bryan; and when asked by Mr. DeArmond, of Missouri, whether he regarded this action as justifiable, honest, or decent, he very promptly replied that, in his opinion, every custodian of funds of this character is justified and within his right when he takes that money and applies it to the protection of the rights of the people. "I consider," he added, "that the election of Mr. Bryan would have been a calamity."

The probing into campaign contributions by the Senate has also been urged by Mr. Tillman, who is incessant in his demand for a rigid and unsparing investigation of his repeated charges that national banks have illegally contributed to political campaign funds. Mr. Tillman's resolution now sleeps in the pigeon-holes of the Senate Committee on Finance; but the fact does not deter him from intimating that if the chairman and auditor of the Republican and Democratic National Campaign Committees be examined, some interesting facts will be disclosed. So thoroughly has public interest been aroused in connection with campaign contributions, that it is probable that Congress will be compelled, at some time in the near future, to enact the bill introduced by Representative McCall, of Massachusetts, providing that "all contributions hereafter made to political committees engaged in promoting the election of Representatives or Dele-

gates to the Congress of the United States, or of Presidential electors, shall be reported to the clerk of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States." There is a constantly growing sentiment in favor of a public record of campaign contributions; and those who seek the proposed legislation will do everything in their power to secure favorable action. In fact, the Senate has already passed, without a single word of discussion, a bill which prohibits corporations from making money contributions in connection with political elections. This proposed statute is exceedingly drastic in its terms, which are as follows:

That it shall be unlawful for any national bank, or any corporation organized by authority of any laws of Congress, to make a money contribution in connection with any election to any political office. It shall also be unlawful for any corporation whatever to make a money contribution in connection with any election at which Presidential or Vice-Presidential electors, or a Representative in Congress is to be voted for, or any election by any State Legislature of a United States Senator. Every corporation which shall make any contribution in violation of the foregoing provisions shall be subject to a fine not exceeding \$5,000, and every officer or director of any corporation who shall consent to any contribution by the corporation in violation of the foregoing provisions shall be subject to a fine not exceeding \$1,000.

Even though this law may not be enacted immediately, the fear of possible publicity may act as a deterrent upon those corporations which have been in the habit of generously contributing. This is not an agreeable outlook to the party managers, who must find the ways and means to meet the cost of the campaign. These expenses amount to a considerable sum. The printing bills are large, while vast sums are expended in placing spellbinders in the doubtful districts.

A recent episode which occurred in the White House and the Capitol cannot be ignored in a discussion of current political events, as it may have a very direct bearing on the approaching campaign. A delegation headed by Mr. Samuel Gompers, the president of the American Federation of Labor, and including the executive council and many score of leading members of that organization, called upon President Roosevelt, Senator Frye, the president *pro tempore* of the Senate, and Speaker Cannon, to present a memorial of their grievances. They complained, in general, "of the indifferent position which the Congress of the United States has manifested toward the just, reasonable, and necessary measures which have been before it these past several years, and which particularly affect the interests of the working people," and then outlined their specific charges, which, briefly, were:

Failure on the part of Congress to enact an effective eight-hour law.

The nullification of the eight-hour law in connection with the construction of the Isthmian canal.

The flagrant violation of the Chinese exclusion law and the proposition to invalidate that law and reverse the policy of the government in relation to the Chinese.

The proposition to make compulsory naval service a condition precedent to employment upon privately-owned vessels, as contemplated in the ship subsidy bill.

The failure of Congress to enact laws to prevent the undermanning of vessels, and especially to protect the crews of the coal barges towed upon the high seas.

The perversion of the anti-trust and interstate commerce laws so as to invade and violate the personal liberty of laborers.

The perversion of the beneficent writ of injunction so as to attack and destroy personal freedom and in a manner to hold that the employer has some property rights in the labor of the workman.

One complaint was couched in the following language:

The Committee on Labor of the House of Representatives was instituted at the demand of labor to voice its sentiments, to advocate its rights, and to protect its interests. In the past two Congresses this committee has been so organized as to make ineffectual any attempt labor has made for redress. This being the fact, in the last Congress, labor requested the Speaker to appoint on the Committee on Labor, members who, from their experience, knowledge, and sympathy, would render in this Congress such service as the committee was originally designed to perform. Not only was labor's request ignored, but the hostile make-up of the committee was accentuated.

President Roosevelt and Speaker Cannon responded to the address of the workingmen with elaborate speeches. Mr. Roosevelt, speaking with his usual candor, informed the delegation that it could defeat the anti-injunction bill if it so desired, and added that if, at any time, he thought a combination of laborers were doing wrong, he would seek an injunction against them as quickly as he would against capitalists; that conditions upon the Isthmus necessitated ignoring the eight-hour law; that there was no danger of an influx of Chinese laborers, but that he, for one, would do everything in his power to make it easy and desirable for Chinese business and professional men, travellers, and students, to come to the United States; and that good immigrants were greatly to be desired. Mr. Cannon made a speech very general in its terms, except for his denial of the criticism of the Committee on Labor, while Senator Frye simply acknowledged the receipt of the memorial.

The final paragraph of the memorial was interesting because of its intimation that if the appeal was not heeded, the Republican party might expect to encounter the antagonism of organized labor. This menace was expressed as follows:

Labor brings these grievances to your attention because you are the representatives responsible for legislation and for failure of legislation. The toilers come to you as your fellow-citizens, who, by reason of their position in life, have not only with all other citizens an equal interest in our country, but the further interest

of being the burden-bearers, the wage-earners of America. As labor's representatives we ask you to redress these grievances, for it is in your power so to do.

Labor now appeals to you, and we trust that it may not be in vain. But if perchance you may not heed us, we shall appeal to the conscience and the support of our fellow-citizens.

There have been many political contests in this country in which the labor vote has been a prominent factor. It has frequently elected a union-labor mayor in San Francisco, the present chief executive of that city having been chosen by the organized workingmen with a plurality of about 15,000. Bridgeport, Connecticut, elected a labor mayor in a spectacular campaign; while Mayor Jones, of Toledo, owes his political success to the fact that he was regarded as the idol of the working classes. In the recent mayoralty contest in New York City, Mr. Hearst sought and obtained the support of the labor unions, whose vote constituted one of his most important political assets. In order to demonstrate that organized labor could materially affect the outcome of a campaign, the officials of the Federation of Labor announced that they represented 559 central labor unions and 121 international unions, with a voting strength of 2,500,000. They expressed their political policy in the following declaration:

That, as our efforts are centered against all forms of industrial slavery and economic wrong, we must also direct our utmost energies to remove all forms of political servitude and party slavery, to the end that the working people may act as a unit at the polls of every election.

That the American Federation of Labor most firmly and unequivocally favors the independent use of the ballot by the trade unionists and workingmen, united regardless of party, that we may elect men from our own ranks to make new laws and administer them along the lines laid down in the legislative demands of the American Federation of Labor, and at the same time secure an impartial judiciary that will not govern us by arbitrary injunction of the courts, nor act as the pliant tools of corporate wealth.

If this policy is executed with anything like unanimity upon the part of the workingmen, some surprises may be witnessed when the votes are counted at the close of election day next fall. Certain it is that there are enough doubtful Congressional districts in which organized labor holds the balance of power to make it uncomfortable for the candidate who has antagonized this element. It is, of course, a question whether workingmen will act as a unit. Their leaders admit that, except in certain localities, this solidity has not always been obtainable; but they claim that the conditions now existing are such as to compel laboring men to stand together for their own interests. Any action that may be taken will be hurtful to the Republican party; for President Gompers, in an authorized interview, distinctly asserts that the party in power is held responsible for the shortcomings cited in the memorial so carefully prepared.

The session of Congress has been unusually prolonged. This has been due to the fact that no less than seventy days were occupied by the Senate in the discussion of the Railroad-rate bill; but so thorough and able was the consideration given to the measure that the delay redounded to the credit of the upper branch of Congress. It is true that there were some unpleasant episodes; that crimination and recrimination were indulged in with passionate fervor; but, after all, the one important fact cannot be gainsaid that in the Senate the Rate bill was literally pounded into effective shape.

Grave questions of constitutionality were debated with great ability and vigor; and a multitude of amendments were proposed and adopted, so essential in their nature as to be afterward accepted by the House without question. The most important of these provided for what has come to be known as the broad court-review.

The bill as drawn provided that orders of the commission fixing "just and reasonable" rates should remain in force, "unless the same shall be suspended or modified or set aside by the commission, or be suspended or set aside by a court of competent jurisdiction." This was the "narrow court-review," so-called. It was subject to the objection that it merely recognized a right which the act could neither confer nor take away — the right of the carrier to file a bill in the circuit court asking that the commission's rate be set aside on the ground that it violated the fifth amendment of the Constitution, prohibiting the taking of property without the due process of law. After much discussion the Senate adopted what has since become known as the Allison amendment, which describes specifically the courts having jurisdiction over appeals from the orders of the commission, provides that no preliminary injunction or interlocutory order is to be granted without hearing and notice, and declares that an appeal may be taken to the Supreme Court of the United States, where the hearing is to be expedited.

Many other provisions — some of them of far-reaching importance, as the characterization of oil-pipe lines as common carriers — were added by the Senate. These details have been so thoroughly reported in the daily press, however, as to render it unnecessary to rehearse them in this article. Suffice it to say that the Republicans regard the enactment of the Rate bill as a trump card to play in the coming campaign. They point to it as another triumph of Republican constructive legislation and believe that the country will regard it as an earnest of the Republican purpose to deal with great questions for the public good, no matter whether corporations are adversely affected. The Democrats will, of course, claim a share in the result, not only because the almost unanimous vote in both Houses was non-partisan, but also because Senator Tillman was entrusted with the charge of the bill in the Senate.

If Congress had done nothing more than enact the Railroad-rate bill, the session might well have been regarded as a profitable one. This measure, however, is only one of many that were finally laid before the President for his signature. The new law for the reform of the consular service is a long step in the right direction. This law classifies the consular offices, diverts fees from the pockets of the consuls into the United States treasury, and provides for a corps of five inspectors, taken out of the consular service who are to give personal supervision to consular offices throughout the world. A measure of great importance to manufacturers provides for tax-free alcohol for the arts when it has been denatured or rendered unfit for beverage or liquid medicinal purposes. As thus treated, it can also be used for light and fuel, and to this extent the passage of the law adversely affected the Standard Oil interests. A new immigration bill, which opens the door to all worthy incomers, but which bars out all objectionable classes, also stands to the record of the session. As for the Statehood bill, it is impossible at this writing to assert positively whether any legislation will be passed; but the probability is that before Congress adjourns provision will have been made for the admission of Oklahoma and Indian Territory as one State, with permission to Arizona and New Mexico to vote separately upon the proposition to admit the two territories as one State. The appropriation bills show considerable decrease as compared with previous years, and it is an admitted fact that never were the budgets so carefully scrutinized as during the present session.

HENRY LITCHFIELD WEST.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

AFTER many months of travail, Russia has at last brought forth the new order of constitutional government. It is not the constitutional government that the Anglo-Saxon, to whom the constitution is a birth-right, would have wished to see; but it is at least a beginning, and in that respect it is better than anything that has before been known in Russia. Autocracy dies hard. It does not lightly yield its privilege or release its strangling hold upon the people. The Czar has given his subjects a constitution and a form of government in which they exercise some voice in the management of affairs; but by the proclamation of the indefensible and absurd "fundamental law," he has made an effort to retain his hold on power, and to be able, if necessary, to nullify the work of the representatives of the people. If the Czar were better versed in the long struggle of mankind in its effort to gain freedom, if he knew more of the philosophy of government, and if his mind enabled him to grasp the salient difference between a people willing to surrender much for the sake of law and a people willing to surrender still more to secure a recognition of the law, he would not be so foolish as to think that, after having pledged himself to grant a constitution and the creation of a parliament, they will be satisfied with a sham by which the people's power is nominal only, and the real power is still centred in the throne.

The folly of Nicholas makes him fail to comprehend that to-day he not only stands in the shadow of revolution, but faces the greater danger of his dynasty being swept from under his feet. So long as Russia was an autocracy, so long as there was no will but that of the autocrat, so long might the aspirations of the people for freedom and liberty and progress be stifled and kept down under the iron hand of militarism. There was always danger of revolution, but revolution was not greatly to be feared so long as the army could be relied on and cartridges were plentiful. There was always the lurking fear of the assassin's bomb; but that was the price that autocracy paid. Russians had for years yearned for the time to come when they would be granted the same rights that were possessed by people of every other land calling itself civilized. Freedom could be denied them so long as the constitution of Russia was merely the will of a sovereign, or an intrigue of a cabal of grand dukes; but the moment the Czar yielded to a pressure that he could not withstand, the moment the traditions of the empire went

down before the gathering force of public opinion, that moment the Czar had unconsciously become the strongest advocate of the new *régime* and the leader of the party of progress.

The history of civilization is written in no half-way measures. Mankind has never been satisfied with a little when its ultimate goal was much. Struggle as the Czar may at the present time to restrict the power of the Duma and make it subordinate to his own power, instead of being the real governing force, his struggles will in the end prove futile. Before the end is reached, the Czar, as did Charles I, of England, or Louis XVI, of France, may go to the block, and Russia from an absolute monarchy may become a free republic. It is not unlikely that before that stage is reached much blood may be shed, but it is merely a cycle in evolution. From now on Russia will go forward, and not backward. The men who have been elected to the Duma are determined to fight for their rights and to obtain them. To-day Russia has a Parliament. That is the significant thing.

Seldom has there been a more dramatic or a more momentous occasion than the opening of the Russian Duma on the 10th of last May — the anniversary, by the way, of the assembly of the French States General in 1789, a coincidence not without omen to the superstitious. For the first time in the history of the Russian Empire, the people of Russia were assembled in a deliberative assembly to make laws for themselves and for their country. A majority of the members of the Russian Lower House are ignorant and superstitious peasants; and in all the world there is perhaps no one more ignorant and superstitious than the Russian moujik, the tiller of the soil sprung from a long line of peasants. Many of them are wholly illiterate, some are able to read or write with difficulty, but not many can both read and write. These are the men who have been assembled in St. Petersburg to make laws for that mighty Empire that stretches from the Baltic to the Asiatic Sea.

It would be absurd to believe that a popular assembly so composed can know anything of the science of government or is capable of framing laws that are for the best interests of the people. The peasants have suffered from the rapacity and cruelty of the governing classes. Condemned to a life of arduous toil in the fields, the fields have yielded them but a scant subsistence; and now that the Czar has been forced to grant them a constitution, they demand of the Czar — the great White Czar who to them was always a spiritual as well as an earthly pontiff — that he shall give them land enough so that every peasant may be able to raise crops sufficient for his support. They want the great estates of the nobles broken up into peasant holdings; believing that this will make them prosperous and that life will be easier. It is to be doubted whether the

peasant will be any better off, if as well off as he is now, if his demands are granted. He is too unscientific and too ignorant of modern agricultural methods to be able to work to advantage his own holdings on a large scale. He needs intelligent supervision, and, more than anything else, he needs the hand of the master over him.

The Czar shows greater readiness to grant the demands of the peasant members than he does the demands of the other members of the Duma. The reason for this is not difficult to understand. Give the peasant his land, and he will be satisfied for the present to leave untouched the great power of the Czar; but the representatives in Parliament of the professional and other classes, the men who come from the cities, in contradistinction to those who come from the country, demand things much more vital. They are the men who strike at the very foundation of the Czar's power. They are men who demand constitutional government in the sense that all the world understands it, who ask the right of freedom of thought and freedom of expression, who want a responsible ministry, with its mandate from the people, uncontrolled by the Sovereign, who want the laws administered without fear or favoritism. So long as the Czar can control the peasants, and through them the Lower House of Parliament, he has little, if anything, to fear. It is not likely, however, that ignorant peasants will be able to control men of such marked ability as those who constitute the members from the cities, even if numerically the latter may be in the minority. The real power of the Duma lies in the hands of a few men of great strength and intellect.

The meeting of the Duma saw the fall of Witte and the appointment of Goremykin as his successor. Witte's fall is a triumph for his enemies, and does not argue well for the carrying out of the reforms which he made possible. In this generation Russia has produced few constructive statesmen, but Witte is the one notable exception. He is a statesman in the fullest sense of the word, a statesman with vision broad enough to see, and humanity wide enough to interpret, the needs of the hour and the demands of the people, and to know wherein the future lies. For Russia to go on as she has gone on in the past, he knew meant destruction; and after he returned from the peace conference at Portsmouth, and was called by the Czar to the head of affairs, he used all his influence to impress upon his sovereign the necessity of establishing a new order, if Russia were to hold her place in the world. It is too early yet to do justice to this extraordinary man.

It is too soon to tell what Witte has done and what he had to overcome. Single-handed he had to fight not only the power of autocracy, which was naturally to be expected, as the autocrats were his sworn enemies,

but he had to meet the even more dangerous opposition of the men on whom he had reason to believe he could count. The autocracy hated him because he would rob them of their privileges. The liberals were suspicious of him because he countenanced only constitutional methods, and would not go to the extreme lengths which they considered necessary. Yielding to neither, he carried on his work up to the point when the Czar, veering between the old and the new, absurdly attempting to graft the new *régime* on the old, was induced to give the people the shadow of a constitution while seeking to retain the substance. Seeing the impossibility of such a scheme working, and rather than suffer the ignominy to follow from the failure of the plan that he did not advise, Count Witte was compelled, in order to preserve his self-respect, to resign the premiership. History will do him justice. For the present, he must rest content with the assured verdict of posterity. He is succeeded by Goremykin, formerly Minister of the Interior, and who for several years has been opposed to Witte. The new premier is a moderate liberal, although less advanced than his predecessor.

Another important change in the Russian government is the retirement of Count Lamsdorff as minister of foreign affairs, and the appointment of Baron Isvolski as his successor. Count Lamsdorff's retirement, especially at this time, is received by the world with sincere regret, as he is a man of great ability and a friend and lover of peace, and he was one of Count Witte's strongest supporters and actively seconded his efforts to bring about the liberal *régime*. It is largely due to him that the relations between England and Russia are better now than they have been since the Crimean war. Baron Isvolski is regarded as a man of great brilliancy and high capability. He was at one time the Russian minister to Tokio, and endeavored to prevent war between Russia and Japan. Like his predecessor, the new minister of Foreign Affairs will endeavor to cultivate friendly relations with England, and prevent Russia from engaging in any new foreign adventures that may embroil her with the other Powers.

In some of the European capitals, interesting stories are afloat assigning the reason for the somewhat sudden retirement of Count Lamsdorff; and, as usual in these days when every diplomatic thread has one of its strands in Berlin, Germany is held responsible for the change. It is well known in all European foreign offices, and generally believed by students of foreign affairs who have no official knowledge, that during the Russo-Japanese war the sympathies of the German Emperor were with Russia, and that he came perilously close to overstepping the line of neutrality in his effort to befriend Russia at the expense of Japan. When the Powers met at Algeciras to settle the fate of Morocco, the Kaiser natur-

ally expected that the Czar would show his gratitude by supporting him, even though that involved the disarrangement of the plans of his ally, France. Judge, then, the disappointment in Berlin when a telegram was made public in Paris from Count Lamsdorff to Count Cassini, the Russian Ambassador at Madrid and the Chief Russian plenipotentiary at Algeciras, to the effect that in case the Powers were unable to agree, and the abortive ending of the Conference should precipitate war, Russia would be found on the side of her ally, France, with whom England, the ally of Japan, was also leagued. This was a coalition that not even the German Emperor was rash enough to provoke; and when Wilhelmstrasse discovered that Germany was isolated and could expect no assistance from any of the Great Powers—for in case of war it is quite certain Italy would have remained neutral or joined France and England, while Austria, Germany's other nominal ally in the triple alliance, was so near the verge of civil war that she was almost a negligible quantity politically—her attitude at Algeciras became much more conciliatory, and agreement was finally reached. In revenge for this spoiling of his game by Count Lamsdorff, the Emperor, it is said, put pressure to bear upon the Czar to dismiss his foreign minister. The appointment of Baron Isvolski, under these circumstances, created the belief that he is intensely pro-German and that in him the Kaiser will have a pliant tool at St. Petersburg. This, however, is to be doubted, and it is questionable whether Germany gains anything by the change.

During the last few years, English diplomats have believed it the policy of wisdom to come to an understanding with Russia. The aim of English statesmen has been to isolate Germany, and to draw her fangs by making it impossible for her to form a coalition directed against England. Italy has always been the traditional friend of England, and new proof of this was given by the visit of King Edward to King Victor Emanuel, which, according to rumor, led to a complete understanding between the two sovereigns. This was the beginning of the policy to isolate Germany. Then followed the first steps toward the *rapprochement* with France, which culminated in the conventions by which France recognized the position of England in Egypt as "regular," and England on her part agreed to recognize the "superior rights" of France in Morocco. Since then, although no formal treaty of alliance has been entered into between France and England, the relations between the two countries have become exceedingly cordial. After many years of great bitterness on both sides, they are now on excellent terms, and there is a constant interchange of civilities between the two peoples.

The next move was to bring Russia into the combination. Although England was the ally of Japan, and had given Japan enormous material

assistance during the war, the *entente* between England and France made it not difficult for France to pave the way to an understanding between England and Russia. A formal Anglo-Russian treaty has not yet been signed; but both countries are now so well disposed toward each other that a treaty is almost certain to be the outcome. Significant of the new relation is the participation of English financial houses in the latest Russian loan; and this is the first time since the Crimea that Russia has been able to obtain access to the British money market.

India has kept England and Russia apart. England has credited Russia with sinister designs on her Indian Empire, and believed that she was only biding her time to obtain by force what she had failed to obtain by diplomacy. Latterly the Near Eastern question has been regarded as a more important source of danger than the Far East. England has set up a Monroe Doctrine of her own in the Persian Gulf, which has been mainly directed against Russia, and incidentally against Germany. It is not at all unlikely that, while Persia will nominally remain independent, Russia and England will agree on a delimitation of their respective spheres of influence by which Great Britain will control the southern half and Russia the northern half. When that is done, the Trans-Caucasian Railway will be extended to Bagdad so as to complete it before the German Bagdad Railway is finished, which will be another blow to Germany, and heavily handicap her in her effort to control the commerce of Asia Minor. A settlement of the Persian question would make it much easier for the two countries to come to an arrangement relative to the Indian frontier, so as to remove the possible danger of a conflict over Afghanistan and Thibet.

It was the visit of a French president, escorted by a squadron of French warships, to Cronstadt in 1897 that was made the occasion to proclaim to the world the existence of the Franco-Russian alliance. Announcement has been made that during the coming summer the British Channel squadron will visit Cronstadt, and speculation is rife whether that visit will be followed, as was the visit of President Faure, by a momentous political declaration. British ships of war have not been in the habit of making social calls in Russian ports, and Russian naval officers have found the waters of England too chilly even for them. It is not likely that the cruise of the British squadron in Russian waters will be the signal for political speeches, as the British government does not transact its diplomacy at the banquet table; and the very last thing the British naval officer knows anything about is diplomacy or politics. But the fact that British and Russian ensigns will fly side by side, and that British and Russian officers will entertain each other instead of watching each other, shows that a long step has been taken toward that

rapprochement that Britain desires for the maintenance of peace, and that Russia feels is her defiance as well as her protection from the menace of Germany.

Not less significant of the change of relations between England and Russia, which permits an English fleet to enter a Russian port, is the spectacle, which would have been regarded as a miracle a year or two back, of the Russian ambassador at Constantinople supporting the demands of the British government against Turkey. Heretofore, when England has brought pressure to bear upon Turkey, Russia has encouraged the Sultan to resist; and it was his knowledge that a coalition of the Great Powers was impossible that made it so difficult for any one of them to bring him to book. Now, with England, France, and Russia acting in concert, there was only Germany to fall back on, and Germany plays no such foolish game as to pose as the protector of Islam in defiance of the Christian Powers. The Ottoman Empire, since the Crimean war, when, in the picturesque phrase of Lord Salisbury, England put her money on the wrong horse, has been saved from falling to pieces by the force with which England backs up her diplomacy, and the jealousies and fears that have kept England and Russia apart and made each thwart the policy of the other. The moment they can agree, the dream of Peter the Great comes measurably near to realization.

The object for which Russia has so long been striving is Constantinople. "He who shall reign there will be the true sovereign of the world," wrote Peter the Great, in his will; and, although the political centre of gravity has shifted, and the construction of the Suez canal has made Constantinople of less importance to England as an outpost to safeguard her route to India, England has blocked the pathway of Russia because it weakened her rival to lock up her fleets in the Black Sea and have them ice bound in the Baltic. If, now, England withdraws her opposition, if there is nothing to stay the onward march of Russia except the resistance that Turkey can offer, which will not be feeble, but which in the long run Russia can crush, there will be an end to Turkish misrule in Europe. And the sooner that hideous chapter is closed, the better for all mankind.

It is no wonder that Russia is willing to pay heavily for the friendship of England. It is the one thing more than anything else that she needs. Exhausted by her struggle with Japan, with her credit at a low ebb, and her people divided, she is in no condition to engage in fresh military adventures, or to satisfy her greed for expansion against the opposition of any great military Power. France will not balk her plans, neither will England, if she is satisfied that they are not injurious to her own interests. Germany, therefore, is alone to be reckoned with;

and the policy of Germany, it has been made clearly evident, is not to risk hostilities against overwhelming odds. An Anglo-Russian understanding, a German newspaper remarks, would be a severe blow to Germany, and cripple her world policy. That, in a sentence, is what Germany has to fear. In her "splendid isolation," Germany would continue to menace the commercial supremacy of Great Britain, and drive the United States hard; but as a political rival she would no longer be feared.

The time is opportune to take a survey of the position of England as compared with ten years ago, even, and to note how the political balance of power, which for a moment seemed to be slipping out of the grasp of England, is now more firmly than ever in her hands. Go back to the conclusion of the Chinese-Japanese war, when Russia, France, and Germany by the irony of greed were driven into a temporary alliance to rob Japan of the fruits of her victory. England stood by, a passive but sullen spectator. That marked the end of England's prestige in the Far East, her enemies gleefully predicted; and it looked as if there was nothing to stay the forward march of Russia and make her mistress of Manchuria, with a Russian political agent exercising the real functions of government in Peking. If the Russian violation of the Liao-tung peninsula marked the beginning of English decadence, the South African war was its completion, as viewed through the eyes of unfriendly critics. In all the world she could count upon not a single ally; wherever she turned in Europe she saw only hostility, and nations waiting for her hour of distress to turn it to their profit. The Boer war was fought, and England, at no mean cost, put a new patch of red on the map; but that war, despite its mistakes and its revelations of the military weakness of England, was proof also of her strength, of her enormous resources, of the latent power of the Empire. It inspired the world with respect.

Then it seemed as if England, hitherto almost happy-go-lucky in her diplomacy, had suddenly come to realize the folly of her policy, and determined to reverse it. To strengthen her position in the Far East, she made the alliance with Japan. We can see now that that alliance made war between Russia and Japan inevitable; and it would be interesting to know if, when the treaty was signed by Lord Lansdowne and Viscount Hayashi, the first step was deliberately taken by the negotiators and their governments to bring Japan into armed conflict with Russia. Without further discussing what can now be only a profitless speculation, the fact remains that the war inured enormously to England's benefit. It destroyed the fiction of Russia's military strength; it practically brought her to the verge of financial ruin; it cut away one of the props upon which Germany leaned; and it threw back France upon

her own resources; for it was obvious that in case France was threatened by any of her continental neighbors, or by England, little reliance could be placed upon the assistance to be furnished by Russia.

France, realizing the insecurity of her position, found it to her advantage to be on good terms with England rather than to encourage hostility; and, due to the efforts of King Edward, the foremost diplomatist in the world to-day, the two people, so unlike and yet with so much in common, who have fought each other and fought for each other, and side by side have fought a common foe, have been brought closer than they have been for years, and politically are moved by the same impulse. The Algeciras conference showed this. Had England cast her weight with Germany, that conference would have had a very different ending; but the known determination of England to support the French demands, even to the extent of becoming the military ally of France if Germany was determined to make Morocco a *casus belli*, not only prevented war, but enabled France to score a marked diplomatic triumph, and cause the Kaiser considerable mortification.

The traditional friendship between England and Italy that had been allowed somewhat to cool on the part of Italy, largely through English indifference and bungling diplomacy, was revived by the King's visit to the Italian sovereign, and at no time have the relations between the two governments been more cordial. This friendship is important to England, for two reasons. Italy is one of the parties to the triple alliance; but, while nominally an ally of Germany, she will do nothing to encourage Germany in any wanton aggression designed against either France or England, so that Germany can place little dependence upon Italy should she compel England to go to war. The Italian-German alliance strained the relations between Italy and France, although geographically and commercially Italy has much more to profit from the friendship of France than she has from that of Germany. Now that England and France have forgotten past differences, the way is paved for France and Italy to come together.

Austria, likewise, is a member of the triple alliance; but between the Austrian and the English courts there has always existed a strong bond of sympathy, and Austria fears Germany as much as Germany fears Russia. England can feel certain that Austria will no more readily encourage German aggression, if directed against England, than will Italy.

That left on the European continent only one first-class power whose interests clashed with those of England; and to complete the work of the isolation of Germany, it was necessary that England and Russia should reach an understanding. That understanding, as I have already

pointed out, is in a fair way of being consummated; and when that is done, when England need no longer fear the designs of Russia, England's diplomatic task is accomplished and the isolation of Germany is complete.

Thus at a glance we see what England has done in less than five years. She has secured her position in the Far East. She has, by the second treaty of alliance with Japan, rendered additionally strong her Indian Empire. She has regularized her position in Egypt, and has brought Africa from the Cape to Cairo under her domination. She is on terms of friendly and political intimacy with France, Austria, Italy, and Russia. The only Power that she distrusts, and in a measure fears, is Germany; and so long as Germany can find no active ally, her power to do harm is not very great — certainly not great enough to cause apprehension so long as the disparity between the navies of the two countries is maintained at its present proportions. Surely this is marvellous diplomacy.

The new British government is not having easy sailing in Parliament. Twice it has been forced to reverse itself. In Natal, where the blacks outnumber the whites ten to one, natives for the murder of whites were tried by court-martial and sentenced to death. Just as the death sentence was about to be carried out Lord Elgin, the secretary of state for the colonies, telegraphed to Sir Henry McCullom, the governor of Natal, suspending the sentence, which was an exercise of the imperial power so distasteful to the colony that it roused fierce indignation, and the Natal ministry, to preserve its self-respect and independence, resigned. The British cabinet, realizing that it had blundered, made Sir Henry McCullom the scapegoat by asserting that Lord Elgin's action was taken on insufficient information and that it was not the intention of his Majesty's ministers to interfere with the prerogatives of the Natal government. All objection to the execution of the natives was withdrawn, and the death sentence was duly carried out. The only effect of the uncalled-for interference on the part of the imperial Government was to give the opposition in Parliament an opportunity to hammer the Cabinet — which was duly availed of by Mr. Chamberlain and his party associates — and to anger the colonists.

Again, a few days later, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman showed the country how easily he could reverse his policy. It was the first clash between the government and the Labor members, which had been awaited with considerable interest both in and out of Parliament. In the preceding number of this Review it was explained that the Taff Vale decision made the funds of a trade union liable in event of damages being awarded against the union for the illegal acts of its officers. One of the demands

of the trade unionists and of their representatives in Parliament was the passage of a bill restoring to the unions their old immunities. The Government introduced a bill giving labor all that it demanded with one notable exception, namely, that the union should be liable for damages in case it should be proved to the satisfaction of the court that the actions complained of were in pursuance of instructions from the union.

In supporting the bill, the attorney-general explained that this was a question of fact which ought to be left to the determination of a jury. But that was the one feature of the Taff Vale decision so bitterly complained of by the unions, and a substitute bill was introduced by the Labor members, which provides that no action shall be brought against a trade union to recover damages by reason of the action of any member of the union, and if that law had been in existence at the time of the Taff Vale strike the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants would not have been cast in damages for \$100,000. Greatly to the surprise of the House and the country, the Premier threw over the attorney-general's bill and accepted that of the Labor members, his explanation being that the Government desired "to place the rival powers of capital and labor on an equality, so that in the event of a fight it should be a fair one." The Government has been accused of a "cowardly surrender" to the clamor of the Labor party, and that party is correspondingly elated in having thus early in the session won such an important victory. It is not easy to understand why Sir Henry should have yielded, unless he feared the Labor members would vote against the educational bill. But that is a dangerous policy, and it will of course encourage the Labor members as well as the Irish members to make greater demands on the Government.

Anyone with a knowledge of the psychology of the English people readily understands how quickly they can be aroused over a question of religion, and the secularization of the public schools. For the English, although a very practical people, who on the surface take their religion lightly, are at heart a religious people, and religion is with them an inborn conviction which commands their reverence. Nothing has for years aroused such a fierce storm of protest and condemnation as "the bill of the session," as the Premier termed the education bill, derisively dubbed by the opposition "The Birrelligious Bill," because it is sponsored by Mr. Birrell, the minister of education.

To Americans it will appear strange that the principles sought to be laid down by the bill should not be readily accepted. In substance, what the bill provides is that the school supported by the State shall be under the control of the State. There are in England many denominational schools in which a creed is taught and the teachers are subjected to a religious test. Some of the schools are endowed, others are sup-

ported by voluntary contributions, and until a few years ago they received no assistance from the national exchequer. When they were put "on the slippery slope of the rates" by the Balfour act of 1902, it was the entering wedge of government control, although that was not the purpose of the act. The present bill now goes a step further by providing that "no catechism or any formulary distinctive of any religious denomination shall be taught in the school." To most persons this will appear absolutely correct, as the state school in a country where religious freedom is a constitutional guarantee is not the proper place for denominational teaching; but that constitutes the chief grievance of denominationalists of all creeds.

"Thus at one fell swoop all the denominational schools of the country became undenominational," is the plaint of one of Mr. Birrell's fiercest critics. "Not only are they to be taken away from their owners, but they are also to be perverted from their primary purpose. Undenominationalism would henceforth be the general rule throughout the land." Denominational instruction can be given to children under certain stipulations — that is, when asked for by parents and paid for by the denomination, the instruction to be given not during the school hours of compulsory attendance or by the regularly appointed teachers. That is to say, if there are a certain number of Catholic children attending a school, their priest may give them religious instruction every morning prior to the opening of school, or after the school is closed, and so with every other denomination.

Surely that would seem to be fair enough; but the Bishop of Manchester denounces the bill as "religious tyranny and spoliation of our church schools," and other Anglican bishops are equally vehement in their opposition. No measure has so aroused passion since Mr. Gladstone introduced his Irish home rule bill; and the Unionists hope that the "Birrelligious bill," like the home rule bill, may be the Government's undoing.

Partly, I presume, to show that the Sick Man of Europe is not yet moribund, the Sultan, toward the end of April, provoked England to a display of force; and then, as usually happens, when Abdul Hamid found that he must fight or run, he yielded to the British demands. Tabah, in the Sinai peninsula, which the British government claimed was Egyptian territory, was about to be garrisoned by Egyptian troops when Turkey forestalled this action by despatching a small force, the Turkish commandant at Akabah claiming that it belonged to his district. England, as the protector of Egypt, promptly ordered Turkey to withdraw her troops; and when the Sultan refused and resorted to his customary

shifty diplomacy to gain time, the British Ambassador at Constantinople served on him an ultimatum, and Great Britain assembled a powerful fleet to make the ultimatum effective. When he was convinced that England was in earnest and would be satisfied with nothing short of complete submission, the Sultan gave the necessary order for the withdrawal of the garrison, and the farce of friendly relations between England and Turkey was once more proclaimed.

Abdul Hamid is popularly supposed to be a man of such extraordinary cunning and astuteness that no one can fathom his motive in challenging England only to have to make an ignominious surrender. Naturally enough, it was believed in England that the Sultan had been induced to offer this challenge at the instigation of Germany and had been led to believe that in case he found himself in difficulties he could rely on Germany to extricate him from his embarrassment. Nothing has developed to justify this suspicion, and the fact that Germany remained aloof and left Turkey to her own devices is circumstantial proof that for once at least Germany has been unjustly accused. The whole affair remains a mystery, and has had no result except to strengthen England's position in Egypt, as Turkey has now formally recognized Great Britain as the protector of Egypt; and the empty fiction of the Khedive as the sovereign of Egypt, acknowledging the suzerainty of the Sultan, was not even resorted to as a matter of form.

China has again startled the world, and given another proof that the spirit of nationality that has so long slumbered is at last awoken. In this department attention has been so repeatedly called to the development of the sentiment of "China for the Chinese" that the determination of China to throw off the yoke of the Western Powers should occasion no surprise. In May an imperial edict was issued appointing Tieh-liang superintendent of customs affairs and placing all Chinese and foreigners in the customs service of China under his control. For many years the customs have been in the hands of Sir Robert Hart, an Englishman, who has under him a mixed European and Chinese force. It is only since Sir Robert Hart has been in charge of the customs that the revenues have been honestly collected and properly accounted for. All the world has a very substantial interest in seeing that the customs shall continue to be honestly collected, as the revenues are mortgaged to the hilt as security for foreign loans and indemnities. Any diversion of the revenue would seriously imperil the security on which creditors and foreign governments rely.

The edict does not make it clear that Sir Robert Hart is to be superseded, and as all the great powers have vigorously protested against any

change as being in violation of treaty rights, China is not likely to push the matter to an issue; but the mere fact that China contemplates regaining the control of her own affairs is indicative of the new spirit. Christendom of course is shocked. It is outrageous that China should demand the right to manage her own government in her own way, and that she should show so little appreciation of the benefits of civilization that she prefers to be let alone rather than to have missionaries backed by gunboats preach a religion that the Chinese do not want.

The most important lesson that China has learned from Christendom is the efficacy of force. China has at last discovered that one of the secrets of the greatness of Western nations is their use of force; that they resist when they are threatened; and that when the limit of resistance is reached, they do not meekly yield, but resort to the last appeal of civilization, the sword. China has begun the creation of an army, and it is more than likely that her desire to obtain control of the customs is to obtain money for military purposes. How many years must elapse before China feels that she has an army large enough and effective enough to make foreign nations respect her strength, no one can tell; but when that time comes, as come it most certainly will, the Western nations will think seriously before they provoke China to combat. When China commands from the Western nations the same respect that they have for each other, a respect born in fear, Europe and America will have nothing to dread from a Mongolian invasion, but much to fear from commercial competition that will change the currents of trade; for it is obvious that in certain industries the Asiatic can successfully compete with the European. In the future development of the world, Asia will play no small part.

Events in France recently have been followed with the keenest interest, and more than one test has been applied to prove the strength of the Republic. The Republic remains unshaken — stronger, in fact, than ever, and more resolute, more determined to carry out the policy that means peace at home and abroad.

The great mine horror at Courrières, by which more than a thousand miners lost their lives, precipitated strikes of far-reaching proportions, that threatened at one time to have most serious results. Believing that the great loss of life was due to the criminal neglect of the mine-owners in not adopting proper safety appliances, a general strike of the miners took place; the Government, as is always the case in France, being held in a measure responsible. Labor agitators, extreme socialists, and the political opponents of the government, including, it is generally believed, royalists and imperialists, eagerly seized the discontent and agitation and unrest among the workingmen to organize May-day

demonstrations on an unprecedented scale, which it was hoped would largely influence the general election to be held on May 6.

The duty of maintaining order devolved upon M. Clémenceau, the minister of the interior, an extreme radical closely leagued politically with the socialists, who are powerful in French politics. If disorder was crushed with force and violence put down with a heavy hand, the newly constituted Government might go to wreck at the general election the following week. Clémenceau's political opponents expected that he would temporize rather than display firmness, and by playing good Lord, good devil, attempt to satisfy the friends of order without seriously alienating the good will of the enemies of lawful authority. But Clémenceau is a man of courage and firmness. There was no paltering with duty. Paris naturally was the storm centre, and Paris for the time being was made a huge military camp. There were a few minor disturbances, but nothing approaching the dignity of a riot; and in a few days the troops that had been drafted to the capital were sent back to their stations, and Paris resumed her normal aspect of light-hearted gayety.

The general election, the first since 1902, was a victory for the Government, which has a larger majority in the new chamber than it had in the old. There is no solid compact Government majority in the French Chamber as there is a Republican majority in the House of Representatives or a Liberal majority in the House of Commons. Political opinion in France finds its expression in groups; the supporters of the Government and the Republic constituting what has come to be known in French politics as the "bloc"; while the opposition is composed of various factions, consisting of elements so antagonistic as legitimists of the Faubourg St. Germain and anarchists from Montmartre, forming the "anti-bloc," whose sole purpose is to turn out the Government and cause confusion, when each group hopes that in the *débâcle* it will find power.

The friends of stability and of the Republic have held together. The people of France have shown that those kaleidoscopic political changes that were such a distinguishing feature of the early days of the Republic and caused all the world amazement no longer appeal to them. In politics as in other things the French people during the last decade have become less emotional and more practical; less easily excited and calmer in their judgment. And, above all things, they have demonstrated that the policy of the separation of church and state meets with their approval. If France at heart were not in favor of this policy, the passion that had been aroused by the taking of the church inventories would have found its expression at the polls in a majority of the Chamber of Deputies adverse to the present Government, which is committed to the policy of its predecessor in divorcing religion from temporal affairs. But the

Government is stronger than it was before election, and the Paris "Temps" clearly grasps the significance of the election when it says:

The results of the election plainly indicate that the country has no desire to return to the ancient *régime* of church-and-state amalgamation. The electors have declared themselves in favor of a firm and dignified foreign policy of respect for law at home, and of a liberal enforcement of the Separation law.

The Radicals and Socialists, naturally enough, hail the election as a great victory and a staggering blow to the reactionaries, whether they be Royalists or Clericals or Bonapartists. The Sarrien Cabinet, assured that it possesses the confidence of the country, and secure in the thought that France has little or nothing to fear from foreign complications, can now go forward without faltering on the policy which it has outlined, which means peace and confidence, and an end to the interference of the church in politics that was as harmful to the best interests of the church as it has been to the mental and spiritual development of France herself.

As the last number of this review was going to press, the delegates at Algeciras were about to affix their signatures to the *acte générale*. The result of the conference was much as anticipated. The French and German governments both claim a victory, but as a matter of fact neither gained all that it desired and both were in a measure successful. "The Tunisification of Morocco," as one writer happily phrases it, has been prevented, or at least indefinitely postponed, which is a disappointment to France and a victory for Germany.

On the other hand, the Powers have recognized that France occupies a peculiar position toward Morocco and that she has rights there superior to those of any other country. This is a salve to French vanity. The efforts of Germany to place the control of the native *gendarmerie* under European officers was defeated, and France and Spain were made responsible for the proper police protection of the ports. Weighing the gains and losses, it will be seen that they are very nearly evenly balanced so far as the two chief disputants are concerned; but the world at large gains by Morocco for the next five years at least, which is the life of the agreement, being removed from the arena of politics and ceasing to be a menace to the peace of Europe.

That the Kaiser was very angry over the results of the conference, and especially angry because Italy and Russia, the two Powers on whom he had relied, declined to support him, is clearly shown by the extraordinary telegram he sent to Count Golouchouski, the Austrian foreign minister:

At the moment when, with the consent of your gracious master, I transmit to Count Welsersheimb the Grand Cross of the Order of the Red Eagle in recog-

nition of his successful endeavors at Algeciras, I feel compelled to thank you sincerely from my heart for your unwavering support of my representatives—a splendid deed of a loyal ally. You have shown yourself as a brilliant second upon the duelling floor, and may be sure of my rendering like service on like occasion.

The Kaiser has before now startled the world with his telegrams, but never before had he aroused such a fluttering in the diplomatic dove-cotes as he did on this occasion. Presumably he intended to show his sense of obligation to Austria and to emphasize the loyalty of his Austrian ally, as contrasted with the disloyalty of his Italian ally; but in that case he signally failed of his purpose. It was not flattering to Austrian pride to be told that she acted merely as a second in a German duel, yet this was the effect produced by the telegram. It was addressed to Vienna, but it was intended to be read in Rome, is the general verdict, which is fortified by the attitude of the German press. Thus, the Berlin "Tageblatt" bluntly tells Italy that she "had better not forget that we Germans are absolutely determined to take the lead on the European continent, at least in central Europe, and Italy, owing her union and independence mainly to German policy, has more reason than any other member of the triple alliance to retain Germany's active friendship."

The Italian answer to Germany was made by Count Guicciardini, minister for foreign affairs, in the senate, in reply to an interpellation of Signor di Martino on the foreign policy of the Government, and was of great importance as showing that, while Italy intends scrupulously to observe the obligations of the pact made with Germany and Austria, she does not propose to be made use of by Germany as a cat's paw.

The direction which we follow in international politics, the Count said, is that which, in its main lines, has already repeatedly received the assent and approval of the country, and which Baron Sonnino, the Prime Minister, summed up in his speech of March 8 in the following words: "Cordially faithful to the triple alliance, we shall maintain our traditional intimacy with Great Britain and our sincere friendship with France, thus continuing the policy, which, in carefully fostering the harmony of international relations, permits us to exercise a rôle of concord and peace in the council of the nations."

After reminding the senate that it was indispensable for Italy that the *status quo* be maintained in the Balkans, and that the position of Italy in the Mediterranean be effectively safeguarded, which the triple alliance accomplished, he continued:

Italy, in her agreements with France and her understanding with Great Britain, has found a safeguard much more complete than she could have found in an alliance. Thus our policy has its *raison d'être* in our chief national interests. The doubts which have been expressed as to the continuance and stability of that policy have at present no foundation. Indeed, our relations with Austria-Hungary are very

cordial, as is shown by the mutual confidence which animates the relations between the Rome and Vienna governments.

Turning to Italian relations with Great Britain, Count Guicciardini said:

It must be remembered that many years ago, when the negotiations for the Alliance with the Central European Powers were first set on foot, Italy took care to make clear the nature of her ancient and immutable relations with Great Britain, relations which she could not renounce. The two neighboring Empires acknowledged the importance and the worth of this loyal declaration by admitting that the friendship between Italy and Great Britain was not among the least of the causes which rendered Italy's adhesion of value to the alliance. . . . These facts permit me to feel confident that Italy's traditional relations with Great Britain will continue to be in the future what they have been in the past, that is to say, an element of harmony and good feeling among the nations. In this way the policy based on the triple alliance, while safeguarding the interests of Italy in the Balkans and the Mediterranean and maintaining her ancient friendships, has not proved an obstacle to desirable *rapprochements* with other nations, and has none the less become a stable element of the peace of Europe.

After fourteen months of bitter and dangerous controversy between the Emperor of Austria and the parliamentary leaders in Hungary, a compromise has been effected, and the dual monarchy, which at one time was on the point of being torn asunder by civil war, is now at peace. By the terms of the compromise, Alexander Wekerle formed a cabinet in succession to the Fejervary cabinet, which had carried on the government without parliamentary sanction, and an election was at once ordered under the old suffrage laws, which give the Magyars such an undue advantage over the other nationalities represented in the Hungarian parliament. The election, which was held on May 7, gave the supporters of Francis Kossuth 240 seats out of a total of 413. The strictly non-Magyar nationalities carried only 38.

The *modus vivendi* provided that the necessary supplies should be voted for administrative purposes and that the commercial union with Austria should be extended until 1917. A law providing for the establishment of universal suffrage was to be passed, and under this law an appeal is to be taken to the nation. This new parliament will then pass upon the questions that have for so long been in dispute between the Crown and the Hungarians, and especially the language question, or whether the words of command to the Hungarian regiments shall be delivered in German or Hungarian. This has meant more than is apparent, as it has involved important constitutional questions, and moreover the use of Hungarian was regarded by the Austrians as the entering wedge toward the creation of a separate Hungarian army, which would weaken the military power of the empire. Francis Joseph has shown sagacity

as well as statesmanship in preventing a crisis, and the danger of further friction seems now to be averted.

Belgium and England have settled the differences that recently arose in connection with the rights of the Sudanese and Congo governments in the Bahr-el-Ghazel, the Sudanese government being in reality Great Britain and the Congo government being in fact King Leopold of Belgium. The right asserted by the Congo government to the military occupation of certain points in the Lado enclave on the Upper Nile was resisted by the Sudan government, which stopped river traffic, thus depriving the Congo ports on the Upper Nile from receiving supplies shipped from Egyptian ports and virtually closing the outlet of the Congo. The territorial rights asserted by Belgium had a somewhat curious origin. By virtue of a lease concluded between the British and Congo governments, the latter enjoyed the occupation of a large tract of country on the left bank of the Nile as far north as Fashoda. King Leopold in turn made over to France a larger portion of the territory which he had acquired from England, and which enabled France to realize her long-cherished ambition, a footing on the Nile.

When, after the Fashoda crisis, France retired from the Nile and entered into an agreement with England by which England's rights, by virtue of the conquest of the Sudan, were formally recognized, the French portion of the Belgian leased territory reverted to England, or at least that was the opinion held by the English government and tacitly acquiesced in by France, but not admitted by Belgium. Effectually to quiet any flaw that might exist in the title, the British government has now entered into an agreement with the King of the Belgians by which after the death of King Leopold the territory in question automatically reverts to the Sudan, and a strip of territory, which enables the Sudanese government to control the headwaters of the Nile, is immediately transferred to the Sudan. In return for these concessions, the British government guarantees the interest on the capital required for the construction of a railway from the Nile near Lado to the Congo frontier, and the Belgians enjoy the same rights of transit as do British subjects or merchandise. The agreement gives the Sudanese government the undisputed command of the upper waters of the Nile, which is an enormous advantage and is another rivet to strengthen the hand that so firmly holds Africa.

It is not at all improbable that one of the most important questions which the second Hague conference will consider will be the reduction or limitation of armaments. At the time when the first Hague conference met on the invitation of the Czar of Russia, a suspicion existed in the

minds of several nations that behind the seemingly benevolent purpose of the Czar lurked a sinister design; and to avoid any pitfalls, some of the powers before accepting the invitation to the conference stipulated that the question of disarmament should not be raised. In fact, that question was looked upon as impossible, and the suggestion that the powers should agree to disarm or stop military expansion was regarded as so visionary and chimerical that it was not deemed worthy of serious discussion. It was not brought up before the conference.

A few weeks ago, in the House of Commons, an extremely significant declaration was made by Sir Edward Grey, the foreign secretary. A resolution was moved by Henry Vivian, a Labor member, that the Government take steps to reduce the expenditures for armaments and to bring the question before the Hague conference. Replying to the resolution, Sir Edward said that the position of the Government was that expenditures could be reduced without sacrificing national safety. Continuing, he said:

A great deal, of course, depends on the policies of other countries, upon the general feeling in Europe; but a declaration such as that of the resolution, from this Parliament, is worth having for the effect it will produce on other countries. Abroad as well as here the burden of armaments is being felt, and at no time has the conscious public opinion of Europe set more strongly in the direction of peace; it could do no greater service than make the conditions of peace less expensive than they are now. Of course, there are difficulties in the way of coming to an agreement as to the reduction of armaments, but that was one of the original projects of the conference. On behalf of the Government I accept and welcome the resolution.

This declaration naturally attracted great attention on the continent. It met with sympathetic, although somewhat guarded, acceptance from French public men and the French press, and violent opposition from the German press, which evidently looks with suspicion on the Greeks when they come bearing gifts. As Germany is heavily taxing her resources to provide for the creation of a powerful navy with the least possible delay, it is perhaps not surprising that she does not want to encourage the moral sentiment of the world to regard with disfavor the enlargement of navies, especially as England is rapidly pushing to completion the most powerful battleship in the world.

Curiously enough, Russia is equally opposed to disarmament or the reduction of armaments. In the original programme submitted to the governments accepting her invitation to the second conference, she expressly excludes from discussion that question, which does not of course in any way settle the matter, as the programme has not yet been accepted by the participating governments. Russia is probably influenced by the belief that any agreement reached would prevent her from

repairing the damages done to her navy by the war with Japan; but that is short-sighted, as it would be easy enough and entirely equitable for Russia to insist that her navy should be restored to its *ante-bellum status*, or even that it should be increased by a certain tonnage so as not to make the disparity between her naval strength and that of other powers too great. It is quite possible that nothing may come out of the present attempt to reduce military expenditures; but it is indicative that nations are feeling their enormous strain, which must, apart from all humane considerations, work its own remedy, as the time will come when the burden will be so great that not even the richest nation will be able to stand it without raising taxation so dangerously high that the people will at last resist.

All the world loves a lover, and "the women — one half of the human race at least — care fifty times more for a marriage than a ministry," which perhaps explains why all mankind has taken a great deal more interest in the wooing and wedding of the King of Spain and Princess Ena of Battenburg than it has in things more far-reaching, but which are too remote to be easily understood. With picturesque splendor, marred by the dastardly but fortunately unsuccessful work of the anarchist, the young sovereign and his fair bride were married, while the subjects of the new Queen gave her fervid welcome, and all the world wished the royal couple long life and great happiness. It is seldom that royal marriages are affairs of the heart—they are too frequently affairs of state; but this is one of the rare exceptions. Inheriting many of the strong qualities of his mother, Alfonso XIII has her same determination of will, and when the time came for him to take unto himself a wife he was more influenced by his feelings than he was by expediency. There were many princesses ready to share his throne, and there were many kings willing to see their daughters become a queen, not oblivious to the political advantage that would come from an alliance with a reigning sovereign of Europe; but the young King went where his heart listeth, and it was Ena, the niece of King Edward, to whom he offered the golden apple.

The Spaniards were at first not pleased. There is no person in all the world so intolerant of the foreigner as the Spaniard, and it is contrary to all his traditions to admit the foreigner to the intimacy of his family circle. The Spanish people, too, remembered the Queen Regent, the mother of the present King, a woman of high intelligence and capacity, but who was never popular; and the new Queen did not belong to the ancient religion. But opposition could not long prevail against two such genuinely happy lovers; and when the princess abjured her faith

and was received as a convert in the Catholic church, the people were pleased, and a little later their pleasure gave place to genuine admiration when they saw how gracious she was, and her determination to make herself beloved of her new subjects. The Spanish people have loyally done homage to their Queen and have rejoiced with their King in his joy.

No royal match, even though it is born in love, can be made without due consideration being given to the effect it has on international relations. The marriage of Alfonso and Ena is of advantage to Spain in that it allies Spain by ties of blood with the one country more than any other that is interested in preserving the *status quo* in the Mediterranean, and that would sincerely regret any rearrangement of the map of Europe that would be to the disadvantage of Spain. She may therefore safely rely on the benevolent support of England whenever it can be exercised. England, if unmoved by sentiment, and if she looks upon royal princesses as simply pawns to play the game of statecraft, can have no fault to find with this alliance. It is politically valuable; it gives her another strong ally in the concert of Europe; and it enables her, if one may use the expression, to establish a Latin *point d'appui*. And combined with the positive advantages is a negative gain hardly less important: that it is an English, and not a German, princess who is the consort of the King of Spain.

A. MAURICE LOW.

FINANCE.

VERY few chapters in our recent financial history have been marked by incidents so extraordinary as those of the past three months. Looking upon the sequence of events from one point of view, it may be said that the expectations of the best judges were completely verified. Looked upon from another, the period may be described as a chapter of the unexpected. What has happened during the past three months cannot be clearly understood except in the light of the three months which preceded them, and a brief retrospect will be necessary to introduce the quarter's history.

We saw, in the last number of *THE FORUM*, the manner in which the financial markets had been warned that available supplies of capital in the American market were inadequate for the demands which were being placed upon them. Not to mention the 125 per cent call-money rate at the end of 1905, Wall Street was confronted at the opening of January with the highest rate touched at that time of the year since 1878, and with the lowest bank surplus in twenty-six years. The eight per cent rate touched for money in Wall Street during February had been paralleled only in 1896, in 1893, and in 1890—in each of those years under circumstances of peculiar and unusual strain. In the middle of March, money reached nine per cent on the Stock Exchange, another rate paralleled at that period during this generation only in 1903, in 1899, and in 1893. At the same time it had become evident that the demands on capital were of almost unprecedented volume. Up to the end of March, new securities had been announced footing up between \$400,000,000 and \$500,000,000, which exceeded the total of the full twelve months in years such as 1900, 1902, and 1903, and which surpassed the issues made during the first half of any recent year except 1901. Before the year was far advanced, it became evident that no more of these large bond issues would be taken by the syndicates; and the ominous movement which characterized the year of tied-up capital, 1903—the issue of short-term notes at high rates of interest, in order to avoid sale of long-term bonds at a sacrifice, again came into Wall Street's view. In brief, it could be said at the end of March that the signs of the times were definitely those of warning.

Somewhat paradoxically, that very time was characterized by a spirit of speculative optimism, and of general prediction that the "bull movement" on the Stock Exchange was about to be resumed. On Wall Street, it was commonly stated that the speculative leaders were making preparations to start the machinery of an extensive speculation for the rise as

soon as the April quarter-day should arrive. In fact, even before the month of April opened, a lively advance in prices was in progress. The immediate sequel was extraordinary. In the face of a general supposition that one day of moderately tight money would end the quarter-day strain, and be followed by really easy money, call loans on the Stock Exchange started at 10 per cent on Monday, April 2, rose to 12 per cent on the 3d, to 19 per cent on the 4th, and to 30 per cent on the 5th. How far this last-named rate departed from the precedents of this season of the year may be judged from the following comparison of the highest call-money rates reached in April during the thirty-five past years:

Year.	Per cent.	Year.	Per cent.	Year.	Per cent.	Year.	Per cent.
1906.....30		1897.....2		1888.....5		1879.....7	
1905.....7		1896.....4½		1887.....15		1878.....11	
1904.....1¾		1895.....3		1886.....4		1877.....7	
1903.....11		1894.....1½		1885.....3½		1876.....5	
1902.....15		1893.....15		1884.....3½		1875.....6	
1901.....8		1892.....2		1883.....20		1874.....7	
1900.....5		1891.....9		1882.....17		1873.....270	
1899.....16		1890.....9		1881.....29		1872.....180	
1898.....4½		1889.....10		1880.....51		1871.....7	

For a time the stock market merely slackened in its pace under this sinister influence. Wall Street, at all events, refused to believe that anything more than temporary and incidental strain was operating. At the end of the week, however, came a bank statement which opened the eyes of every one to the real nature of the situation. At the end of March surplus reserves had been abnormally low for that time of year, their figure, \$5,131,000, not having been paralleled at that date since 1890. But a heavy loan expansion during the opening week of April brought about the spectacle, most remarkable for that period, of a deficit of \$2,560,000 in bank reserves.

Now, it is true that a deficit in reserves has not been so unusual as to excite particular alarm. There were, it will be remembered, two deficits during the past winter — on November 11 and on December 9. But the deficit of April 7 attracted exceptional interest from the fact that a spring deficiency in reserves has hardly been witnessed during the present generation. The spring-time is the natural period for building up a bank position strong enough to endure the strain of the harvest demand for currency in the summer and autumn months. Hence, it will not be surprising if it is said that no deficit has occurred in any but the late summer or autumn months since 1884. The following record shows when these deficits have come in the past quarter century:

1906—April 7.
1905—November 11, December 9.
1902—September 20.
1899—November 4, 11, and 18.
1893—July 8, 15, 22, 29; August 5, 12, 19, 26; September 2.
1890—August 16, 23, and 30; September 6 and 13; October 18 and 25; November 8, 15, and 22; December 6.
1889—October 5 and 12; November 9.
1884—May 24 and 31.
1883—March 3, 10, 17, 24, and 31; April 7 and 14; October 20 and 27.
1882—February 25; March 4; September 2, 9, 16, 23, and 30; November 4, 11, 18, and 25.
1881—February 26; March 5; August 20 and 27; September 3; October 1, 8, and 15; December 3, 10, and 17.
1880—April 3 and 10; November 27; December 4 and 11.

Here was another unmistakable warning to the markets.

This showing of the banks sent a very perceptible chill through Wall Street; yet the market, supported by the strong banking and speculative forces already organized to advance it, resisted the tendency to reaction, and in the second week of April surprised all watchers by suddenly resuming its advance. This movement was at first ascribed to a movement of foreign exchange in favor of this market wholly resultant from the tight money in Wall Street. Under ordinary circumstances, the par of sterling exchange is $486\frac{5}{8}$, and the point at which gold can be profitably imported is approximately $484\frac{3}{4}$. Under the influence of heavy borrowings by Wall Street from London, the rate declined, in this second week of April, as low as $482\frac{7}{8}$, and an engagement of \$3,000,000 or \$4,000,000 gold for import from London to New York was at once announced.

But with the announcement of these gold engagements came a sharp recovery in exchange, based obviously on the buying of bills on London to pay for the gold thus obtained. Yet to the surprise of Wall Street, further engagements of gold continued to be announced during the second week of April, notwithstanding the fact that exchange was apparently above the import point. The true nature of the situation was not understood until the close of that week, when the Secretary of the United States Treasury, then in New York City, made the following remarkable announcement:

The price of exchange having reached the point where gold ought to have been imported, and, believing the reason why it was not engaged to be the loss of its use during transit, the Sub-Treasury at New York was authorized, on Thursday afternoon, to accept bonds available as security to savings banks and to increase the deposit of any national bank desiring to import gold to any amount not exceeding \$5,000,000 to any one bank, the same to be returned immediately on the arrival of the gold. On Friday the limit was removed authorizing the acceptance of security and to increase the deposit to any amount when assured that the money would be immediately used in the engagement of gold for shipment to the United States.

In so far as concerns the purpose of the Secretary's move, his statement explains itself. How far the actual influence of the Treasury's so-called advance free of interest operated to cheapen the import of gold was a point on which difference of opinion at once developed. Similar difference of opinion showed itself in regard to the propriety of the Treasurer's action. For reasons which will be set forth later on, Mr. Shaw's action has come in many quarters to be regarded as a fortunate move. This does not, however, alter in any respect the merits of his policy on general principles. That the Secretary had the right to deposit public money with the banks, no one has questioned. The federal statutes covering such operations merely say that national banks "shall be depositories of public money, except receipts from customs, under such regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary," but that banks holding such government money shall be required "to give satisfactory security, by the deposit of United States bonds and otherwise." This is sufficiently broad authority.

But the question which did arise was what authority the Secretary had to impose such a condition as requirement that the public deposits should be used for importing gold. This could hardly be assigned as one of the "regulations" which "may be prescribed by the Secretary"; that clause referred to safeguards for the Treasury.

This was not all. A very serious objection incurred by an operation of this sort is that the Government, as such, has no business whatever to be meddling in a financial market to advance the interests of anyone but itself. There are instances where governments, our own included, have used their credit facilities to hold or reverse the movement of the foreign exchanges in order to protect the Treasury from a drain on its gold reserve. This was the nature of the famous government bond syndicate contract of 1895, when the Treasury sold a block of new securities, at a price below the market value, to an international banking syndicate, on the understanding that this syndicate would provide the gold which the Treasury had not been able to retain, and would see that, during a given period, gold should not be withdrawn for export purposes.

This contract, arranged by Mr. Carlisle and sanctioned by President Cleveland, was the result of a critical emergency. It was approved by economic force solely on the ground of that emergency, but it has not, in retrospect, been deemed to have permanently solved the Government's dilemma. In any case, it is obvious that the taking of such a step for the sake of guarding the national currency and public credit is a very different thing from acting on similar lines for the benefit either of gold-importing bankers or of a troubled money market.

It was alleged last April, by defenders of Secretary Shaw's special action, that the Bank of France and the Bank of Germany had on occa-

sion offered precisely such facilities to gold importers when the markets of Paris or Berlin were in need of gold. But to this contention there was the obvious answer that these banks were private institutions, using deposits placed with them on the same terms as those of any ordinary bank; that they presumably saw profit for themselves in the importation; and that, even if they did not, their action none the less would fail to serve as precedent for similar action by a government. Indeed, this part of the discussion narrowed down to the fact that only Russia, among modern governments, had attempted to use its public funds for the purpose of influencing international exchange.

As to the question of the permanent results which these "special facilities" of the Treasury could achieve, it was shown at once that the only outcome of the policy would be the cheapening of the cost of importing gold. To put the matter technically, the gold-import point was raised. Where gold could be imported without government assistance of the sort at $484\frac{3}{4}$, bankers would find a profit with the Treasury facilities at slightly above 485. But this did not mean that gold was bound to flow this way because of such alteration in the gold point. No intelligent financier has at any time contended that the similar facilities of the Bank of France and the Bank of Germany have actually caused gold exports from any other country. What they did accomplish was to divert to Paris, or Berlin, as the case might be, gold which was already leaving other markets, and which, but for such inducements, might have gone elsewhere than to the market where the facilities were offered.

In March, 1891, John Sherman, then a Senator, drew up a bill providing that higher charges than had theretofore prevailed should be placed by the Treasury on gold bullion given up to exporters. On that occasion, which was a time of large gold exports, hasty reasoners jumped to the conclusion that the gold-export movement would henceforth be obstructive. As a matter of fact, the only outcome of Mr. Sherman's legislation was to raise the gold point and to make it as cheap to export United States coin as to export bullion. Up to that time all exports had been made in gold bullion; during the next three months \$60,000,000 of the United States gold coin was sent to Europe. In other words, the tendency of the market remained the same and was in no respect affected by the action of the Treasury.

No other conclusion can be drawn as to Secretary Shaw's move in the matter of gold imports. Had it not been for certain remarkable events which swiftly followed and which reversed immediately the movement of exchange, it is altogether probable that the gold importations which were effected as a consequence of the Treasury facilities would have come abruptly to a close. During the three or four days when the markets were

in ignorance of the Treasurer's new action, something like \$6,000,000 in gold was obtained in Europe. The instant it was known, through Mr. Shaw's announcement, that the gold point had been altered, foreign exchange advanced to a point far above the level where gold could be imported even with the cost of interest in transit removed. Such was the situation in the middle of April, when another event occurred, destined to influence profoundly all the finances of the season.

On Wednesday, April 18, the news of the San Francisco earthquake arrived at the opening of all the markets. The destruction of San Francisco was not accomplished by the earthquake alone, nor in a single day, and at the start financial markets were inclined to minimize the results of the catastrophe. Toward the end of the week, however, the conviction grew rapidly that a serious blow at the prosperity of one section of the country had been dealt, and that the consequences of the disaster on the money market could not easily be measured. In the presence of a new and wholly unfamiliar occurrence of this sort, markets are usually reluctant to draw conclusions; it was not, therefore, until the tangible bearing of the event on bank reserves came into view, through the shipment of currency in large quantities to San Francisco, that the immediate significance of the event began to be appreciated. It will now be interesting to examine into the question of what the destruction of San Francisco really means to the financial prospect — a question by no means settled in the financial mind even yet.

It may be said that there are two lines of argument applied to this question. On the one hand, the natural contention is made that \$150,000,000 or more of capital has been absolutely destroyed; that the loss must be made up by drawing on reserves of capital elsewhere; and that, therefore, there necessarily must be less capital to use for other purposes. That a situation of this sort should have occurred when available supplies of capital in this country were already manifestly inadequate for the demands that were pressing on them aggravated the force of this argument. On the other hand, it was answered, and it must be said that the answer is repeated in many quarters where one would not expect it, that the destruction of so huge an amount of property, which must be promptly replaced, creates a new demand both for labor and for the products of industry. The point was made that the building trade in particular, and, in general, all trades connected with the building industry, would necessarily receive a stimulus and be helped in the securing of profits. The laborer must similarly benefit both in San Francisco itself and in the trades on which the new demand falls. As for the question of drawing on supplies of capital needed elsewhere, it was further argued that the bulk of the loss

incurred at San Francisco would be made good from the reserves of fire insurance companies, and that a very great part of this indemnity — perhaps one-half — would come from foreign markets. As for the waste of capital involved in the destruction of San Francisco buildings, the argument was occasionally heard that, without either earthquake or fire, New York City, for example, is perpetually engaged in tearing down buildings which have been in steady use and of great value, merely to replace them with other buildings which are larger. The waste is not so sudden in this case as in the case of San Francisco, but waste, none the less, exists.

I have stated fairly these two sides of the argument, because there is at least some basis of truth in each. There can, however, be little dispute that the view is correct which assumes outright that destruction of capital is in itself a bad thing, and that wholesale destruction involves a loss and a strain, greater or less, on the world's markets as a whole. The argument that the destruction of San Francisco will cause a business boom through the new demand brought into producing industries merely repeats another still more familiar argument, that war is a good thing industrially for the same reason — that it converges on certain industries a great demand, which increases because of the fact that the products in question are largely destined for building purposes. But the argument of war, as an economic blessing, has not only always been held in just contempt by serious reasoners, but has been visibly exploded by the results of the Boer war and the war between Russia and Japan. In regard to the case last mentioned, European markets are still straitened by the huge demands thrown on them in connection with that struggle, and the English market has not yet recovered from its own waste of capital during the Transvaal contest.

The analogy is fair with San Francisco. But it is not necessary to trust to analogy. We have only to inquire, first, what has actually happened in a financial way since the situation on the Pacific Coast became clearly known, and compare it with what happened in such an interesting parallel situation as the Chicago fire in 1871. That calamity, which occurred on October 8, came on a situation much resembling that which existed on the arrival of the San Francisco news. There had been a famous boom in trade; there was widespread liquidation; bank reserves in New York had been brought so low that the surplus was almost extinguished, and the interior was still drawing currency from New York. On this situation came the Chicago news, showing property losses of probably \$200,000,000, offset by insurance liabilities somewhat exceeding \$88,000,000. These figures meant more to the country at that time than they would mean to-day. The Chicago fire was followed by postponement of business by the banks until the chaos could be at least temporarily modified; and in this interval very large amounts of currency were shipped from the New York banks, these shipments causing

heavy reduction of Eastern loans and a violent fall in prices on the Stock Exchange. Thus far it was apparent that the strain was being felt acutely. Yet it is rather a striking fact that within a month currency began to come back from Chicago to New York, the banks having then resumed payments to depositors; and before the year was over the enormous boom which had spread over the country in 1871 seemed to be resumed with redoubled force, leading to the famous climax of speculation which occurred in 1872. The inference, then, so far as one case may be taken as typical, was that Chicago's disaster affected financial markets severely but only temporarily. The difficulty in full application of this argument lies in the fact that 1872 pursued its activities in the face of excessive and abnormal money stringency, and that 1873 brought a terrific reckoning.

With this Chicago precedent in mind, let us see exactly what has happened since the San Francisco incident. I have said already that the shipments of currency to San Francisco soon rose to large amounts. They were needed obviously to guard the situation when the banks should reopen for business, which they did not do until near the end of May. Before the fire, the \$40,000,000 individual bank deposits and the \$150,000,000, or thereabouts, of savings-bank deposits in San Francisco were guarded as amply as the similar liabilities in any other city. Clearly, however, when credit had been demoralized by the destruction of the city, when people with substantial bank deposits had been living for weeks either on the loans of friends and neighbors, or on virtually the public charity, there was a chance that the reopening of the banks would be followed by a general rush of depositors to get their own money into their hands. How large such demands would be it was impossible to foreshadow; the case was too exceptional. But, obviously, good judgment dictated that the banks should protect themselves in advance against all possible emergency. They, therefore, called for remittances of their Eastern balances, and in addition borrowed in Eastern markets to procure additional currency remittances. By the middle of May these shipments of currency from the East had reached the imposing sum of \$40,000,000.

The Eastern markets naturally could not have faced with equanimity such demands on their reserves, coming at the moment when those reserves had proved to be inadequate for immediate needs. It was here, however, that the foreign exchange market showed its real possibilities. I have shown already that the gold-import-facility expedient of Secretary Shaw had apparently reached the limit of its effect just before the San Francisco news came on the markets. That news, however, created a wholly different situation. In the first place, it was at once ascertained that English fire insurance companies would be called upon for indemnity payments to the stricken city, amounting in all, probably, to something between \$40,-

000,000 and \$50,000,000. Within a month or two all of this sum would have to be remitted through New York to San Francisco. In anticipation of these large and known remittances, bankers at once sold exchange in New York City. The market fell so far under this new and legitimate pressure that the gold-import point was promptly reached again, and gold to the extent of \$45,000,000 obtained for New York from the London and Paris markets.

This, then, was the singular situation created in the money market by the San Francisco fire. The Eastern markets had sent, say, \$40,000,000 of their reserves to the Pacific Coast and had almost exactly replaced that loss by gold drawn from Europe. To this extent it might have been supposed that the general market situation would have remained unchanged. There were several reasons, however, why this could not be. In the first place, the unsettlement of so great a disaster had very naturally affected public confidence; in the second place, it was evident that the very payment of these insurance indemnities would involve the selling by the fire-insurance companies of the securities owned by them, or else would necessitate their withdrawal from the general money market of the funds loaned out for their account.

In either case a strain would be put upon both home and foreign money markets. The bank situation could not well have remained unchanged through the mere substitution of European gold for the currency sent to San Francisco. The result was, first, a gradual weakening on the New York Stock Exchange, followed by a break of such violence as to cancel the greater part of the gains made in stocks during the preceding winter. Through this decline and the resultant liquidation of speculative loans by the Stock Exchange, bank liabilities were enormously reduced. At the same time, Wall Street resorted largely to the English and French markets, where large sums were borrowed at rates inviting to the Londoner, and as a consequence, the burden of liabilities was to a still larger extent shifted from New York to Europe.

The net result was an easy money market.. In the closing weeks of May, money on call went at three per cent as against the thirty-per-cent rate existing in the opening week of April; and time loans, which during most of the year had held firmly around the six-per-cent rate, declined below four and a half per cent. As to the bearing of these complicated movements on the immediate future, that may be said to depend on several influences whose operation cannot be confidently predicted. In the first place, the question is, what is to happen with the currency sent to San Francisco? There is no reason to suppose that when the banking business is again quietly in progress, and, to a greater or less extent, normal conditions have

returned, this huge mass of emergency currency will be retained. Sooner or later it will flow out again to the markets where the need of it, either for bank reserves or for the medium of exchange, is greater. Under ordinary circumstances, this would mean that New York itself would get back the bulk of the currency sent to San Francisco, and some of it has already returned at this writing. The doubt of the present arises from the question how far the money markets of the Middle West will have occasion themselves to use the cash released from the Pacific Coast.

This question becomes very interesting from the fact that at the close of May money rates in New York were substantially below the rates prevailing in the West — the difference in both call and time loans running from one to two per cent. A second question arising in the same connection is to what extent the gold sent by Europe could be retained in New York City if the comparatively easy money rates of May were to continue. This is a question which in turn depends very largely on the developments in Europe itself, which must now be noticed.

The action of the European money markets during the past three months has been such as to make extremely difficult any sure judgment of the situation. Like our own banks, the great banks of Europe largely decreased their reserves in the earlier months of the year, and on April 5 the Bank of England, whose rate is an index to the general foreign situation, reduced that rate from four to three and a half per cent, thus fixing a lower figure than it maintained at the corresponding date in 1904, 1903, 1901, or 1900. At the same time the weekly statement of the English bank showed a ratio of reserves to liabilities stronger than that of the opening week of April in any of the past eight years except 1905. It was figured out, at the opening of the quarter which we have under review, that the nine great national banks of Europe showed an increase of gold holdings, as compared with the last week of December, amounting to no less than \$123,000,000. This looked like exceptional strength; but the comparison with the opening of April a year ago did not show up so favorably. It is true that the banks of France and Italy had increased, as compared with April, 1905, about \$30,000,000 apiece, and that several smaller institutions had also made gains. But against this stood the fact that the Bank of England held in actual gold \$6,500,000 less than the year before, while decreases were also shown of \$20,700,000 at the Bank of Germany, \$70,000,000 at the Bank of Russia, and \$10,500,000 at the Bank of Austria. The net decrease for all these institutions, compared with 1905, was very nearly \$43,000,000.

This was not on its face a particularly favorable showing when it was recalled how severe was the strain imposed on these same money markets

by the active trade movement in the latter part of 1905. But, on the other hand, the comparison just given was somewhat misleading from the fact that, but for the \$70,000,000 decrease in the gold held by the Bank of Russia, the showing of the banks as a whole would have been better than last year's. The Bank of Russia is not a lender on other markets, and its gold reserve is merely held against outstanding notes; therefore the decrease there was of no particular consequence to the rest of Europe. After all allowances were made, however, the figures showed that, generally speaking, the position of the foreign banks was little, if any, stronger than a year before, and that the English and German markets were distinctly weaker. The French market alone showed a positive increase in financial resources, and in that it undoubtedly reflected the situation of the Paris market. This point should be kept in mind because of the highly important *rôle* which the French market assumed in the later transactions of the past few months.

Notwithstanding this powerful position of the French bank, and the continued easy money on the Paris market, there were few signs at the opening of the past few months that Paris would give relief to other markets. For the tenacity with which that market held to its own capital, there were advanced a number of explanations. The first had to do with the dispute between France and Germany over the irritating Morocco question. This quarrel, if it may so be called, was never taken seriously in political circles, and the somewhat blustering tone assumed by Germany was regarded solely as part of a diplomatic programme. It so turned out to be, when the definite declaration by the Russian delegates at Algeciras, that they would support the main contention of France, led to retreat by Germany from her original ultimatum. But while the dispute continued, the habitual caution of French financiers led them to turn a deaf ear to all propositions for engagements of capital. It is the habit of that market to refer to the famous precedent of the Franco-Prussian War, when the international dispute was not considered seriously on the markets until within two weeks of the actual outbreak of hostilities.

It was predicted freely in the European markets that, with the Morocco question settled, French capital would be placed at the disposal of outside borrowers. But hardly had the German dispute disappeared from the financial scene, when the question of a Russian loan appeared. This loan was regarded as an imperative necessity. During the whole period since the St. Petersburg riots, at the opening of 1905, Russia had only been able to obtain the money requisite for her government through short-term loans. These loans were now approaching maturity, and it was questionable whether they could be extended on the same terms. At the same time, the

Russian Finance Department had been obliged to face an enormous deficit in public revenue, for which provision must be immediately made if the Government were to continue to pay its maturing bills.

At the start it was expected that \$250,000,000 would provide for all the needs of the Russian Government; but it soon appeared that this sum was quite inadequate. After the Algeciras settlement, negotiations between the French and Russian bankers proceeded rapidly, and, toward the close of April, formal announcement was made that a loan for no less than \$440,000,000 would be floated. It was originally planned that this loan should be distributed between France, Switzerland, Belgium, England, Holland, Germany, and the United States; and the terms announced were a price of eighty-nine for a five-per-cent loan with fifty years to run, and without the right to redeem or convert until ten years had expired. It will be seen at once that this bid for money was much higher than any made in the recent money markets by Russia or by any other government. It was, in fact, contended that the interest yield was higher than that obtained from any loan issued by any European government, except in time of war, for a generation past. The inducement for subscriptions — always supposing the solvency of Russia to be assured — was, therefore, very great; yet the first discovery of the negotiators was that they could rely on neither Germany nor the United States.

Partial assent had been made by New York financiers to the proposition that \$50,000,000 of the Russian loan should be floated in New York; but the thirty-per-cent money market at the opening of April, and the peculiar position in which the life insurance companies, the general subscribers to a Russian loan, now found themselves, put an end abruptly to the negotiations. Germany, it had been calculated, would take between \$50,000,000 and 100,000,000; but she refused to subscribe at all, and the refusal was at once put down to political resentment. The theory was that Germany, having provided funds for Russia during the earlier months of 1905, when the Government was in straits and the Paris bankers closed their doors against it, had reckoned with confidence on the support of Russia for its pretensions in the Morocco conference. This expectation had been unpleasantly upset; and the Government, therefore, was determined that no help should be granted to the ungrateful neighbor through the issue of German capital. Whether this theory was correct or not, it is certain that the German bankers would have taken a portion of the loan but for the positive throwing of the Government's influence against it. Naturally, the political argument was not publicly advanced. It was stated, on the contrary, that the impending issue of some large government loans in Berlin itself made it unwise to crowd the market by Russia's loan subscription.

For a time this loss of two subscribing markets caused some apprehen-

sion as to the ultimate success of the loan. It was found, however, that these absentees could be replaced. On the final distribution of the \$440,000,000 issue, France, Belgium, and Switzerland took \$240,000,000, London \$66,000,000, Vienna \$33,000,000, Amsterdam \$11,000,000, and St. Petersburg itself no less than \$100,000,000. This subscription by St. Petersburg was taken with very considerable skepticism in the financial community, where it is not yet seriously believed that sufficient resources exist in the Russian capital to make possible such a money payment. It was recalled that when an effort was made a year ago to place only \$50,000,000 on the Russian market, the savings banks had to be practically forced by pressure from the government to take the bonds, and the interest rate paid to depositors had to be raised to attract the necessary funds.

Of Vienna, too, the general comment was that the large subscription to the Russian loan was either mere pretense, or else was used as a means of granting indirect opportunities to the German bankers to subscribe. The loan flotation was announced, however, as an entire success. In London it was moderately over-subscribed; at Paris applications were so large that in some cases only one per cent of the amount applied for by investors was allotted. Every one knows that over-subscriptions of this sort are often fictitious in their nature. But, in the case of Paris, there can be no doubt that the high rate offered by the Russian government, and the strong endorsement of the loan by the Paris credit institutions, brought about so great a tying up of capital for the purpose of the subscription that, in the end, the actual allotment of the loan, instead of tightening the money markets, actually relieved them.

This was no matter of mere general inference; for the instant the Russian loan had been provided for, markets began to hear of loans by Paris to the other money centres. Beginning in a comparatively small way, this movement increased until, at the time of the San Francisco disaster, French capital and French gold were freely placed at the service of the London market to make good the loss sustained by the shipments to America; and toward the close of May announcement was made that American securities in considerable quantity had been actually placed in Paris. Twelve million dollars short-term bonds of New York City had been placed in that market without difficulty; and later a \$50,000,000 short-term bond of the Pennsylvania Railroad was similarly taken. It was not unnatural that so novel an announcement should have encouraged the feeling that the Paris market in its present strong position would be able to relieve the necessities of New York.

The test of the capacity and willingness of Paris to do this service to American finance will provide an interesting spectacle during the balance of the year. It is not safe to accept at once the theory that Paris will do

this, or the theory that it will not. The French market and the French investor are in many ways peculiar. The Stock Exchange market itself is surrounded by restrictions such as exist on no other financial market — among which is the requirement of a tax on foreign securities introduced into France, a tax so heavy that the cost of such promotion frequently renders the subsequent sale unremunerative. It was this heavy tax which obstructed the effort seriously undertaken during 1901 to place the United States Steel Corporation shares on the Paris Bourse.

On the other hand, a somewhat new device in French finance has been introduced within the past twelve months. It consists in the formation of large banking companies who sell their own stock to French investors under the privileges and immunities of a domestic issue, and then invest the proceeds in such outside securities as American bonds, which thus may find a market without recourse to the Paris Stock Exchange. How far this movement will extend, to what extent it may take the form of virtual absorption of our securities by the French investor, is thus far largely a matter of experiment. What must be admitted at the start is that the temper of the French investor, thus far, has indicated that he will not allow his money to go abroad unless special inducements are offered. Such inducements would not have been offered by our outstanding securities at prices quoted on the New York Stock Exchange during most of the spring.

As against this consideration, there can be no doubt that Paris was a large lender of money in New York on short-term borrowings of our bankers during the past three months. This, however, is nothing new; it merely repeats the experience of 1900 and 1901. The debt thus created is a floating debt which may be peremptorily called in at maturity, even though its payment at that time might be highly inconvenient to the borrower. The existence of an exceptionally large floating debt of this sort standing against us just now on Europe's markets explains the keen anxiety which bankers have displayed to sell on those foreign markets such amounts of long-term investment issues as would practically provide for the taking up of these short-term borrowings without remittances of capital from America.

The financial markets, then, approach the second half of 1906 in a position which perplexes the most experienced observers. Prosperity in every branch of American industry seems to be fairly at the high notch; and the reality of this prosperity is cordially recognized by Europe, which, during the past four years, has been for the most part a sceptical observer. That American industry is extremely profitable, and that American wealth is accumulating at an amazingly rapid rate, are two propositions which

scarcely admit of question or denial. As to how far our markets, in their enthusiasm to discount so favorable a situation, have extended themselves beyond the capacity even of the present situation to sustain the burden comfortably is a different question. Beyond all these matters of general application stands the problem of the summer and autumn money markets. Last December, last February, and as recently as the first week of last April, the New York money market gave emphatic warnings as to what might be expected in the money market of the autumn. Such a series of warnings rarely occurs without cumulative meaning. Unless the situation has been radically altered, and for the better, by the San Francisco fire, then it would be only wise to look with great caution to the finances of the later months. There still remain to be seen, however, first, what the actual effect of the San Francisco losses will be on American finance in general; secondly, where the great mass of currency sent to the Pacific Coast will go when it moves away from that market; and, thirdly, what the attitude of financial Europe later in the year will be toward the New York markets.

ALEXANDER D. NOYES.

APPLIED SCIENCE.

IN the engineering world, as indeed in nearly all departments of industry, the catastrophe which resulted in the destruction of the greater part of the city of San Francisco forms the salient feature of the past three months. Leaving to others the discussion of the sociological features of the earthquake and its consequent fire, we may here consider, as within the domain of applied science, some of the lessons which the disaster has taught in connection with building construction and fire protection, as well as some of the elements to be considered in the reconstruction of the ruined city.

Briefly, the earthquake shocks which visited the city of San Francisco in the early morning of April 18 produced considerable direct damage by dislocating buildings of inferior and ordinary construction, and caused immense secondary damage by the rupture of gas-mains and consequent conflagration, and by the interruption of the water supply by which alone the fire might have been controlled. Here are involved a number of engineering problems which may be considered entirely apart from the original earth-tremors to which they owed their origin. Thus, in the reconstruction of the wrecked city, there is to be considered not only the capacity of structures to resist earth-vibrations, but also questions of fire-proofing, lighting, and water supply, according to the latest acquirements of applied science, which, in itself, also includes the provision of these essential elements at a minimum of cost.

So far as stability goes, there is no question as to the capacity of the modern structural steel building to resist earthquake shocks; and so far as commercial and industrial buildings are concerned, the steel-cage construction, including such special care as to bracing and foundations as are naturally indicated under the circumstances, is the only form which should be permitted. For buildings of moderate size — the ordinary shops, dwellings, and similar structures — there exists, fortunately, another available system, one which has already been mentioned in other connections in these reviews, namely, that of reinforced concrete. The use of an embedded metallic network within a mass of concrete combines the elements of strength, elasticity, resistance to fire, moderate first cost, and capability for construction by unskilled labor, indicating that the method is applica-

ble above all others for the reconstruction of practically all parts of San Francisco where the steel-cage building is admissible.

While the general observance of fire-proof construction itself will go a long way toward the prevention of future conflagrations, it should be possible to remove almost entirely the danger of simultaneous fires following an earthquake by the substitution of electric lighting for gas. In this way the danger due to the escape of a combustible would be removed, and the worst which might be expected would be a temporary interruption in lighting. The water-supply question is more difficult; but it appears that the rupture of water mains may be prevented to a great extent by the provision of substantial foundations to the mains, an undertaking in which reinforced concrete again appears to offer valuable possibilities.

Altogether, the engineering problems connected with the rebuilding of San Francisco appear to be capable of entirely successful solutions, both from technical and commercial view-points; and it is possible that the results may not be without their influence in other parts of the world.

It seems to be characteristic of the past few months that engineering work has had to deal with disasters. Scarcely secondary to the catastrophe at San Francisco comes the disaster at the Courrières mine, in the Lens district, France, in which many lives were lost and great damage was wrought. While this event has caused severe criticism of the administration of the particular colliery in question, it has also brought out information concerning the developments of the past few years in connection with the prevention of disasters in mines, and for the rescue work following such occurrences. Almost immediately after the announcement of the explosion and fire at the Courrières mine came the news of the voluntary offer of the Westphalian miners to enter the shafts and workings, using the improved respirating appliances which, in their perfected form, enable the wearer to work in an unbreathable atmosphere for hours at a time. Although the conditions were such that rescue work was especially difficult, the respirators were entirely successful in their operation; and such appliances should certainly be available for immediate use in connection with all collieries in which explosions are possible. Briefly, the apparatus, originally due to Fleuss, in England, but perfected in Germany, utilizes the same body of air over and over again, the exhaled carbonic acid being absorbed by a caustic alkali, while the oxygen is replaced from a compressed supply of the pure gas, carried in a small cylinder.

The disaster at Courrières, so far as can be ascertained, was a combination of fire with gas and dust explosions. It is believed that a fire, probably not uncontrollable in itself, reached a mass of fire-damp accumulated in the older and unused workings, and that the consequent explosion threw

up great volumes of coal dust, which, forming an explosive mixture with the air and rapidly burning, evolved large volumes of poisonous carbonic oxide. The ventilating system of the mine included the suction of air up one shaft, creating a downward current in another shaft. The explosions so deranged the system of directing partitions in the mine that the suffocating gases were drawn through the entire system of workings.

In order that such an event may be impossible of repetition, it only appears to be necessary to employ methods and appliances already well known and available. In the first place, it should be impossible for ignition of mine gases to take place. Modern safety lamps can be made so that an effective light is given without the possibility of igniting an external atmosphere of explosive or combustible gas. The temptation to force an extinguished lamp open in order to relight it on the spot, instead of returning to the lamp station, is met by the provision of internal relighting primers, operated from without, while the lamp remains securely closed. The arrangement of electric machinery for use in mines has been most thoroughly studied, and experimental tests of electric motors, switches, cut-outs, fuses, and the like, in closed chambers filled with actual fire-damp drawn from the mine, have demonstrated the necessity for enclosing all such appliances in safety casings. By using precautions which have been clearly enough indicated, it is entirely possible to prevent the ignition either of combustible gases or of dust-laden air. The dust may be kept laid, and induced to cake, by judicious sprinkling, and there is every reason to believe that a conscientious observance of well-known precautions is all that is required to render such disasters as that at Courrières impossible.

Notice has already been taken in these reviews of the agitation in Great Britain toward the better conservation of the coal supplies upon which the prosperity of the Empire so much depends. More than a year ago a Royal Commission reported upon the probable duration of the existing available coal resources of the United Kingdom, assuming the practical working depth of the pits as 4,000 feet. The result showed a probable duration of about 200 years, while indicating at the same time a gradual increase in the cost of coal as the shallower and better workings became exhausted. A portion of the report of the Commission related to the extent to which the introduction of more economical methods of using fuel might aid in extending the duration of British coal supplies, and this feature of the question appears to be attracting thoughtful attention.

It has been shown that of the total coal consumption in Great Britain about one-half is used for the generation of mechanical power, while three-tenths is consumed in other industrial purposes, and one-fifth for domestic uses. The largest item, that of power production, is also one including

great wastes; and it has been clearly shown that at least one-half of this consumption might be saved, both by the substitution of the most economical steam engines for the small and wasteful machines so generally used, and, better still, by the use of gas engines in place of the less efficient steam engine and boiler. It has been suggested long ago that a great advantage would result from the conversion of coal to gas at the mines, the gaseous fuel being piped to the cities and other points of application, as far as necessary. To this plan there has been added another modification, which seems not unreasonable. By producing the gas at the mines, and compressing it to six or eight atmospheres on the spot, it can be used to transmit power directly, in the same manner as is already done in Paris and elsewhere with compressed air. After having been used to drive compressed-air motors, the gas, still retaining its full calorific value, can be delivered into holders, ready as fuel for gas engines or for domestic consumption. The idea is really to utilize the elastic force of the delivered gas to recover a portion of the energy required for its initial compression, thus making it, at one and the same time, a medium for the transmission of mechanical energy, cheaply generated at the mines, and also a source of supply of clean and efficient fuel thereafter.

There is no doubt that the life of the coal supplies of Great Britain might be very materially prolonged by the general introduction of gas for steam power, and it is quite possible that some such incentive may be necessary to effect the change from the older to the more modern and scientific method of power generation.

In the generation of power from heat by means of steam, there are two principles utilized: the expansive force of the steam itself, and the pressure of the atmosphere obtainable by the condensation of the exhaust steam, producing a vacuum, and thus relieving the back pressure otherwise existing. In the early development of the steam engine, by far the greater proportion of the power produced was derived from the vacuum; but with the advent of higher steam pressures made possible by improvements in boiler design and materials, the vacuum has taken a secondary position, and in many instances the condenser has been altogether omitted and the exhaust steam allowed to discharge directly into the atmosphere.

With the development of the steam turbine, however, it has been shown that the attainment of a high efficiency is largely dependent upon the maintenance of a good vacuum, so that there has naturally followed a reinvestigation of the scientific questions included in the efficient condensation of steam and the maintenance of the lowest possible pressure in the condenser. The result has been some remarkable improvements in the appa-

ratus used for the condensation of steam, especially in connection with the so-called surface condenser, in which the exhaust steam is delivered into a chamber in which are fitted a great number of tubes through which cold water is kept flowing. By observing a few ordinary laws, and without any material change in principle or construction, the efficiency of such condensers has been doubled or trebled so far as dimensions and quantity of water are concerned, while at the same time a better vacuum is maintained.

Thus, experiments by Prof. Weighton, made at the Armstrong College at Newcastle-on-Tyne, have shown that by the division of a surface condenser into a number of parts, draining the water produced by the condensed steam from each section as soon as it forms, the tubes are freed from the surrounding water to such an extent as to render their cooling action far more efficient. With a surface condenser of the old type, the rate of condensation was found to be about ten pounds of steam per square foot of tube cooling surface per hour; while the mere improvement in drainage, combined with a better distribution of the cooling surface and condensing water, gave a rate of twenty pounds of steam condensed per square foot per hour. This result was accomplished with a condenser one-half the size of the old form, and with a consumption of but one-half the amount of cooling water. The importance of these results will be appreciated when it is remembered that such surface condensers form an important portion of every marine engine, and that they are now installed in practically all the large steam-power electric stations.

I have referred more than once in these reviews to the growing importance of the engineer in economic and commercial matters, and this side of the application of science to daily life is becoming continually more apparent. An important department of engineering, closely related to commercial affairs, is found in the work of the telephone engineer, a department of applied science of comparatively recent growth. The old idea of the telephone engineer was what might be termed a "switchboard man"; but the scope of his work has now acquired a far wider significance. Naturally, the technical departments of telephone engineering relate to line construction, the arrangement of exchanges, and the general details of construction work; but beyond these, and usually long before they are reached, comes the preparation of plans for the entire occupation of a given territory, including the extent and distribution of the service, provision for future work, and entire operative conditions for a period of years ahead. To this must be added the exercise of judgment as to possible changes in the art and the construction of the entire mechanism of the system, bearing in mind the fact that a system once put into operation must be maintained at its full working efficiency continually, such a thing as interruption of

service not being considered in any case short of entire destruction of the plant. In the modern telephone system there has grown up a relation between the engineering and the business departments which is probably closer than exists in any other department of industrial activity, and this by reason of the insistent demands of the commercial side of an undertaking based wholly upon a scientific discovery in the laboratory.

Although there has been continual progress of late in the development of electric traction for main-line railway service, this fact does not seem to have retarded the growth of the steam locomotive. The results of the trials made on the testing plant of the Pennsylvania Railroad at St. Louis, as already noted in *THE FORUM*, have shown that the modern steam locomotive is a machine of excellent efficiency; and it seems to be generally conceded that, whatever progress may be made in the near future in electric traction for passenger service, the steam locomotive will continue to be used for many years for long distance hauls for heavy freight trains. Under such conditions, and with the well-demonstrated commercial economy of the heavy train load, it is easy to see good reasons for the increase in weight and power of freight locomotives during the past few years. As long ago as 1888, Mr. M. N. Forney stated it to be his belief that by 1918 the passenger locomotive would attain a weight of 200,000 pounds. The fact shows that engines of 230,000 pounds weight have already come into service. Mr. Forsyth said, in 1900, that freight locomotives of 311,000 pounds weight would be built by 1905. As a matter of fact, the Mallet articulated compound locomotive shown at St. Louis weighed 334,000 pounds. The large freight locomotive of to-day has a tractive power nearly seventy per cent greater than that of the engine of ten years ago, and the train loads have increased in about the same proportion. In general, it may be said that within the past ten years the train-load has been fully doubled, while the ton-mile cost has lessened to about two-thirds of what it was at the beginning of the same period. This increase in the total weight of trains, together with the great increase in the concentrated weights on driving wheels, has necessitated the strengthening, and even the reconstruction, of many bridges and viaducts. The great increase in the amount of capital invested in these large engines has rendered it essential that these costly machines be idle as little as possible, and worked up to their full earning capacity for the maximum proportion of the time.

Not so very long ago, one of the strongest arguments advanced against the introduction of electric traction in main-line service was the statement as to the value of the investment already tied up in steam locomotives, and the impracticability of scrapping such a mass of valuable machinery within

a short time. It now appears, however, that even with the continuance of steam traction the developments in locomotive construction are such that the machines must earn their retirement in a few years, since they are certain to become obsolete long before they are worn out, or if not entirely obsolete, at least unfitted to render the highly efficient service demanded by modern traffic conditions.

For some time experiments have been conducted in Switzerland upon the use of continuous electrical currents of high voltage for the long-distance transmission of power, and the later results have much in them of interest. Until recently it was assumed that the only way in which the necessary high voltage, or electrical pressure, for economical long-distance transmissions could be secured was to use the alternating current, this permitting the employment of transformers both for raising the pressure at the one end of the line and lowering it again at the other; the high voltages, 40,000, 60,000, or even 80,000 volts, being used only on the line wire.

The Swiss experiments on the St. Maurice-Lausanne line demonstrated that a pressure of 20,000 volts was practicable with the direct current; and, in consequence, the "Compagnie de l'Industrie Electrique," of Geneva, is carrying the investigations still further. By running three 20,000 volt direct-current dynamos in series, or tandem, as the general observer might call it, pressures of 60,000 volts are obtained; and the success which attended the preliminary trials has led to the installation of this system upon the Moutiers-Lyons line, 108 miles in length, the working of which will soon demonstrate the practical operation of the plan.

Among the advantages of the direct current will be found the minimizing of induction effects, rendering the use of underground cables possible; while for over-head lines some of the insulation difficulties are expected to be materially reduced. Should the results on the Moutiers-Lyons line prove commercially satisfactory, it is believed that pressures as high as 100,000 volts may be tried with the direct current, and experiments to that end are already under way.

Effort in automobile construction and improvement is gradually being diverted from the freak racing machine to the more rational commercial vehicle and to the road carriage for reasonable highway travel. Builders and designers appear to have realized that machines intended solely for the maintenance of excessively high speeds during limited periods of time do not aid in the determination of points of structural value for the general vehicle. In consequence, the automobile clubs both in England and America are following the lead of the Automobile Club of France in instituting

various practical endurance trials, thus securing available working data for the improvement of the self-propelled vehicle of every type.

Thus, the so-called "two-gallon" test, conducted recently by the Automobile Club of America, gave valuable information upon the effective energy obtainable from the amount of fuel readily carried by the ordinary road vehicle. Such a trial has the merit of both simplicity and accuracy. By the mere operation of measuring out to each of the contestants the standard quantity of fuel, and then noting the place on the route where the exhaustion of the fuel supply compelled the stop, the control was reduced to its simplest elements. The result showed that two gallons of gasoline sufficed to operate vehicles carrying two passengers for a distance of nearly 100 miles on ordinary roads, a fact which was previously considered altogether doubtful or uncertain. It must be remembered, however, that the fuel is but one element, and possibly not the controlling element, in the running cost of automobiles. Future trials might well include the wear and tear on tires, and general repair work necessary after a run, and thus lead to possible detection of weak points in construction, material, or design.

One of the most fruitful departments in industrial automobilism during the past few months has been found in the introduction of the motor omnibus. Both in London and in Paris the self-propelled omnibus has been rapidly introduced, displacing the former horse-drawn vehicle to such an extent as to change the appearance of the street traffic very materially. At the present time, there are nearly 300 motor omnibuses running in London, with orders in for 1,000 more, while in Paris, notwithstanding the handicap inflicted by reason of the double tax of the *douane* and the *octroi* upon gasoline, the General Omnibus Company is rapidly equipping its service with machines.

Of course, it cannot be expected that the motor omnibus can compete in point of cheapness or capacity with the electric street railway. But there are many places into which the railway cannot penetrate, which are well served by the omnibus; and both in London and in Paris it is extremely doubtful if the surface railway can ever obtain access as it has done in many American cities. Under such conditions, the surface transport may well be supplied by the motor omnibus, leaving the transportation of passengers in bulk to be effected by underground electric railways, as is already done in both the European capitals.

There is little doubt that the passage of the bill relieving alcohol from the heavy revenue tax in the United States will prove a powerful incentive to the development of internal-combustion motors for all purposes. It has long been foreseen that the supply of gasoline, itself a by-product of the

petroleum refining industry, must prove inadequate to meet the demand for a volatile liquid fuel, suitable for use in the engines of automobiles, motor boats, and the like. At the same time, there is available for conversion into alcohol such a variety of material as to render the amount produced dependent mainly upon the demand. As is well known, alcohol suitable in every way for liquid fuel of the highest class can be produced very cheaply from all kinds of vegetable matter — from corn, from beet-sugar refuse, and by the Classen process from ordinary sawdust, that bulky waste product of so many mills all over the country. The new industries which must naturally follow the liberation of this new source of energy can readily be imagined. Even at the present time there are nearly 5,000 internal-combustion motors in Germany alone using alcohol fuel, not including automobiles, while the possibilities in the United States are infinitely greater.

The motor boat is generally assumed to be a small high-speed vessel, equipped with an automobile engine, and operated mainly as a pleasure craft. The application of the combustion motor to larger vessels, however, is making steady progress, and there is every reason to expect that for many purposes the gas-propelled boat will become a standard vessel of commercial transport. Especially since the development of the suction gas-power plant has the applicability of this form of motor to marine propulsion been developed. A pioneer in this department of engineering work is Herr Capitaine, who has effected some practical results in Germany which show the high efficiency and economy of the system very clearly. The early gas-power boats were of small dimensions, but made the fair speed of ten knots with good economy. More recently there has been conducted a comparative test of much interest. A gas-propelled boat, forty-four feet three inches long, by ten feet six inches beam, with engines of seventy horse-power, was run from Hamburg to Kiel and back, accompanied by a steamboat of the same dimensions and powering. The boats were driven at a speed of eight and five-tenths knots. But, while the steamship burned 1,820 pounds of steam coal, the gas-propelled craft required but 530 pounds of coal, or less than one-third the amount of fuel. There is now in operation on the Rhine, between Rotterdam and Cologne, a gas-driven barge of 200 tons displacement; and plans have been made for engines of over 1,000 horse-power, and cargo steamers of 7,000 tons displacement, with gas propulsion. Therefore, the system appears to be well past the experimental stage.

Much has been written of late about the desirability of protecting Niagara Falls from further diminution by the abstraction of water for the de-

velopment of hydraulic power. It is altogether possible that joint action may be taken by the governments of the United States and Canada to this end. The question is a large one, however, much larger than at first appears. To the casual observer, the control and protection of both banks of the river for some distance above and below the falls would seem to serve the purpose, it being the popular opinion that the falls themselves are the real source of hydraulic power. The actual source of hydraulic energy, however, exists in the mass of water stored in the upper lakes, and any way in which this can be tapped to a lower outlet will serve to develop power at the expense of the flow over the falls. At the present time, a portion of the water from Lake Erie passes out through the locks of the Welland canal, and it is quite possible that a large power plant might be there established, regardless of any control of the falls at Niagara.

A still more imminent draft upon the waters of the upper lakes for power appears in the construction of the power plant in connection with the Chicago drainage canal. This canal, as is well known, was constructed to reverse the direction of the current in the Chicago river, carrying its discharge for a distance of twenty-eight miles to the Desplaines River, which empties into the Illinois River, and thence into the Mississippi. The original draft of the drainage canal from Lake Michigan was 300,000 cubic feet of water per minute. It has been planned to double this flow in connection with the works designed to use this discharge for the generation of power. It has been computed that a head of thirty-two feet can be obtained at the end of the main canal; which, with the discharge of 600,000 cubic feet, will enable at least 27,000 horse-power to be obtained. Thus, the plant originally intended to prevent the waters of Lake Michigan from pollution by the sewage of the city of Chicago, and to enable that city to secure a pure supply of drinking-water from the lake, will enable a valuable source of hydraulic energy to be developed, and incidentally cause a diminution in the flow over the falls at Niagara.

The rapid development of the telephone in the United States of late is a matter of especial interest as shown in the statistics which have recently been made public. Thus, in 1905 there were in the United States 3,400,000 telephones, as against 1,486,000 in Europe. For 1902, the latest year for which the detailed statistics are available, it appears that each person in the United States used a telephone sixty-five times in the year, and that each telephone was used more than 2,000 times. The average revenue per message was one and seven-tenths cents, and the average cost one and one-tenth cents.

There is no doubt that the message-rate system, by which the revenue and the cost to the subscriber depends upon the number of calls, has been

a powerful incentive to the extension of the use of the telephone. The flat-rate system, requiring a fixed yearly price for an indefinite number of calls, gave no inducement to the company to improve the service, and resulted in the overcrowding of lines within a limited area. The message-rate system has put the companies on their mettle to increase the business by providing every possible facility to the customer, while at the same time the service is distributed over a wider area with a corresponding increase in efficiency.

Some time ago, I mentioned that, from the start, the Simplon tunnel was to be operated electrically. Although this statement was contradicted in some quarters, its accuracy has been borne out by the fact. On May 19 the tunnel was formally opened by the King of Italy, thus officially completing the great work commenced in the autumn of 1898. The event is being celebrated by an exposition, to continue during the summer, in the city of Milan, this exposition being appropriately devoted to methods of transportation and allied lines of engineering development.

The locomotives to be used at first for the Simplon traffic were originally constructed for the service of the Valtellina railway in Northern Italy, and are intended for three-phase electric current with a pressure of 3,000 volts. The new locomotives now under construction for regular use in the tunnel are also for three-phase current, and are to be of sixty-two tons weight and a maximum of 2,300 horse-power, divided between two motors, these engines being intended to traverse the twelve and one-fourth miles of tunnel in about twenty minutes. The difficulties at first experienced from the warmth and moisture in the tunnel are being rapidly overcome notwithstanding the alarmist statements to the contrary. All smoke, gases, and similar inconveniences will thus be avoided in the tunnel from the start, and it seems probable that the demonstrated advantages of electric traction for such service will lead to similar locomotives being demanded for the St. Gothard and the Mont Cenis routes, as well as for the numerous tunnels on the Italian railways.

The question as to the provision of adequate connections for the Simplon route, by the French railways, is still undecided. Until some effective action is taken in this respect, France must remain without the advantages to which she is properly entitled by the opening of the new route.

It is always difficult to predict the duration or limitations of any department of applied science. Many years ago water-power was supposed to have been definitely superseded by steam, except for certain favored localities in which the natural hydraulic power was so located as to permit the close and convenient building of mills and provision of transportation

facilities. Since the development of electrical transmission, however, it has been found possible to utilize water-powers in many locations altogether impracticable under the old conditions, and this has led to numerous improvements in the hydraulic machinery for such service. One of the demands especially required of any prime mover for the operation of electrical machinery is an effective method of speed control. With the improvements in water-power machinery there appears an interesting development of governors for securing uniform speed to the electric generators. In nearly every case the large water-powers used for the modern hydro-electric station are sufficiently constant in their flow as to be free from sudden fluctuations, so that the principal variation to be met by the governor is that due to changes in the load.

The principles of speed regulation for steam engines have been carefully worked out, and with such success that almost any desired degree of control may be secured. In the case of water-power the conditions are more difficult. The speed of a large wheel can be controlled only by opening or closing heavy gates, often under high pressures, and any change thus caused in the flow of the water has to overcome the inertia of a large mass of fluid, which, unlike steam, is both heavy and inelastic. The method naturally adopted is that of using auxiliary power to operate the gates through which the water flows, leaving to the governor, usually of the centrifugal fly-ball type, the lighter duty of controlling the operation of the auxiliary power by which the flow of water is increased or diminished. Many variations of this idea have been constructed, and the principal difficulty encountered is that of "over-running," as it has been termed, the speed being alternately too high and too low, causing an oscillation in the velocity which appears in the electric current produced by the dynamos which are driven by the wheels.

At a recent meeting of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, this question of the speed regulation of water-wheels was thought of sufficient importance to be made the subject of a symposium, papers being contributed by a number of engineers who have made a specialty of the matter. From this discussion it appears that the practical difficulties have gradually been overcome. Indeed, the modern water-wheel governor appears to have reached a degree of perfection which gives it qualities closely resembling reason in human beings. The mechanical details by which the combination of sensitiveness, power, and self-restraint have been provided in an inanimate piece of machinery cannot be described here without going too deeply into mechanical technology. It is sufficient to note that the result has been attained not by any sudden, brilliant stroke of inventive genius, according to the former conception of that term, but rather by the combination of the painstaking, systematic efforts of a num-

ber of independent engineers, extending over a long period of time, and involving the exercise of that kind of genius which has been described as an infinite capacity for taking pains.

Some months ago mention was made of the problems which had been encountered in Egypt in connection with the proposed extension of the irrigation works. The great dam at Assouan was made the object of critical investigation, both as to its present stability and to the possible danger to be incurred by giving to it the six metres additional height which is necessary to obtain the full benefit of the storage capacity for the Nile flood. The mathematical investigations of Atcherley and Pearson, showing that the full magnitude and distribution of the shearing stresses in the masonry had not been previously determined, still remain uncontroverted. This does not mean that the dam, in its present condition, is in any danger; but it may account for the absolute silence of Lord Cromer, in his recent report, concerning the raising of the dam to the height which was originally contemplated. As the work now stands, it acts merely as a regulator to the otherwise varying flow of the Nile; and Lord Cromer takes especial care to state that the Assouan dam and the barrage at Assiout must not be considered as means for bringing a large area of fresh land under cultivation. As a matter of fact, the dam supplies less than one-fourth of the water really necessary for the proper development of Egyptian agriculture; and, as Sir William Willcocks has very clearly pointed out, at least two of the three milliards of cubic metres of water necessary might readily be supplied by the utilization of the Wady Raiyan as a storage reservoir, in accordance with the well-known plans of Mr. Cope Whitehouse. This solution of the problem is persistently ignored by Lord Cromer at the present time, although it was formerly admitted by him to be of the greatest value.

Much work has been done in the construction of a solid masonry apron, downstream, of the dam sluices, in order to check the disintegration of the river-bed and possible undermining of foundations by the hydraulic scour of the discharge of water through the sluices. This scour was becoming a very serious matter, and the promptness with which it has been remedied shows how fully the danger was realized. Equally prompt action in the construction of the very moderate works needed to enable the natural storage reservoir to be utilized could not fail to be of the utmost value to Egypt.

Although there have been no material developments in aeronautical matters since our last review, there has appeared an increasing interest in all that pertains to aerial navigation. An example of that interest appears in the plan again to attempt to solve the secret of the North Pole by a voyage through the air. It is now nearly ten years since the ill-fated Andréé

left Spitzbergen, never again to be seen. But Andrée's balloon was but a drifting gas bag, while Mr. Wellman now proposes to make the attempt in a modern dirigible balloon, constructed according to the latest experiences of Santos-Dumont, Renard, Surcouf, Hervieu, and other experts. It is believed that by starting from North Spitzbergen, the journey can be made in about ten days, and that it may be possible to construct a machine capable of remaining in the air from twenty to twenty-five days. The expedition, which is planned under the auspices of a Chicago newspaper, is on a large scale, the estimated cost being \$250,000, and a staff of thirty-five men being required for the equipment. The general plans for the dirigible have been made by M. Louis Godard, the balloon being fifty metres in length, and sixteen metres at its greatest diameter. When inflated with hydrogen it will have a lifting power of more than 7,000 kilogrammes, or nearly 16,000 pounds. Two motors, one of fifty and one of twenty-five horse-power, are to be used, and since the art of gasoline-motor construction has reached a point where weights of seven and five-tenths pounds per horse-power are attainable, the motors will weigh less than 600 pounds. It is proposed to carry five men, and the whole scheme has every appearance of being worked out most carefully in detail. With the endorsement of such a body as the board of managers of the National Geographic Society, the expedition is given a scientific status which raises it distinctly above anything of the kind which has hitherto been attempted.

HENRY HARRISON SUPLEE.

THE DRAMA.

THERE are some materials for permanency in the record of the dramatic season of 1905-06, now at its close. It will be memorable, not only for its significant failures and for a success or two that may prove "epoch-making," but also on account of a number of adventitious circumstances, happenings, and developments destined to influence in important ways the future of the American stage. The immediate and substantial appreciation of such representative high-class plays as "Peter Pan," "The Girl of the Golden West," "The Lion and the Mouse," "The Squaw Man," "The Walls of Jericho," and "The Duel"; the enthusiastic welcome extended to the world's greatest living actress, Sarah Bernhardt; the fuller recognition accorded our own representative players, Mansfield, Sothern and Marlowe, and Mantell; the artistic object-lessons afforded by the performances of Paul Orleneff and his company of Russian artists; the crystallization of the long-talked-of ideas for a "National," or New, Theatre, into a practical and financially assured project — these things alone would suffice to make the passing theatrical year notable.

In addition, there is the fact that, despite the competition of one of the longest and most brilliant opera seasons New York has ever known, and of the Hippodrome with its daily audiences of ten thousand, the public's interest in and support of the theatre has augmented rather than fallen away. While criticism and poetry, so far as their purely literary function is concerned, in these latter years have gone into lamentable decline, the signs of their renascence in the drama are equally unmistakable. And it is in this broader dramatic expression that poetry — as Dr. Churton Collins declares in one of his recent essays — "should fill the same place in our system of education as it filled in that of the ancient Greeks, and become the medium not merely of æsthetic, but of religious and moral, discipline."

"Peter Pan" inevitably takes precedence in a review of the season's noteworthy plays. It stands alone not only among the works of Mr. Barrie, but probably in the world's theatre, since "A Midsummer Night's Dream." In this story of the faun-like boy who wouldn't grow up to be a humdrum human man, and who associated with fairies and children exclusively, we have the essence of poetry, satire, and sheer fun, with the

noble instincts and chivalrous aspirations as well as the amiable foibles of humanity, seen through the clear and magic lens of a child's imagination. Mother-love and nature-love are the potent influences throughout. The whole iridescent fabric seems to have arisen, as Schlegel thought the "Dream" of Shakespeare did, by "some ingenious and lucky accident"; taking on such variegated, evanescent aspects of wildwood, sea, and sky, that we tremble lest it all be blown away with a breath. A very considerable part of the luck of this extraordinary piece, as presented at the Empire Theatre, New York City, was in the casting of Maude Adams for the part of the boy-hero, Pan. Hers is ever an eerie, elusive, sprite-like personality — her very voice carries the wistful sweetness of April weather. Moreover, unlikely as it might seem, the consummate technical art of the actress who has played Juliet, L'Aiglon, and Lady Babbie finds in this embodied fairy-tale a wider, freer scope than ever before it enjoyed. Miss Adams has been supported, too, by rather a happy aggregation of talents, both juvenile and adult, among which it would be wellnigh impossible to omit passing mention of Mildred Morris as Wendy, the little mother, and Ernest Lawford, who doubles the delectable Mr. Darling with a very terrible one-armed pirate captain, named Hook.

David Belasco's "Girl of the Golden West" and Edwin Milton Royle's "Squaw Man," while contrasted to one another in some essential points of construction and dramatic principle, come in for simultaneous consideration, because both are the work of authors whose practical association with the stage has been intimate and lifelong. Both plays draw their material and human interest from our native American frontier or mining life, chiefly in that picturesque phase of development known as

"The days of old, the days of gold,
The days of '49."

And both are rich in realistic life-characterization, in the combination of homogeneous groups of typical living men and women in action, with motives that appeal to us as vital to-day — the complete antithesis of the individual "star" system, with one character looming out of all proportion to the common standard of humanity, and the others dwindling to puny insignificance far below it.

"The Girl of the Golden West" — incarnate in Blanche Bates, who is herself a daughter of California — is one of the good old melodramatic Bret Harte sort; and the savage, uncouth men who woo and fight for her in the mining-camp saloon of Cloudy Mountain are of the same ilk. This is no disparagement, but the highest possible praise; for Bret Harte's M'liss, Miggles, Jack Hamlin, Heathen Chinee, and all the rest, are sublimated types, evolved through the alchemy of imaginative genius,

of those bygone people whom the literal history of early California can only vaguely generalize as "coming from God knows where, their very names soon lost and unrecorded, and who struggled, laughed, gambled, cursed, killed, loved, and worked out their strange destinies in a manner incredible to us of to-day." In a lone cabin on the mountain-side, the isolation of which is expressed through scenic panorama in the most "atmospheric" Belasco style, two desperate men — one of them the gambler-sheriff, Jack Rance, a most vivid and masterly piece of character acting by Frank Keenan, the other a somewhat romantic "road agent," played by Robert Hilliard — cut the cards in a game of life and death, the Girl to be the prize of the winner. This tumultuous climax is reached, with unconventional directness, as early as the second act, leaving act three and the epilogue to settle down peacefully on the symbolic tableau of the Girl and her redeemed desperado-lover quitting their mountains and travelling Eastward, at sunrise.

"The Squaw Man" has no such great, tense, or terrific single scene; and its first act, being laid in England, is out of key with the remainder of the play. But its singularly moving story — that of a young Englishman who in brotherly self-sacrifice quits home under a cloud, comes to our wild West, and is joined by fate to an Indian child-wife whom he is not cowardly enough to desert — is symmetrically developed to its pathetic end. William Faversham enacts the title rôle with a suggestion of the heroic modesty of nature. Theodore Roberts, as Tabywana, the peace chief of the Utes, gives the most strikingly realistic portrayal of the native red man ever seen on the stage, which would suffice forever to obliterate the Metamoras, Hiawathas, and Fenimore Cooper redskins of conventional American drama, had not those legendary figures long since faded out, in their own unreality. Tabywana speaks all his part in the actual Ute language with such skilful effect as to make Baco White, the interpreter, who is a genuine, full-blooded Indian, seem almost artificial by comparison.

"The Walls of Jericho," Alfred Sutro's blunt but effective arraignment of the sins of the so-called "smart set" society, received here the same emphatic and general commendation that it won in England the season before. Its interpretation at the Savoy Theatre, New York, in the hands of the company headed by James K. Hackett and Mary Mannering, equalled, if it did not in some respects improve upon, that in London. It is a typical British comedy of manners. The hero, a stalwart self-made millionaire from the Australian gold-fields, who has married the sound-hearted but almost spoiled daughter of an impoverished nobleman, buys his way into Mayfair society, then turns and swears roundly at such of its vices as may be mentioned with strict propriety in the drawing-room — bridge-playing, luxurious idleness, illicit flirtation, cynical gossip, shirking

of the duties of motherhood, mercenary marriages, and insistence upon family pride of caste, coupled with a total disregard of true family honor. But no bones are broken, and all ends happily, after the moral lesson has been duly expounded and rubbed in. There is a wholesome sincerity about this play that is refreshing. Its characters are convincing, and therefore interesting; their persiflage and serious colloquy alike being for the most part engagingly natural — except where, toward the finish, it becomes rather too wise and good for human nature's daily food.

Mr. Sutro's other New York success, "The Fascinating Mr. Vanderveldt," in which Ellis Jeffreys and Frank Worthing acquitted themselves with their wonted brilliancy, proved a much lighter affair than the "Walls of Jericho." Perhaps on this very account it ought to gain for its author additional credit and renown. Instead of a moral, it tended to convey what might be termed an un-moral — to the effect, namely, that kindly and fascinating wicked people are, on the whole, rather less reprehensible than boresome righteous ones; also, that a tactful sense of humor in a woman may be more of a saving grace than discreet regard for appearances. However, to establish this latter debatable proposition, the playwright was compelled to invent a modern Sir Galahad, in the person of a magnanimous army officer, who is only too willing to marry the flippant Lady Clarice, unheeding the well-laid plans for her compromise devised by the dangerous Mr. Vanderveldt.

Henri Lavedan's loudly-heralded Théâtre Français triumph, "The Duel," translated into vigorous English by Louis N. Parker, and presented with a cast including such eminent players as Otis Skinner, Guy Standing, Eben Plympton, and Fay Davis, could not fail to bring out the reserves of our best class of theatre-goers, who persist in regarding the drama as something more than an empty amusement or pastime. In this instance, they were not disappointed; for "The Duel," written by a French Academician who happens to be interested in the problems of his own period, and at the same time a skilled theatrical craftsman, proved to be intellectually stimulating in an unusual degree. The "duel" involved is not a melodramatic, but a spiritual, one — the conflict between sacred and profane love, or, more concretely, the struggle of two estranged brothers, one a priest and the other an agnostic scientist, to win the heart and soul of a woman. This, of course, is a tremendous theme, and in France to-day it epitomizes the sadly perturbed relations of Church and State. Deprived of this element of timeliness here, M. Lavedan's play, powerful as it is polemically, fell short in its sentimental appeal. Not only was its mawkish and semi-hysterical atmosphere uncomfortable, but in the end the author seemed to shirk the moral issue he had so strenuously raised, leaving reason baffled and logic unsatisfied. The Duchesse de Chailles

vacillates between her spiritual adviser and her debauché husband's physician, in a manner scarcely suggestive of moral elevation. With all the sound and fury expended, these three principal characters, in their mutual relations, remain toward the end of the last act precisely where they were at the beginning of the first. Finally, the young priest is despatched by his bishop to a leper settlement in the far East; but even then the doctor could not marry the duchess, except for the accident of the dissipated duke, her husband, falling out of a window and being killed. In other words, "The Duel" is not fought out to a finish; and its dénouement, whether right or wrong, comes only by a fluke. Nevertheless, M. Lavedan must be credited with the uncommon achievement of having dramatically articulated a vital topic of the time.

Not dissimilar to "The Duel" in purpose and fulfilment of actuality, perhaps, is "The Lion and the Mouse," a comedy-drama of twentieth-century finance and the American billionaire, written by Charles Klein, the author of David Warfield's perennial "Music Master." This furnishes, superficially, brighter and more facile entertainment than does the French play; but it enforces no such conviction of earnestness and reality. Mr. Klein's formidable Wall Street magnate, who makes martyrs of upright judges and conducts a prosperous traffic in United States Senators, yet at the same time falls an easy victim to the neat little machinations of the young woman magazine writer, is about as life-like as the vitagraph. He is, however, a bona fide and first-hand "living picture" of a billionaire — if not as he is, as least as he ought to be — exhibited with laudable moral purpose, in a manner warranted not to shock propriety or unduly to exercise the emotions.

Of the less pretentious offerings, rather an unusually large number seem to have hit the several varieties of metropolitan taste, and to have attracted paying patronage. In these scorings, as well as in the miss-fires and downright fiascos of the season, we have once again to note numerous instances of "reversal of form," in players and playwrights, which make the drama as much a game of hazard as horse-racing.

While George Ade's "Bad Samaritan" proved an unequivocal failure, and his "Just Out of College" only a *succès d'estime*, R. C. Carton's British-built farce of "Mr. Hopkinson," with an unheard-of Cockney comedian named Dallas Welford in the title rôle, has fairly run away with the record for roaring farcicality. Francis Wilson scaled new heights of merriment in a mosaic adaptation of "The Mountain Climber"; but Raymond Hitchcock, in "The Galloper," by Richard Harding Davis, made little or no headway. The combined vogue of Clyde Fitch as author and Viola Allen as actress could not make "The Toast of the Town" go; nor did

Henrietta Crosman find in Eugene Presbrey's "Mary, Mary, Quite Contrary" anything like a duplicate of her former comedy successes. Rupert Hughes's "The Triangle," Sidney Rosenfeld's "The Optimist," and Winston Churchill's "The Crossing" and "The Title Mart," all cruelly disappointed great expectations, as did "La Belle Marseillaise," specially imported for Virginia Harned. Olga Nethersole's version of "The Labyrinth," by Paul Hervieu, was as much a shock as Henry Miller's production of H. V. Esmond's gruesome "Grierson's Way"; while James K. Hackett was dumfounded at the total failure of critics and public alike to make anything out of "The House of Silence." But this same public unmistakably approved of little Miss Elsie Janis in "The Vanderbilt Cup," Louis Mann and Clara Lipmann in "Julie Bonbon," and Harry Woodruff in "Brown of Harvard." Hall Caine's new work, "The Prodigal Son," dragged heavily as lead; while in "Zira," the latest of several versions of Wilkie Collins's old story "The New Magdalen," Margaret Anglin rose to one of the finest emotional triumphs of her career. And, as we are mentioning dramatized novels, why did Mrs. Humphrey Ward's imposing "Marriage of William Ashe" fall by the wayside, and Lottie Blair Parker's melo-dramatization of "The Redemption of David Corson" belie its title, when Edward Peple's comparatively obscure novelette of "The Prince Chap" made so pretty and unique a little play as to charm New York audiences at two or three different theatres for many weeks?

Without prolonging the list of hopeless bygones, we can all think of a dozen more of deserving things whose hard fate seems puzzling in a season when "Forty-five Minutes from Broadway," "The Earl and the Girl," and "The Social Whirl" flourish like the traditional green bay-tree. There must be reasons for these seeming vagaries of the popular taste, but they are so subtle or complicated as to assume the outward semblance of fickle chance.

The strange case of G. Bernard Shaw here presents itself for consideration. Arnold Daly, the foster-father of the Shaw fad in New York, overdid the matter at last by putting on "John Bull's Other Island," which proved a bore, and "Mrs. Warren's Profession," which the police conceived to be a crime, and so suppressed it after a single performance. Meanwhile, Robert Loraine shrewdly profited by all the notoriety thus drummed up by exploiting three-fourths of "Man and Superman" (with the Hell scenes cut out) — a concoction containing just enough of independent outlaw wit, with the mephitic elements judiciously subdued, to satisfy the large numbers of playgoers who were still curious about Shaw. That morbid curiosity has been surfeited at last. It is not likely to revive, having been doubly betrayed — first, by the Shaw products themselves, which are heartless, unprincipled, ill-bred; and, second, by the false

pretense in their exploitation as "moral lessons," when in reality the sole object was to make money by stirring up a vulgar sensation.

"Alice-Sit-by-the-Fire" was a delightful example of how irony and facetious comedy can be handled by a true master — *i.e.*, Barrie. Incidentally it gave Ethel Barrymore another opportunity, which she did not fail to improve, in the rôle of a middle-aged wife and mother who wistfully takes leave of her coquettish youth.

Mæterlinck's "Monna Vanna" — played for the first time in English, and with rare refinement and power, by that former star actress of the local Yiddish stage, Bertha Kalich — is a bold challenge to the accepted order of things in drama and ethics. It may startle convention, it must inevitably arouse controversy, even protest. Indeed, at last analysis the play is a deliberate and cold-blooded negation of present standards of manly honor and the modesty of womanly virtue. Yet the artistic sincerity and the sheer aesthetic and dramatic appeal of the whole work are such that it commands a certain respectful, even though reluctant, admiration. It is the most concrete and human of all Mæterlinck's writings, and could not possibly be ignored by any progressive modern theatre. The fact that "Monna Vanna" had its first hearing in America at Mr. Conried's German Theatre, two years ago, emphasizes the fact that the little playhouse in Irving Place, with its exclusively foreign clientele, is the only one in New York, and probably in the whole United States, that is consistent enough to the purpose of true art to present the newest works of Continental European writers, irrespective of commercial vogue or adventitious réclame.

Paul Orleneff and Alla Nasimoff, with a company of Russian players from the best theatres of Moscow and St. Petersburg, succeeded, under carefully organized social patronage, in interesting anew, first New York, then Chicago and Boston, in what may be generically termed the Ibsen idea. This idea actuates not only the grand old pessimist of Norway, so lately gone to his rest, but equally the whole revolutionary group of moderns, which includes Gorky in Russia, Strindberg in Sweden, Sudermann and Hauptmann in Germany, Hervieu and Brieux in France, Perez Galdos in Spain, and D'Annunzio in Italy. These are dramatists who take their vocation seriously, who ride straight at the real as they see it in their own country and time, rather going out of their way for unpleasant facts than shirking them, and who prefer appalling truths to factitious "happy endings."

Why must we have actors all the way from Russia to teach us these things? Because in Russia to-day is the seethe and ferment of the world. Dramatists there write from an impassioned heart, and they compel their interpreters to act in the same spirit. No self-consciousness of either

playwright or player intervenes between the dynamic thought and the eager audience of the people. That was the lesson taught us by the Russian artists, at every performance — whether they enacted "The Master Builder" to Slavic and Yiddish throngs in a stuffy music-hall on the East Side, or "The Chosen People" before a fashionable crush in a sumptuous theatre on Broadway.

Mme. Sarah Bernhardt, in striking contrast, brought us conventional drama and classic tradition, raised to their highest perfection by temperamental genius, academically trained. The whole country rose to her, making her progress one continuous triumph. And justly so, for she represents a passing glory of the stage. With her retirement, a whole repertoire of plays, some of which she inspired, and all of which she has made her own, must fall into desuetude. To realize this, we have only to compare her "Sorcière," a typical Bernhardt rôle fitted to her by Sardou, with the travesty-like representation of the same previously offered by an English actress—and a good one, in her own line, at that. The supremacy of the great Frenchwoman, now well past her sixtieth year, in the old familiar round of parts, with a mediocre supporting company and a scenic outfit far from elaborate, affords an impressive commentary upon the scarcity of first-class histrionic talent and equipment, in these materially lavish times.

Legitimate native combinations we have, as well as individual stars, capable of highly commendable work, and abounding in promise for the yet to be fulfilled future. Mr. Sothern and Miss Marlowe, in the second year of their professional partnership, have added "The Taming of the Shrew" and "The Merchant of Venice" to their list of Shakespearean productions. They have packed the Academy of Music at popular prices, at the fag end of the season. It is gratifying to know that the measure of public appreciation they have enjoyed justifies them in promising for next year "As You Like It," "Cymbeline," and "King Lear," also that sanest and most effective of Gabriele D'Annunzio's poetic dramas, "Francesca da Rimini," in the English version by Arthur Symons. While critical opinion has not been quite unanimous in acclaiming Mr. Sothern's Hamlet, Romeo, and Shylock, nor invariably eulogistic to Miss Marlowe's Portia, Katherine, and Juliet, it is nevertheless a fact, for which the entire theatre-loving public is grateful, that these two have done invaluable service in helping to revive the glamour of Shakespeare, at a time when such influence is most needed, and will count for so much.

Our scholarly and archaic friend, Ben Greet, also favored us with another series of his unique "Elizabethan" performances of such plays as "Henry V," "Much Ado About Nothing," and "Julius Cæsar," with scenery cut out, and practically the full original text left in. These

curious experiments really did accomplish a decided gain in continuity, simplicity, and integrity of presentation of the master-dramatist's ideas. Thanks to previous familiarity — due largely to the careful and costly scenic illustrations customarily furnished by the less erudite commercial managers commanding the resources of the modern stage — a considerable element of our public found not only edification, but a novel species of enjoyment, in Mr. Greet's studious sixteenth-century setting of these plays. Robert Bruce Mantell, a splendidly endowed actor who has been identified with high-class legitimate productions during at least a part of the twenty-five years of his successful career, played a month's engagement in repertoire, including a fine impersonation of Richelieu, and a most memorable one of King Lear.

Richard Mansfield's brilliant three weeks' engagement at the New Amsterdam Theatre showed him in about a dozen of his best parts, ranging all the way from Beau Brummel to Arthur Dimmesdale in "The Scarlet Letter," besides two or three Shakespearean revivals, and bringing forth his annual novelty in the shape of a new production of Schiller's classic German historical tragedy, "Don Carlos." At his best, and at his worst, Mansfield is always worth while. His very unevenness is full of surprises, and a certain arrogant intellectuality pervades even the most preposterous things he does. He is what a Nietzsche might call the super-actor. Possessed of an invincible egotism that in itself is a kind of genius, and a diabolic energy that ruthlessly rides over persons and traditions, he has at middle age reached the head of his profession, and stands to-day as our leading American actor. The regrettable thing is that there should be so little heart in his art. Sentiment, with him, is but a weak affectation. Chivalry and heroism are shams, and romance he heartily despises. For poetry he appears to have a platonic respect, but chiefly as a cloak behind which, in his own character, he may laugh at the impressionable and simple-minded. Sardonic humor, mordant irony, and cyclonic bursts of baleful passion — without, however, the sombre obsession of true tragedy — are the qualities in which he is unquestionably strong. He plays "The Misanthrope" one season, and "Don Carlos" the next, both in versions arbitrarily mutilated for pseudo-literary effect; and the main impression derived from the performances is that Mansfield has ostentatiously honored both Molière and Schiller, while scrupulously avoiding the appearance of partiality to either.

A favorite bit of cant with Mr. Mansfield, when making personal speeches or writing in the magazines, is to the effect that: "The stage is for the young especially, and we may indulge them in fairy tales, and history and poetry, in tales of love and romance and achievement and heroism, and an occasional ghost story with a moral; but we may not

distort their fancy or endanger their moral lives by an exhibition of a rare and exceptional phase of social debasement." This comes with excellent grace from the actor who was first to exploit "A Parisian Romance," "Arms and the Man," and "The Devil's Disciple"—plays of a character which, were they to prevail, would effectually banish love, romance, and heroism from the theatre, and make it a place which "the young" would cheerfully avoid, of their own free will!

But then, as Mr. Mansfield complains, it is impossible nowadays to find good new plays conforming to his ideals or worth the expense of his resources to put upon the stage. This may be the reason why, like Bernhardt, he announces his intention to retire. It would be a great pity to lose such an energetic personality, in his very prime, at the moment when from many fiery trials he is emerging with something of a tempered spirit and the artistic serenity born of self-control. It cannot be said of Richard Mansfield that he was ever afraid of trouble, or that, having committed errors, he shirked the responsibility of them, or their penalty. His is, indeed, a masterful temperament, which, if it could be harnessed, might make noble and valuable atonement in the directorship of the American national conservatory of acting, which we are promised in conjunction with the now assured New Theatre.

Before looking at the prospectus of the last-named momentous undertaking, let us complete our cursory survey of the more significant products and happenings of the dramatic season just closed.

Through an odd combination of accidental circumstances, the theatre named the Liberty was the scene of three successive experiments, differing widely from one another in character, yet alike in that each was the work of a tyro in play-writing, each aggressively American in subject and treatment throughout, and each proved more successful in provoking critical feuds and controversies than in satisfying the general public who pay.

First came "The Clansman," put together by Thomas Dixon with materials taken partly from his novel of that name, and partly from "The Leopard's Spots," another story of the same complexion, eked out with the misappropriation of the mesmeric vision of Mathias in "The Bells," as played by the late Sir Henry Irving. Mr. Dixon is a "professional Southerner," of a type no longer tolerated in the South. Dealing with the historical period of reconstruction and the Ku Klux Klan, he depends upon race prejudice and the survival, or revival, of sectional animosities, for such polemical vogue as his melodramatic out-pourings may obtain. Fortunately, his technical equipment is so inadequate, and his ideas of dramatic effect are so crude, that the sphere of activity of such a theatrical proposition as "The Clansman" must necessarily be circumscribed.

Then followed "The Redskin," written by a young actor named Donald McLaren, who conceived the idea that the plot and situations of a modern emotional society drama, set back in the forests of Illinois about the middle of the eighteenth century, and enacted by a cast of Indian *dramatis personæ* exclusively, with some real Sioux fresh from the reservation thrown in as supers, speaking a rhythmic jargon compounded of Shakespeare and Sheridan Knowles, in scenes enlivened with torture at the burning stake, with knife duels, and war dances, would be hailed as a novelty in the line of native authorship. It was — but the newspaper critics could not resist the temptation to "guy" those blank-verse redskins. Whereupon the producing manager, Mr. Brady, rushed out upon the unoffending public in a nightly series of curtain lectures, and what had started as a poetic dream finished in a grotesque nightmare.

Benjamin Chapin's "Abraham Lincoln," which came next in that house of strange hazards, aroused sincere interest and created a dignified impression, to say the least. It actually succeeded, for the first time in history, in giving a convincing life-picture of the martyr President's very human personality, projected against the stormy background of Civil War time in the White House at Washington. The quaint, shrewd, homely wit and humor of Lincoln's character, warmed by the kindness of a great heart, and accentuating by vivid contrast the streak of tragic melancholy and gloom in his nature, might well give an actor pause, in any attempt at impersonation. Yet it was in boldly playing up this comic side that Mr. Chapin struck his truest note. Starting with a natural physical resemblance that in itself is peculiar and striking, he has devoted many years to the reverent study of his chosen hero, in his every aspect, until finally he has built up what we instinctively feel to be a real portrait of Abraham Lincoln in his habit as he lived. So colossal a figure necessarily dwarfs all others in the rudimentary sketch of a play which the actor-author has built for his vehicle — although Secretary Stanton and General Hooker stand out distinctly, and the crisis of July 4, 1863, the day of Vicksburg and Gettysburg, is well chosen for the precipitation of such action as there is. If Mr. Chapin has not quite achieved the great American historical drama for which wise men are watching, he has at least blocked it out, in offering to our stage a not unsatisfactory presentation of —

"That simple, plain, yet masterful great man,
Girt with rude grandeur, quelling doubt and fear;
A more than king, yet in whose veins there ran
The red blood of the people, warm, sincere,
Blending of Puritan and Cavalier.

A will whose force stern warriors came to ask,
A heart that melted at a mother's tear—
These brought he to his superhuman task:
Whilst o'er a tragic soul he wore a comic mask."

An ingenious one-act dramatic sketch, which attracted wide attention and has found several imitators, was "A Case of Arson," written by a Dutch author named Hyermans, and played by Henri de Vries with extraordinary skill and effect. The situation presented is that of a police-court examination in a case of incendiarism, and half-a-dozen witnesses in turn are all impersonated by one and the same actor. In this Protean tour de force, Mr. de Vries not only showed surprising celerity in the outward transformations of make-up, but he also succeeded, by infinite subtleties of variation in voice, gesture, mien, and facial expression, in a psychological differentiation of the characters assumed which amounted to genuine acting, of a high and original order. E. S. Willard, a sterling artist who has a deservedly large following, signalized his annual visit by the presentation of a poignant act derived from Kipling's tale of "The Man That Was," giving a finished and pathetic picture of the British soldier captured by the Russians in the Crimea, and who after long years escapes and returns, a mental and physical wreck, to rejoin his regiment in India. "Dolce," an Italian episode by John Luther Long, tried by Mrs. Fiske at a few matinées, and "Pantaloons," J. M. Barrie's whimsical echo of the old Drury Lane pantomime days, in which Lionel Barrymore demonstrated again his possession of a sufficient share of the family talent, were about the only other single-act plays of the season which may be said to have left a memory.

The work of new American dramatists, or of old ones quarrying in fresh native fields, makes a scantier showing than it ought, in the year's chronicle. Augustus Thomas barely escaped failure in his endeavor to provide a successor to "The Earl of Pawtucket," though the amusing adventures of Lawrence D'Orsay in Paris make "The Embassy Ball," as a whole, something to be thankful for. Channing Pollock managed to put the atmosphere of Governmental department routine work and Washington boarding-house life into the best thing he has yet done, "The Little Grey Lady." David Gray's "Gallops" showed what spicy farce-comedy material there is in Long Island's smart hunting set, though his best effects were marred by the avoirdupois unsuitability of Charles Richman to the leading rôle, as a two-hundred-pound gentleman jockey. Henry E. Dixey did wonders with "The Man on the Box," by Harold McGrath; and Leo Ditrichstein's Sunny Jim farcicality of "Before and After" developed innocent jocularity in paying quantities.

A much more serious matter was "The Strength of the Weak," an

appropriately named emotional drama of somewhat morbid intensity in spots, constructed by Alice M. Smith and Charlotte Thompson, and ably interpreted by a cast of players including Florence Roberts, Tyrone Power, and Eugene Ormonde. It is the story of a young lady who writes a best-selling novel and wins for a lover her girlhood's ideal, only to discover that he is the son of the elderly millionaire guardian who embittered her life at the outset, whereupon she commits suicide *à la* Hedda Gabler. "The Greater Love," the work of another woman playwright, Mrs. Ivy Ashton Root, had as its lachrymose hero no less a personage than the composer Mozart. It met the inevitable fate of all efforts to found a drama of action and words upon a life of immaterial sentiment and thought. "Money Talks," a comedy in which that well-esteemed actor, W. H. Thompson, is declared to have one of the best parts of his career, has not, at the present writing, reached New York. It represents the *début*, as a dramatic author, of Cleveland Moffett.

Some of the brightest wits among our younger writers, as well as the talents of our light comedians and comediennes, find congenial exercise in the comic opera, burlesque, and music-farce for which the public demand appears to be wellnigh insatiable. Of the higher standard to which this line of entertainment has been raised, of late, "*Véronique*" may be taken as an example. This, in its original French form, with the exquisite musical score by Messager, is almost the perfection of modern operetta. Its success here was but moderate, on account of the soggy, plum-pudding-like treatment of book and lyrics by the English adapters. But "*Véronique*," at its best, was fairly matched by a home product, "*Mlle. Modiste*." This piece, with its gay and tuneful score by Victor Herbert, kept the vivacious Fritzi Scheff before the metropolitan footlights the whole season through. It was written by Henry Blossom, also author of "*The Yankee Consul*" and "*Checkers*," but whose latest attempt at straight comedy, "*A Fair Exchange*," fell short of the mark.

The music hall, or, more properly, the burlesque theatre, of Joseph Weber is the only recognized home of pure travesty in New York. Mr. Weber has never undertaken a general "review" of the theatrical season as a whole, as the Parisian vaudeville managers do in May and June; but he selects one or two things of established popularity, yet having sufficiently obvious weak points to offer a target for ridicule — the latter condition is easily fulfilled, as our "big hits" go, these days — and then puts on an elaborate parody, with all the resources of cast, costume, music, and scenic embellishment at his command. The result is a gorgeous entertainment intrinsically, spiced with keen, genuine criticism and irresponsible fun. Marie Dressler and Mr. Weber himself, not to speak of the secondary wits and beauties of an "all-star" company,

turned loose in an extravaganza like "The Squaw Man's Girl of the Golden West," present a comic spectacle not soon to be forgotten.

Such, then, in broad outline, is the present aspect of the American stage, as focussed in this metropolis, at the moment when a New Theatre organization inaugurates its plans as a response, in some sort, to the urgent demand, from all quarters, for a permanent and authoritative establishment, on an artistic and strictly non-commercial basis, which shall be representative of the national spirit in the fostering, improvement, and exposition of the dramatic arts. Here, in New York, we have more than fifty of the most sumptuous playhouses in the world, supported by an amusement-loving population of five millions, who spend more money for stage entertainment than any other community — yet not a single legitimate stock company, not one repertoire theatre, and no independent school of acting to conserve and hand down the already fading traditions of Booth, Barrett, Wallack, Warren, Jefferson, Mrs. Gilbert, and Mrs. John Drew. Fully twenty-five per cent of our resources, both in funds and in talent, are wasted on trashy music-farces bearing little or no proper relation to either dramatic or musical art. There is no influential manager or management in America to whom an untried native dramatist with original ideas can go with any hope of receiving encouragement. Even our few recognized dramatists, who are willing to compromise with necessary conditions, cannot be sure of a hearing until all the available misfits and contract orders from Europe have been tried out upon a long-suffering public. Is it any wonder that the remedy for this condition of things has been diligently sought?

Four years ago, a committee of the American Dramatists' Club, in conjunction with "The Theatre Magazine," started a tentative movement which within the twelvemonth resulted in the enrolment of some two thousand men and women, many of them prominent in the theatrical and literary professions, as a "National Art Theatre Society." Among this number was Heinrich Conried, who was regarded by a majority of the association as best choice for director of such an institution as they hoped to be instrumental in founding. When, shortly afterward, Mr. Conried accepted the management of the Metropolitan Opera, it was with the specific avowal that his ultimate and greater purpose was the promotion of the National Theatre project. He proved as good as his word; and, two years later — that is to say, in the latter part of 1905 — the announcement that thirty of the Metropolitan's wealthy stockholders had subscribed \$100,000 each for the realization of Mr. Conried's cherished scheme caused widespread and enthusiastic felicitation.

The good news was in the main true, though inaccurate as to certain important details. Moreover, the ideas which then for the first time

assumed tangible form have undergone some change in the subsequent process of evolution, until they have now reached the following stage: Under the leadership of Charles T. Barney, Mr. Conried's plans have been actively taken up by a number of New York gentlemen of means and congenial tastes, some of whom happen to be also stockholders in the Metropolitan Opera Company, and the enterprise is formally launched under the title of the "New Theatre." Its board of founders, with Mr. Barney as president, contains the names of Messrs. John Jacob Astor, Edmund L. Baylies, August Belmont, Robert B. Van Cortlandt, Paul D. Cravath, William B. Osgood Field, George J. Gould, Eliot Gregory, James H. Hyde, Otto H. Kahn, W. De Lancey Kountze, J. Pierpont Morgan, James Henry Smith, James Stillman, Hamilton McK. Twombly, William K. Vanderbilt, Cornelius Vanderbilt, Henry Walters, Henry Rogers Winthrop, and Harry Payne Whitney.

An admirable site, fronting on Central Park West, has been purchased, and competitive designs for a building of monumental proportions, submitted by nine leading firms of architects, are under consideration by a jury consisting of President Barney, Otto H. Kahn, H. R. Winthrop, Heinrich Conried, Stanford White, Donn Barber, and Edgar V. Seeler. The theatre is to have a stage 100 feet wide and eighty-five feet deep, forty commodious dressing-rooms, four chorus rooms accommodating thirty persons each, and two rooms for supers, accommodating fifty each; a ballet practice room of not less than 1,600 square feet; three rehearsal rooms, the largest to have an area of 2,000 square feet; a central green-room, or artists' reception salon; a general wardrobe salon, having 1,600 square feet of floor space; two rooms for musical directors, and three rooms for stage managers; carpenter shops, paint rooms, scenic ateliers, and quarters for janitors and charwomen. A separate wing, or possibly a building wholly detached, will house a school of drama and opera, having its own stage, concert hall, and a dozen or more class-rooms. Finally, provision is made for a library annex, in the nature structurally of a fire-proof vault, in which will be kept copies of all plays and scores forming the repertoire, together with standard works on the literature of the drama, music, costumes, etc., which will be at once convenient to the stage and the school, and accessible from the street for the use, on occasions, of the general public.

Architecturally, the interior of the New Theatre will embody features of representative modern European playhouses of the first class. Although the greatest distance between the curtain and the line of the front of the boxes is not to exceed sixty-five feet, the seating capacity of the auditorium will be 2,000, exclusive of the boxes, which may number fifty. Grand staircases, and a foyer placed approximately on the level of the

upper tier of boxes, will help to give scope for an architectural ensemble of decorative designs, mural painting, and sculpture befitting an institution intended, eventually, to be what the Théâtre Français and the Opéra of Paris are to France — a national monument.

Will the administrative programme and the informing spirit of the New Theatre emulate, in an equal degree with its material construction, those Old World temples of art which have been chosen as models? The only possible answer at present to this pertinent query is to be found in a glance over the plans as broadly indicated in a public statement made in March last by President Barney of the association of founders.

The fundamental guiding principle, Mr. Barney declares, is to establish in New York a theatre which shall be run for the sake of art, and not in any way for the sake of profit — a theatre not planned in anybody's interest or anybody's behalf, except on behalf of the community and in the interest of the higher drama. Its mission will be to foster and stimulate art, and to exercise those elevating and refining influences which make the stage, if properly conducted, an educational influence second to none in effectiveness. The specific programme, as now outlined, contemplates an alternation of classical repertoire with modern plays of genuine merit — not to be confined, presumably, to the works of English-writing authors alone — to be mounted and performed by a stock company, not necessarily all-American, in a manner worthy of the best traditions of the stage. Such a theatre, intended to combine in some degree the functions, say, of the Théâtre Français, Opéra Comique, and Conservatoire of Paris, would be a proper place for the performance of light operas of real quality and distinction, especially those put forth by our younger native composers and librettists. Any net profits — and the scheme of limited subscriptions, with one or two weekly *soirées des abonnés*, as in all the French Government theatres, augurs well for the financial soundness of the proposition — will be turned back into the treasury of the theatre for the creation of an endowment fund, scholarships in the school of dramatic art, an actors' pension fund, and similar altruistic uses.

No specific plan of management has been announced, as yet, nor has the New Theatre's chief director been appointed, so far as anyone knows. The founders are free to make their choice; and they intend to choose, they say, whomsoever they consider the best available man. Whether or not this man be Mr. Conried, it appears certain that the enterprise and experience of the impresario-manager, who for twenty-five years has so ably maintained the artistic prestige of the Deutsches Theater in New York City, will count for much under the new régime. Again, it is not unlikely that the immediate direction of the theatre may be intrusted to two executive heads — a dramatic manager, who will undertake the

management of the stock company, and a musical director, to have charge of the production of opera. Such directing heads might have the advice and assistance not only of committees responsible to the founders, but also of visiting "stars," or those specially engaged for certain productions.

It will take years, of course, to build up a repertoire sufficient to fulfil the requirements of a theatre where long "runs" are to be prohibited, and the bill changed two or three times a week. Mr. Conried has estimated that, with reasonable activity in production, five or six years would suffice for the accumulation of a series representing, in a way, the world's classics, as well as the best work of modern authors. American dramatists would then have an incentive to original effort which hitherto has been denied them. The systematic and thorough presentation of standard plays of all nations, but translated into good English, which should be properly spoken by intelligent players costumed with some degree of correctness and taste, would give the public new ideals, raise the art of acting to something nearer its true dignity, and ultimately lead to the creation of that in which our proud Republic is desperately lacking — an American dramatic literature.

HENRY TYRRELL.

THOMAS HARDY'S "DYNASTS."¹

IT is now nearly fifteen years since the tragic close of "Tess of the D'Urbervilles," and the pure beauty of the setting in nature given to the narrative, brought Mr. Thomas Hardy to the zenith of his popularity — if such a phrase may be allowed in connection with a writer whose views of life are notoriously free from conventionality. The number of his enthusiastic admirers was greatly increased — perhaps in exact proportion with the number of those readers who censured "Tess" on the score of its alleged unwholesomeness; articles, and even books, descriptive of his life and works, began to appear with considerable frequency; and some people, like myself, soon took advantage of a new uniform edition of his novels to read again, or for the first time, all the predecessors of the story that was being generally accepted as its author's masterpiece.

With great delight such readers traced the progress of Mr. Hardy's genius from the powerful but still crude and involved "Desperate Remedies" (1871), through the exquisitely charming idyll "Under the Greenwood Tree" (1872), — which proved that idealism and realism are not of necessity inimical, since here the Wessex peasant took his place in English literature not so very far away from Shakespeare's clowns — on through the idiosyncratic and therefore the less charming but not the less striking love-story "A Pair of Blue Eyes" (1872–73), through "Far from the Madding Crowd" (1874) — in which Mr. Hardy first, perhaps, made his calling and election clear, and displayed a balance of powers scarcely afterward maintained — through the interesting *tour de force* entitled "The Hand of Ethelberta" (1876), up to the powerful and individual creation which many competent judges have pronounced to be his greatest performance, "The Return of the Native" (1878) — when this sentence and this paragraph may end, so that we may recall the part played by sombre nature in Mr. Hardy's works — for this is the novel that made Egdon Heath a possession of English literature.

That sunshine should follow gloom, and charm succeed compelling power, seems fitting enough. We are therefore not surprised or disappointed when we pass to that genial, semi-historical romance, "The

¹ *The Dynasts. A Drama of the Napoleonic Wars. In Three Parts, Nineteen Acts, and One Hundred and Thirty Scenes.* By Thomas Hardy. Part First, 1904, 12mo, pp. xxii, 228, xv. Part Second, 1906, 12mo, pp. xiii, 302. London: Macmillan & Co., Limited; New York: The Macmillan Co.

"Trumpet Major" (1879), which has its relations with the dramatic poem that forms the subject of this paper. Then came two Hardyesque performances, idiosyncratic, not to say *outré*, or, in plain and less emphatic English, out of the common, and, as is usual in such cases, somewhat out of the way — "A Laodicean" (1880–81) and "Two on a Tower" (1882). These were followed by a story which for sheer strength ranks very high in Mr. Hardy's works, "The Mayor of Casterbridge" (1884–85), and this in turn by the not much less impressive novel "The Woodlanders" (1886–87). After this Mr. Hardy gathered his good though scarcely masterly short stories into "Wessex Tales" (1888), and added to them another collection interesting both to the general reader and to the student of literary evolution, "A Group of Noble Dames" (1891).

The next year, with "Tess of the D'Urbervilles," saw Mr. Hardy take his place as one of the two greatest British novelists of the later Victorian period. None of his previous books, as we have seen, had produced so deep an impression upon the larger public — none had come so near answering all the requisitions that contemporaries of an author are inclined to make upon a book of his before they will even tentatively declare it to be a masterpiece. I thought "Tess," when I first read it, to be Mr. Hardy's best novel; and, despite my respect for "The Return of the Native" and for the critics who expatiate upon its greatness, I still hold to this opinion, relying not a little, like a true Philistine, on the fact that the public shares it or, at least, at one time seemed to share it.

That public opinion, whatever its value, is justified in vaunting itself, or that those who appeal to it are warranted in resting satisfied with the support it gives, will be maintained by few students of any form of human activity. But public opinion is stability itself when it is put in comparison with prediction, whether public or individual. If in the year "Tess" was published any of Mr. Hardy's numerous readers had been asked to cast the novelist's literary horoscope for the next fourteen or fifteen years, the chances are that, while some might have predicted that he would never again write a story which would make a wide and deep impression, scarcely a reader, even of the few that might have known that Mr. Hardy had dabbled in verse in his youth, would have ventured to predict that he would not only cease for the years to write fiction, but would actually make a deliberate attempt on a rather grandiose scale to win for himself the fame of a great poet. Yet such a prophet would have been absolutely correct in his prediction.

The group of stories entitled "Life's Little Ironies" (1894), the much berated "Jude the Obscure" (1895), the far from attractive and I suspect not widely read novelette, "The Well Beloved" (1897), while probably not amenable to a great part of the censure which the second of the

three books received, certainly added nothing to Mr. Hardy's reputation as a writer of fiction. It began to look as if the Hardyesque had swallowed Hardy. Then the world was rather disconcerted by the appearance of a volume entitled "Wessex Poems" (1898), in which the critics said it might manage to discover some of the old intelligence and power, some of the old grim outlook upon life and its miseries, but very little poetry. The world did not know that Mr. Hardy had returned to his first love, and, if it had known the fact, it would not have greatly cared. In its rough and ready way, it had classed him as a novelist and, in our expressive phrase, it wanted him "to stay put." This was a quite natural desire on the part of a peace-loving world, in these days, when the number of writers to be reckoned with is so formidable that it is only a commonplace to point out how the pursuit of culture has become one of the most fatiguing forms of "the strenuous life."

Being anything but strenuous myself, I have no intention of doing battle with the world in behalf of "Wessex Poems," or of its companion volume, "Poems of the Past and the Present" (1901). I will not even join issue with those critics who treated the books, on the whole, with less courtesy than they deserved — not so much as formal poetry, but as the sincere expression of a mind and heart exceptionally strong and deep, as well as of a writer whose past services to our literature were entitled to great respect. All I wish to do in the rest of this paper is to consider in a somewhat cursory fashion Mr. Hardy's two latest volumes — instalments of a work that has deepened the bewilderment of the reading world, and, apparently, of most of the professional critics, — the first and second parts of his vast dramatic poem upon the Napoleonic era, entitled "The Dynasts."

Our author was never anything less than bold. We are therefore not surprised to find him announcing on his title page that his drama, when completed, will consist of three parts, nineteen acts, and one hundred and thirty scenes.¹ This is not an entirely accurate statement of the facts in the case, as Mr. Hardy presents them; for the drama is completed already in manuscript, and will be published entire, if the author is sufficiently encouraged by the reception of his work. So, at least, a modest note at the end of the First Part may be interpreted. A clear, fairly long preface endeavors to explain some of the anomalous features of the composition that are likely to shock the conventional critic. We learn that Mr. Hardy's choice of the "Clash of Peoples" as a subject was "mainly due to three accidents of locality." He was familiar with the coast where

¹ At the end of Part First Mr. Hardy gave an outline of the proposed division of acts and scenes for the remaining parts, subject to revision. In the Second Part he evidently changed his mind in several particulars.

George III had his favorite summer residence during the Napoleonic wars. This was the region most alarmed by the Emperor's plans to invade England, and traditions of that stirring time still linger in the minds of its inhabitants. And here, finally, lay the native village of Nelson's flag-captain at Trafalgar — Sir Thomas Masterman Hardy.

The "first published result of these three accidents," to use Mr. Hardy's own restrained language, was "The Trumpet Major." When that was finished, he found himself tantalized by having merely touched the fringe of a vast subject which he had not time thoroughly to investigate. He was also piqued by that minimizing of England's part in the great drama which he found to characterize the imaginative works devoted by continental writers to Napoleon's career. So he bore the theme in mind, and at last, some eight years ago, he outlined the "play" which is now perplexing critics. He claims for his work "a tolerable fidelity to the facts of its date" — a claim which, as far as my knowledge extends, is amply justified. If anything, he is too faithful to the facts; for, as he confesses, he has paraphrased such spoken or written utterances as he could determine to be authentic — with the result that he sometimes calls to mind the least poetically happy portions of Shakespeare's chronicle plays, not a form of drama particularly relished to-day. He intends, he tells us, to give a list of his authorities in the Third Part. It ought to be valuable; but I at least should prefer an essay dealing both with Mr. Hardy's adventures among books and documents, and with the travels which I suspect account for some of the remarkable descriptions of localities with which the stage-directions — Europe is its real stage — of this colossal drama abound.¹

"It was thought proper," the author next proceeds to tell us, "to introduce as supernatural spectators of the terrestrial drama, certain

¹ It almost seems as if, when conceiving his scenic panoramas, Mr. Hardy might have had in mind the enthusiastic passage in DeFoe's "Compleat Gentleman," where that learned student of geography describes the pleasures that lie open to a reader with tastes similar to his own:—

"How agreeable a diversion is it to him to read the public prints with his collection of maps and charts before him, where he can see the British Squadron blocking up the Spanish Plate Fleet at Porto Belo, and immediately turn his eye and see another British Squadron, awing the Russian Navy at Revell and Narve, and they, tho' double in number, not daring to put to sea to succour the Spaniards. The next moment he has turn'd over a leaf, and the like chart presents Gibraltar to his view, and the Spaniards battering themselves to pieces instead of the town, and wasting their army in a fruitless, unskillfull seige, without so much as comeing near enough to draw a sword in the whole war. There also he sees another English Squadron keeping the seas open and convoying troops and relief dayly to the place and assisting that one small town in overmatching all the forces of Spain, whether by land or by sea."

impersonated abstractions, or Intelligences, called Spirits." His defence of these "contrivances of the fancy" is interesting, and amounts to a confession that mythology and "the celestial machinery" of "Paradise Lost" being hopelessly antiquated, and some comment both human and extra-human upon the passing show seeming desirable, there was need of a "scheme of contrasted choruses" which should give a "modern expression of a modern outlook." How modern the outlook and the expression are may be judged from the fact that "the First or Fundamental Entity" is not referred to by the Spirits as God or He, but as It.

At this point we may cease to condense Mr. Hardy's preface, in order to consider what he himself evidently regards as a crucial feature of his drama, if drama it may be called. Was there any real need for the creation of these spiritual witnesses and commentators? And, granted that there was, has Mr. Hardy succeeded in making them acceptable? I am inclined to answer the first question in the negative, although it is interesting to have sympathetic and ironical and oracular comments upon so tremendous a cataclysm, when one knows that they are made by Thomas Hardy, whether or not they represent his personal opinions. But such readers as "The Dynasts" is likely to secure are fairly competent to make their own comments upon the scenes unfolded before them; and Mr. Hardy, in making his, has felt obliged on many occasions to present them in lyrical verse, a form of expression in which, *me judice*, he is far from an adept. With the substance, the thought of his choruses, I have no quarrel, though doubtless it would be easy to quarrel with it from certain points of view; but with the form there seems to be room for dissatisfaction. Lyrical charm is almost completely absent, and lyrical power is almost frustrated, save exceptionally, by a strained diction and a rhythmical roughness that are often distracting and not infrequently distressing. I shall refer to the matter later, and will only record here my belief that, if Mr. Hardy had omitted his choruses, he would have greatly diminished the number of his hostile or unsympathetic readers and critics.

After explaining his introduction of spirits, Mr. Hardy informs us that no attempt has been made to secure for such a "chronicle piece" the "completely organic structure of action" and the "development of character and motive" that are "demanded in a drama strictly self-contained." The reader,—that is, the spectator in thought, since "The Dynasts" is clearly "a play intended simply for mental performance, and not for the stage,"—must become a "performer whenever called upon," must fill in the gaps, or such "a historical presentment on an intermittent plan, in which the *dramatis personæ* number some hundreds, becomes in his individual case unsuitable."

As for the objection of the critics that "to declare a drama as being not for the stage is to make an announcement whose subject and predicate cancel each other," Mr. Hardy argues that the "question seems to be an unimportant matter of terminology." That it is a matter of terminology may be freely confessed; that it is unimportant will not be readily admitted by any critic who has been perplexed by the vagueness of the terms employed by his fellow-critics. It might have been wiser to have entitled this colossal creation a dramatic poem, or, since many scenes are in prose, a dramatic composition. It might also have been more prudent for Mr. Hardy to have refrained from speculating whether "mental performance alone may not eventually be the fate of all drama other than that of contemporary or frivolous life." With skilful wielders of blank verse struggling heroically to write tragedies, with dramatic schools and chairs of dramatic literature being established among us, it would seem polite to cast no doubt whatsoever upon the probability that the twentieth century will witness the creation of a poetic drama in English surpassing that of the glorious days of Elizabeth and James. But Mr. Hardy has never been noted for his polite toleranec of what he regards as illusions, and I, for one, have found the closing pages of his preface interesting and suggestive.

We are now in the presence of the monstrous performance itself, and we first encounter a table of contents long enough for a treatise, and a list of characters entering the First Part in which the individuals who bear historic names number no less than eighty, if I can trust my count, though some of them, it should be noted, do no speaking. As for the spirits and the unnamed soldiers, sailors, courtiers, and citizens, they would certainly require the Napoleonic Empire for a stage. It is less of an exaggeration to state that the men decidedly outnumber the women, though I may premise here that the scenes in which the Empress Josephine and Queen Louisa of Prussia are brought forward in the Second Part, where women come more to the front, are among the best that Mr. Hardy has achieved.

The Fore Scene is given over to the Spirits; and on the third page one line —

The free trajection of our entities —

shows plainly enough why some critics are disconcerted at Mr. Hardy's appearance as a poet. The prosaic quality of the word *moves* in the following passage, together with the misplaced rhyme it makes, deepens our compassion for the perplexed critics:—

Our thought being now reflexed
To forces operant on this English isle,

Behooves it us to enter scene by scene,
And watch the spectacle of Europe's moves
In her embroil —

Yet shortly afterward we have four lines that at least serve to show why Mr. Hardy believes in his own capacity to write poetry:—

We'll close up Time, as a bird its van,
We'll traverse Space, as Spirits can,
Link pulses severed by leagues and years,
Bring cradles into touch with biers.

One finishes the Fore Scene with the feeling that one has been reading a mixture of prose and poetry, chaotic but impressive through a pervading force of imagination and reflection. This feeling persists for all the scenes in which the spirit choruses play a part. Even to give a catalogue of the acts and scenes that follow would demand considerable space; to comment upon them, however briefly, would be out of the question. It must suffice to say that the play begins on a "Ridge in Wessex," in March, 1805, with a conversation between passengers in a stage coach, which in its realism reminds us of the Hardy we once thought we knew. Then the scene shifts to the office of the Minister of Marine in Paris, and we have an unfamiliar Hardy essaying blank-verse. A by no means feeble scene in the old House of Commons follows, Sheridan and Fox baiting Pitt, and that statesman replying — all in verse that is fairly adequate, and in a realistic tone that makes me at least feel that Mr. Hardy has succeeded better in representing a deliberative assembly than Robert Browning did in "Strafford."

Skipping to the third scene of the second act, we come upon the camp and harbor of Boulogne, and upon one of the very best features of "The Dynasts," to wit, the fine description of the locality and of a dumb-show that takes place before the characters begin to speak. Some of these descriptions are most strikingly imaginative, and are worthy of Hardy, the novelist, at his best. In this third scene, Napoleon, whom Mr. Hardy consistently presents as Napoleon, makes his first appearance. It is doing no injustice either to him or to our author to say that we prefer the next scene but one which shows us Egdon Heath once more, with two old men waiting to light the signal fires and "Private Cantle of the Locals and his wife Keziar down at Bloom's-End" — all of whom might have stepped out of "The Return of the Native."

Skipping still — I do it here for the reader's sake, but felt no inclination whatever to do it for my own sake when I was reading the book — we arrive at the first scene of the fourth act, which gives us a very satisfactory dialogue between Pitt and George III, an unfortunate monarch who is here portrayed with sympathy and intelligence. Then the scene shifts

to Ulm, and we have an opportunity of judging how Mr. Hardy will handle what must be the main material of the writer that deals with Napoleon — the movements of leaders and troops. It seems to me that in his battle scenes he has grappled manfully with his difficulties and, on the whole, attained a success worthy of much praise. Certainly the fifth act, which is mainly devoted to Trafalgar, is a vivid presentation of that tremendous event; and the dying scene of Nelson contains real poetry, which, however, is exchanged in the closing chorus for a jumble of words, not precisely for doggerel. The sixth act gives us Austerlitz and the death of Pitt, and is a natural breaking-point for the First Part.

I, myself, do not see how any reader interested in a great historic period and endowed with a fair appreciation of imaginative literature can put down the opening volume of "The Dynasts" without feeling that it is a remarkably able book, whether or not it is a successful drama or a great poem. To judge it technically as drama, or as poetry, and, finding it wanting, to forbear to ask whether a composition so pregnant with thought and imagination is not a piece of literature that transcends the conventional categories and canons and as yet defies analysis, seems to me a rather blind and hazardous procedure. The way in which American critics have been forced to accept as poetry what thirty and forty years ago most cultivated readers denominated the "barbaric yawps" of Walt Whitman ought to induce in the critics of "The Dynasts" a reserve and caution which thus far many of them have not displayed. And if a writer who essays blank verse cannot be a poet unless he uses that measure as Tennyson did, what becomes of Robert Browning and not a few of our early dramatists?

The Second Part, though it also is divided into six acts, is longer than the First Part, and, *mirabile dictu*, contains a good many more characters. If I am not mistaken, it improves upon its predecessor both in dramatic power and in poetic quality. A very fair proportion of its forty-three scenes seem to rise above the adequate to the good; and, even if we deny to each and every scene the epithet great, we are not thereby stopped from asking ourselves whether we are justified in denying that epithet to the volume as a whole. At the very least it is an impressive composition, which only a great writer could have conceived and executed.

It begins in Fox's lodgings, Arlington Street, carries us to Jena, Berlin, Tilsit — where Napoleon, Alexander of Russia, and Queen Louisa play the leading parts, and most interestingly — then to Spain, where the licentious Queen and Don Manuel Godoy, Prince of Peace, give us all the evidence we need of the moral rottenness of the Bourbons, and of the necessity of that rôle of scourge which Napoleon was permitted by Providence to play.

The part he played in the divorce of Josephine it would be somewhat impious to saddle on Providence, and it would be unduly flattering Mr. Hardy to affirm that he makes the Emperor and Empress comport themselves as a truly great dramatist might have done. Still, he cannot fairly be said to have fallen short of effectiveness either in the scenes devoted to this domestic tragedy, or in those that give us the wooing and espousing of Marie Louise. As for the scenes dealing with Wagram, Talavera, Walcheren, and Torrès Vídeas, they perhaps surpass the battle scenes in Part First; and the pathetic scene with the mad George III in the room in Windsor Castle makes us feel that Hardy the playwright has not lost the skill Hardy the novelist had in sounding the depths of the human heart. And we know that he is still the same master of irony, when we close this second volume with the entertainment at Carlton House, where the Prince Regent, later to be his unmajestic Majesty George IV, "sits like a lay figure, in a state chair of crimson and gold, with six servants at his back." Even the final chorus does not deter us from hoping that it will not be long before we have the third instalment of this amorphous but none the less memorable literary experiment.

Hark at the wind-combed Ural pines;
See how each, pendulum-wise, inclines;
Mark the cloud's labyrinthine lines;

Behold the tumbling Biscay Bay;
The midland main in silent sway;
As urged to move them, so move they.

No less through regal puppet-shows
The rapt Determinator throes,
That neither good nor evil knows!

This is not great lyrical poetry; there is probably little, if any, great dramatic poetry throughout the multitude of scenes; but there is some good, and a great deal of passable, verse; there is some excellent prose; and there is a continuous manifestation of imagination and intelligence for which I am glad to acknowledge myself deeply grateful. It is not my duty to insist that Mr. Hardy should have given us in the past ten years another novel worthy to stand beside "Tess" and "The Return of the Native." He has chosen to give us "The Dynasts"; and it is my privilege to protest against any criticism of that extraordinary work that is not respectful, and, if condemnatory, at least somewhat tentative.

W. P. TRENT.

TYPES OF RECENT BIOGRAPHY.

It is an interesting fact in the history of literary *genres* that two of the great examples of biographical writing occur almost side by side. Less than a decade separates the completion of Johnson's "Lives of the Poets" — happily honored in the new edition of the late Dr. Birkbeck Hill — from the publication of his own Life by Boswell. Yet with the latter book a new type of biography came into being. Johnson, in the main, had, like most of his predecessors, followed a simple narrative and expository method, prefixing a plain story of the poet's life to a systematic account of his character and a critical estimate of his works. He gathered his facts and impressions together, and spoke for the author and for himself. Boswell, on the other hand, making use of a more dramatic method, succeeded in his attempt to let the author reveal himself, and, instead of an exposition of character, painted a picture of personality, to which his own comments were subordinate. What we see as a type of mind and character in Johnson's work, we see as a living man in Boswell.

The works of these two masters may be taken as the chief types of, at least, English biographical writing. What Johnson did may, in the main, stand for much of the great biography of the world. To this type belong Plutarch and Walton. And biography, too, when used for the purposes of satire, frequently followed such a method. In Boswell, on the other hand, is to be found the great original and prototype, regarded as a literary form, of much modern biography. Lockhart's "Scott," Trevelyan's "Macaulay," Mr. Mackail's "William Morris," Professor Norton's "Lowell," and a host of "lives and letters," belong to this class. Only, modern biographers, excellent as they are, seem to fall short of Boswell in two important respects: they have no such wealth of material as the devotion of Boswell inspired him to collect, and no such skill as his. For, with moderns, the less real and intimate medium of letters usually takes the place of the first-hand reports of talk; and, lacking such varied and copious material, the modern biographer has not the means, if he has the art, of drawing so salient a figure as illumines Boswell's pages. Consequently, Boswell remains the great exemplar of the intimate personal biography; and many lives will, as works of art, aside from interest in the subject, continue to be estimated by their approach to the type laid down by him, just as the best of Johnson's "Lives of the Poets" —

Cowley, Swift, or Pope, for example — may always furnish a convenient type and touchstone for biography of the more direct, expository, critical sort.

Of very recent biographies, the one perhaps most approximating the Boswellian type is Mr. Francis Wilson's "Joseph Jefferson."¹ Superficially, in point of age, Mr. Wilson bears about the same relation to the great American comedian that Boswell bore to the famous Doctor, and, like Boswell, he has evidently been at some pains to take down Jefferson's talk as it came from him. After relating a capital anecdote about a difference of opinion between Jefferson and Irving, Mr. Wilson continues:

This time he was arrayed in a full set of blue jeans, and was painting away and answering my questions. I was sitting at a table opposite, writing down his responses. He went on with his brush or feathers or fingers, until I had set down the words and had launched forth with more questions. He must have known that I was taking notes, for he said I must not print the Irving discussion — at least not *now*. Sometimes I read aloud what he said, and he corrected me if I had mistaken him. Like Boswell, "I know not how such whimsical ideas came into my head," but I asked him the most disconnected things, which often extracted a laugh from him, and always a reply. If a question startled him, he would even put down his brushes and palette, and, with fingers stiff with many-colored paints, would walk up and down the room, turning now and then to me to emphasize some remark.

Boswell-like, I asked him a variety of unrelated questions about his daughters, his sons, whether he meant to revive "The Rivals," why he painted with his fingers, why his hair kept so dark, how long he had been playing "Rip Van Winkle," and the like.

The comedy-like quality of this passage perhaps suggests the impression that Mr. Wilson is always the good-natured comedian and actor, even in a labor of love like the book before us. The Life is, indeed, not a solemn one. Its aim is not, as the writer says in his preface, to give the facts of Jefferson's life, or to estimate his work as an actor, as has been done by Mr. William Winter; or, on the other hand, to depict the actor's personality, a thing done by Jefferson himself in the pages of his Autobiography; but "merely to set down the reminiscences, mostly anecdotal."

Much more, indeed, than the excellent anecdotes with which the book abounds, and the pleasant reminiscences which Mr. Wilson so copiously gives us, could hardly be looked for in a biography of a man so recently deceased as Jefferson. Furthermore, the nature of Jefferson's profession precludes, for the most part, any other source or method of interest than that of personality. An actor's success and fame are made during his lifetime, or not at all. His excellence lies in the hands of his contemporaries, and must chiefly be measured by his actual vogue. If he survive

¹"Joseph Jefferson. Reminiscences of a Fellow Player." By Francis Wilson. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906.

his death, it is chiefly by name, as with Garrick, or in the affections of those who have seen him, as with Booth. *Vidi Virgilium tantum*, as Scott said of Burns. The precariousness of the actor's fame, Jefferson himself fully recognized:

I shall not be remembered as an actor much longer than the lifetime of those who see me play. After that I may be the subject of an occasional anecdote, that's all. If the memory of me lives longer, it will be because of my book.

Immediate and personal as Mr. Wilson is, he does not, however, neglect to give a pretty complete account, if a scattering one, of Jefferson's activities as they came under his eye. Popularly, Jefferson was a beloved comedian who was, for fifty years, Rip Van Winkle and Bob Acres, and who often went fishing with his friend Mr. Cleveland. In Mr. Wilson's pages, Jefferson is not only these things, but also a pleasant author, a tactful speaker, a lover and collector of pictures, a painter — as his two exhibitions at Washington in 1899 and 1900 bear witness — of no mean merit, a gentle companion, and a wise and kindly man. The book is full of witty and keen sayings, and to this side of Jefferson's activity Mr. Wilson is himself too genial and genuine a comedian not to give full and interesting appreciation. Mr. Wilson is, naturally, no rival of Boswell in the literary field. For such praise, his book is too lacking in the true manner of winning desultoriness. Often, as in his chapter on the All-Star "Rivals," he tends to wander into triviality, nor does he give a really systematic account of the life of his master, apart from more or less grouped anecdotes. But his analysis of many of the elements of Jefferson's success — as in "Rip Van Winkle" — is a good one, and the chief impressions are agreeable.

A much more important book, one that when completed bids fair to become one of the important contributions to our biographical knowledge during recent years, is Birukoff's "Tolstoy," which comes in anonymous translation.¹ Tolstoy is, of course, among all living men, a character of the very first rank, and anything concerning him must command attention. M. Birukoff's method is mainly of the Boswellian type, but Boswell somewhat Germanized, or "scientifically" treated. That is to say, Mr. Birukoff has taken considerable pains — and with much friendly reverence, to collect material about his subject. This material he classifies, in his introduction, under four general heads: Tolstoy's own autobiographical notes, letters, and diaries; reminiscences and notices by friends and acquaintances; notices of the author from outside sources, and from his

¹ "Leo Tolstoy. His Life and Work." Autobiographical memoirs, letters, and biographical material, compiled by Paul Birukoff, and revised by Leo Tolstoy. Volume I, Childhood and Early Manhood. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906.

own novels; and articles and books about the great Russian. The book is, as the author says, a compilation. It is a storehouse of material, and Mr. Birukoff modestly adds for his own share in the work only a modicum of passing comment and a compact conclusion.

The present volume carries Tolstoy from his birth, in 1828, to his marriage, in 1862. His life, externally, is not difficult to describe. He was born in the twentieth generation of a family which emigrated from Germany in the middle of the fourteenth century. To an ancestor, Peter Andreyevich Tolstoy, the title of count had been given in 1724 by the Empress Catherine. His mother was of the family of the Princes Volkonsky, descendants of Rurik, the reputed founder of the Russian monarchy. Tolstoy was himself born at Yasnaya Polyana, near Tula, some two hundred miles to the south of Moscow, and in these places he passed his boyhood. In 1844 he entered the University of Kazan, but, failing to apply himself except to the study of law, and dissatisfied with formal education, left the university at the end of three years. After four years at his birthplace and at Moscow, he suddenly, under the influence of his brother, entered the army, and during the next four years saw service, with credit to himself, against the tribes of the Caucasus, against the Turks on the Danube, and at Sebastopol. While in the army, he entered the field of literature by publishing, in September, 1852, his first work, "Childhood," in the St. Petersburg "Contemporary." From the end of the Crimean War he lived chiefly at St. Petersburg and Moscow, and during that time published several of his tales and reminiscences. The other chief occupations, up to his marriage, were two journeys to Western Europe and experiments in the education of his dependents and neighbors.

More interesting is the history of his inner life, since this supplies the motives for what was, on the surface, a somewhat shifting and desultory existence. The nature of this life is, for the most part, to be gathered from Tolstoy's own account of himself, written when he had acquired sufficient experience to adopt a rather critical perspective toward his boyhood days. The things which appear amid a copious body of introspective writing and anecdote are his failure to accept his surroundings, and the incompatibility between his ideals and what he conceived his character to be. As to the first of these, it was, for example, as his biographer says of his going to the Caucasus, "the unsuccessful attempt to keep house, the impossibility of establishing good relations with the peasants, and the passionate, perilous life, full of all kinds of excesses — [which] induced Tolstoy to search for a means of changing his mode of life."

Such failure to accept the world as he found it is everywhere apparent. "History," he said, according to the story of the fellow-student imprisoned with him at the university for some breach of discipline, "is nothing but a

collection of fables and useless details, sprinkled with a quantity of unnecessary dates and proper names." His attitude to the training given in a formal university course was not unlike that of Gibbon, Carlyle, and Darwin. And, later, when he visited schools in Western Europe, he was dismayed by what he thought to be the viciousness and inadequacy of their attempts to teach their charges anything of real value. The same attitude he frequently carried into his intercourse with his friends, and, on more than one occasion — as, especially, in his quarrel with Turgenev — he was led by outspoken divergence of opinion into irreconcilable altercation. It is not to be thought, however, that Tolstoy approached his surroundings in a spirit of belligerency. Rather, he was a youth of strong sensibility, high ideals, and eager personality. Habitually, he was affectionate and gentle, inclined to introspection, much given to reflection, imaginative, a hater of brutality and cruelty.

As to the second point, Tolstoy's conflict with himself, there was evidently to be a long-continued struggle. Very early in life he came to the conclusion, as have most spiritually-minded and mystical men, that what counts is not facts and events, but one's attitude toward them. Like many great men, he thought that the kingdom of God is within you, that "wealth consists in substance, not in ciphers," that there is nothing "but thinking makes it so." Though impressing his companions as a grave and somewhat solitary youth, he was, nevertheless, of a very passionate temperament, fond of sports, gayety, and gaming, to which he frequently turned when the spirit failed to overcome the flesh. The conflict between his temperament and his spirit was a severe one. He looked upon himself with an almost morbid distrust, somewhat in the manner of Bunyan, with whom he had much in common. The difference, however, in training and in religious belief between himself and the English preacher, prevented his regarding himself as an eternally lost soul, as did his predecessor. Instead of fleeing the vengeance of an angry God, he rather chided himself for shortcomings in character. At the age of twenty-two, for example, he wrote in his diary:

These are the causes of my failures: (1) Irresolution, *i.e.*, want of energy. (2) Self-deception. (3) Haste. (4) *Fausse-honte*. (5) A bad frame of mind. (6) Instability. (7) The habit of imitation. (8) Fickleness. (9) Thoughtlessness.

In view of such consciousness of failure, of which the biographer gives many instances, Tolstoy early began the struggle for perfection. At one time he indulged in flagellation, to teach himself to bear pain. With more intellectual and spiritual intent, he drew up rules of conduct and laid out for himself impossible programmes of work. Thus, in March, 1847, he wrote in his diary:

I have greatly changed, but still have not attained that degree of perfection (in my occupations) which I would like to attain. I do not fulfil that which I set myself to do, and what I do fulfil I do not fulfil well, I do not exercise my memory. For this purpose I have here set down some rules, which, as it seems to me, would greatly help if I followed them:

- (1) To fulfil, despite everything, that which I set myself.
- (2) To fulfil well what I do fulfil.
- (3) Never to refer to a book for what I have forgotten, but to endeavor to recall it to mind myself.
- (4) Continually to compel my mind to work with the utmost power it is capable of.
- (5) To read and think aloud always.
- (6) Not to be ashamed of telling those who interrupt me that they hinder me; at first let them only feel it, hit them if they do not understand (that they are hindering me), then apologize and tell them so.

And in the following month, more specifically:

The object of life is the conscious aspiration toward the many-sided development of all that exists.

The object of life in the country during two years:

- (1) To study the whole course of law necessary for the final university examination.
- (2) To study practical medicine and a part of the theory.
- (3) To study these languages: French, Russian, German, English, Italian, and Latin.
- (4) To study agriculture, both theoretically and practically.
- (5) To study history, geography, and statistics.
- (6) To study mathematics, gymnasium course.
- (7) To write my university essay.
- (8) To attain the highest possible perfection in music and painting.
- (9) To write down the rules of conduct.
- (10) To acquire some knowledge of the natural sciences.
- And (11) to compose essays on all the subjects I shall study.

Did ever man so grope and aspire after the unattainable! And yet, as his biographer says, "All the subsequent life of Tolstoy in the country is full of such dreams, good beginnings, and sincere and serious struggles with himself after perfection."

Resolutions like the foregoing are not uncommon to sincere and active minds, but they often reveal the fact that the writers do not justly estimate their own powers in relation to the world; and many men have made equally startling resolutions who have never afterward been heard from except as types of mind. What, of course, gives Tolstoy his great distinction, what has made his one of the great names of the century, was his great capacity for receiving impressions, his undying sincerity, and an uncommon gift of expression. These things are clear from the documents supplied by M. Birukoff. Tolstoy's success as a literary artist was immediate and striking. Few writers have sooner come to their own and been more widely read. The long years of apprenticeship were practically unknown to him. Rather — like Ruskin, and, in a wholly different vein, Swift — he early found his literary expression, and went on writing,

gaining strength and substance as he proceeded, but always with a marked and individual quality.

It is evident, if one examines Tolstoy's work in the light of the present volume, that he is essentially a writer of himself. His gift of sincere and striking self-revelation is extraordinary, and many of the scenes which he so vividly describes are but transcripts of what he himself saw, or the imaginative groupings of his impressions and emotional reflections, as it were, on what he had seen and lived through. To such temperament and such experience are often chargeable, with Tolstoy as with Ruskin and writers like him, the frequent iteration and not uncommon prolixity of their work. Their very earnestness and intensity causes them to repeat themselves — causes them, if we may reverse the point of view, to create in the reader impressions of largeness and momentum and spirit, rather than to give him even and equable reflections and facts. Many of the observations and ideas cited in the present memoir seem, like parts of "Anna Karénina" or "Resurrection," to be comparatively trivial, but they gain force from the integrity, the candor, and the passionate earnestness of the spirit which informs and directs them.

A much more modest book, in point of size, than the "Tolstoy," though by no means so modest in the attitude of the author toward his subject, is Mr. Lang's "Sir Walter Scott."¹ Indeed, Mr. Lang's attitude is to some degree justifiable; for, as he says in the preface, "I have tried to compress as much as I may of the essence of Lockhart's great book into small space, with a few additions from other sources." Typically, then, "Sir Walter Scott" is a short-cut biography; and since in any process of squeezing some juice is liable to trickle away, Mr. Lang has been under the necessity of supplying much of the humor. One therefore finds a good deal of the writer of the present volume in its pages. There are remarks of this description:

The design [*i.e.*, of writing a poem which should, in Scott's words, "make the earth yawn and devour the English," as it did at Bannockburn] was long deferred; and when it was fulfilled the Earth is not the only person who yawns in the course of "The Lord of the Isles."

Speaking of Constable's "Miscellany," he says:

Real books had never prospered since cheap little volumes of boiled-down information, the tinned meats of the intellectual life, were introduced.

Of critics and novelists he says:

In an age when an acquaintance with Fitz-Gerald's "Rubáiyát" of Omar Kháyyám, an exhaustive ignorance of all literature of the past, and an especial

¹ "Sir Walter Scott." By Andrew Lang. Literary Lives series. New York: Scribner's, 1906.

contempt for Scott, whom Fitz-Gerald so intensely admired, are the equipment of many critics, we must be very cautious in praising the *Waverley* novels. They are not the work of a passionate, a squalid, or a wholly uneducated genius. They are not the work of any Peeping Tom who studies woman in her dressing-room, and tries to spy out the secrets of the eternally feminine. We have novels to-day—novels by males—full of clever sayings and dissections of womankind, which Scott would have thrown into the fire.

In a more serious vein, but with his same sureness of utterance, he tells us that:

The man who killed the formation of private libraries was Walter Scott. His "*Waverley*" appeared in 1814, and henceforth few people purchased any books except novels. Poetry soon became a "drug on the market," and the taste for "the classics," whether ancient or modern, died away: the novel was everything, and presently novels were produced from the circulating library.

In fact, Mr. Lang's chief contribution in this volume is to our collection of epigrams, and to our stock of somewhat buoyant common sense.

Otherwise, though Mr. Lang never lets you yawn, his book is itself a specimen of intellectual "tinned meat." Except in the matter of condensing Lockhart, it is a bit difficult to see what addition the book makes to our convenience. It adds little to our knowledge. It is not so good as Hutton's "Scott" in the English Men of Letters series—the account of Scott's relations with the Ballantynes and Constable, and his subsequent failure, is much less lucid. Mr. Lang's judgment in regarding "*Old Mortality*," "*The Heart of Mid-Lothian*," "*The Fortunes of Nigel*," "*Red-gauntlet*," and "*The Fair Maid of Perth*" as representing Scott's highest, though not most popular, achievement, is sound; but then, there has never been serious doubt about the matter. Even in the art of condensation, Mr. Lang could have learned much had he taken as his model Sir Leslie Stephen's excellent digest of Boswell's *Johnson*, in the English Men of Letters.

All in all, Mr. Lang's readable, if somewhat hasty, book belongs to the type of biography perhaps best represented, among biographies of recent years, by the "*Browning*" of Mr. Gilbert Chesterton. Sometimes one cannot see the author for the biographer. Certainly it is a curious phenomenon to see two such different books—each excellent in its way—in the same series as the "*Browning*" just cited and Mr. A. C. Benson's "*Walter Pater*."¹ The fact is pregnant with suggestion as to the catholicity of modern biography and criticism. Mr. Benson writes with the most scrupulous self-effacement. Throughout he walks warily, reverently, seriously, decorously, and his admiration is so constant that in

¹ "*Walter Pater*." By A. C. Benson. English Men of Letters. New York and London: Macmillan, 1906.

one or two passages, as in the opening pages and the last chapter of the book, he falls somewhat into the manner of the master. Pater has been given into uncommonly sympathetic hands.

Mr. Benson's book is a more important one than Mr. Lang's, not by reason of the subject, but because the material has been less frequently exploited. The external facts are meagre. To most readers, Pater is to so great a degree an attitude of mind, a disembodied spirit, a type of intellectual beauty, a name and a style to conjure with, that to place him on the earth is like plucking bright honor from the pale-faced moon. The facts which Mr. Benson gives us would not fill many pages: Pater may possibly have come of Dutch family, his father was born in New York City, he himself spent, say, half of his life as fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford, and the last eight or ten years mainly in Kensington, where, as at Oxford, he lived with great simplicity and reserve, producing one or two finished essays a year, from his "Coleridge," in 1866, until 1894, the year of his death. In appearance, he was a rather large-framed man, with a large pallid countenance, a projecting lower jaw, and long mustaches. In public he always wore a silk hat, and (the remark is not Mr. Benson's) he may occasionally — a circumstance which greatly amazed Mr. Max Beerbohm by reason of its incompatibility with his ideal of Pater — have carried yellow gloves. In manner, Pater was quiet, reserved, though friendly, courteous, never preoccupied. In attitude of mind he was gentle and reverent.

With so thin an array of facts and traits at his disposal, it is evident that Mr. Benson is obliged to treat Pater more as a spiritual process than as a human man. Accordingly, the major part of his book is given over to an account — with copious summaries — of Pater's writings. It is a summary of the contents of Pater's mind as expressed in his writings. In this respect it is, like Mr. Lang's "Scott," a short cut to something more voluminous. More than that, however, it tells clearly what were the ideals Pater set for himself to follow, intellectually and in point of expression.

Pater's art criticism was distinctly of a literary and traditional type. He made little attempt to trace or weigh the extrinsic value of works of art, or to discuss the subject from the archaeological or the technical point of view. He accepted the traditional knowledge of the period, made no artistic discoveries, settled no controverted points. His concern was entirely with the artistic merits of a picture and its poetical suggestiveness; his criticism, indeed, was of the type which he defined in a review which he wrote many years afterward for the "Guardian," as "imaginative criticism" — "that criticism which is in itself a kind of construction, or creation, as it penetrates, through the given literary or artistic product, into the mental and inner constitution of the producer, shaping his work"; and thus the errors which he made . . . do not really affect the value of his criticism very greatly.

This view is borne out by the doctrines in the introduction to "The Renaissance" and in the essay on Style. Pater was, after all, a medium for expressing beautiful sensations and perceptions as he received them; and his pains in style, his search for the right word, his "foreseeing the end in the beginning," were but means of being true to his impression.

What one misses in such a biography is, chiefly, any attempt at a collective estimate of Pater. What he stands for in the minds and affections of some scores of devoted followers is already pretty well known. Consequently, we would gladly know something of the range as well as the choiceness of his vogue, and whether there are any signs that the devotion of a few disciples is more than a passing vogue or affectation. Such questions are important critical ones, but, unfortunately, are seldom answered by biographers in other than such general phrases as: "His fame is secure," or: "He is of the kin of Shakespeare."

And, again, Mr. Benson is somewhat unsatisfactory in his passing accounts of what is commonly associated with Pater's name — style. It would surely be more illuminating to pass beyond the assumption that Pater's manner is a thing of beauty — if not a joy forever — and show more fully how it developed and finally went rather to seed, as in, say, the essay on Style. It is a question, indeed, whether the words of Mr. Benson in praise of that essay do not also carry its condemnation, rationally, as a form of expression:

It is indeed so elaborate, so carefully wrought, it disdains so solemnly the devices that bring lucidity, the way-posts and milestones of the road, that in reading it one is apt to lose the sense of its structure and not to realize what a simple case he is presenting.

These criticisms come down to the fact that Mr. Benson is inclined to be somewhat too *a priori* and conjectural. Pater might have done so and so, but we are not really sure about the matter, is an occasional failing in the author's method. In respect to composition, Mr. Benson could easily have had a better notion of emphasis and salience.

It is difficult to see why four of the seventy small pages in Mr. Singer's rather miscellaneous volume on Rossetti¹ should be taken up with quoting "The Blessed Damozel." Concerning this, the author says that "it is the most wonderful piece of work, in all the history of the world, which has ever been produced by a youth of less than nineteen summers." Extravagant praise, surely. The sketch, in the main, contains several interesting observations and some facts, but little that is new; it merely attempts to popularize knowledge. Such being the case, it is a great pity that Mr. Singer did not take a leaf from Johnson — to whose "Lives" the

¹ "Dante Gabriel Rossetti." By H. W. Singer. The Langham Series of Art Monographs. New York: Scribner's, 1906.

present volume in some respects, as a type, conforms — and learn to write clear, straightforward narrative and exposition, the desideratum in works designed for popular use. The tendency of Mr. Singer is toward a protagonist attitude, and occasionally he allows his enthusiasm to reach the point of mystification, though he never attains the pretentious and paradoxical perfection of obscurity of, say, the last fifty pages of Mr. Chesterton's sketch of Watts, wherein the panegyric and apotheosis of the human back and the earthiness of the colors on Mr. Watts's palette are the most questionable things which I remember ever having seen from the pen of a serious critic. But perhaps Mr. Chesterton was not serious.

Interesting as are these biographies, what one notices in them all, in varying degree, is lack of centrality of effect and fusion of facts into a composition. And it is to be presumed that they are all typical, in various ways, of much modern biographical composition. It is to be regretted that they do not, in some instances, follow more closely the principles dominating the two great typical examples of biography which were cited at the beginning of this review, and from both of which he who would write clearly and simply and plainly has much to learn.

WILLIAM T. BREWSTER.

THE EDUCATIONAL OUTLOOK.

EVERY month brings us nearer to the recognition of the need of speedy readjustment of the programmes of elementary and secondary schools. A new civilization is upon us, with problems and ideals which could not even have been dreamed of by the makers of the traditional courses of study. In the economic field, especially, changes have taken place which amount almost to a revolution. We have seen the apprentice system disappear, and machine product taking the place of the product of the hand. The control of machinery requires a knowledge and skill for which there was no demand in the past. The anomalous condition presenting itself is, that economic life expects individuals to possess a training for which no provision is made in the general scheme of education. The boy leaving school at fourteen or sixteen, finding no apprentice period offered him, and having obtained no training directly fitting him for a practical pursuit, must needs drift until by sheer strength of will and ingenuity he hews out for himself some definite life-work. At best there is a tremendous waste of time and energy for want of specific direction. This danger, added to the fact that a large proportion of the graduates of our schools lack self-direction, accounts to a considerable extent for the vast number of unskilled laborers which threaten the industrial peace of the world.

There seems to be no place in present-day economy for "the average boy" as the past knew him. The reason for this is that life outside of the school-room took him in hand and prepared him by more or less heroic methods for useful pursuits. Now, the burden of responsibility has been shifted upon the schools, but no provision has been made to enable and compel the schools to meet the new requirements. The industrial world has pocketed the savings accruing to it from the abolition of the apprentice system, and has not appropriately endowed the institutions to which it looks for an assumption of its former responsibilities.

Financial support and compulsory introduction of industrial training will not solve the problem. The attitude of the schools must adjust itself to the spirit of the present civilization before they can be safely entrusted to the wise expenditure of the funds. There must be a frank and full acknowledgment of the inadequacy of their traditional literary programme. The gospel of education must be that manual skill is a surer equipment for the battle of life than are turrets and swords; that freedom is vouchsafed to him only who can share productively in the labor of the world. As long

as the designing brain is nurtured by an almost purely literary and mathematical programme, and willing hands are not given in school the encouragement of recognition, training, and reward, so long will there be industrial tyrants and a disheartened proletariat. The producer is in need of a definite form of intelligence which he can utilize to advantage in his special pursuit. The agent for the sale of the finished products is in need of that practical acquaintance with the methods of production which will enable him to present his claims intelligently. The manufacturer must have an extensive knowledge of the industrial and commercial activities involved in his particular enterprise, if he wants to be permanently successful; the ever increasing stress of competition will compel him to be thoroughly conversant with the economics of his enterprise.

Nowhere are the industrial needs more intelligently recognized than in Germany. Our own department of Commerce and Labor has recently issued a remarkable volume of special consular reports on "Industrial Education and Industrial Conditions in Germany," which is deserving of the most careful attention of all thoughtful people. England is making strenuous efforts to keep up with Germany in the extension of technical education. France and Italy are wrestling with the problem. Japan, too, has entered the industrial arena, and will before long be joined by China. We in America can hardly afford to delay action.

The German "continuation schools" are especially worth studying. They are attended by the children above fourteen years of age who must go to work to earn a living. Some of these schools concern themselves with general industrial training, while others specialize on commercial subjects. The cultural studies are carried on in all of them. German, drawing, and arithmetic are taught everywhere. Some of the more favored schools add to this, advanced work in geometry, physics, and chemistry. The commercial schools emphasize bookkeeping, correspondence, languages, commercial arithmetic, commercial geography, and office work. The industrial schools supply instruction in the subjects which have particularly practical value to the local industry or industries. The continuation schools, which really complement primary education, are in session in the evenings and on Sundays, thus enabling their pupils to labor at money-earning occupations during the week days. General education is throughout considered fundamental to industrial training. The pre-eminence of drawing impresses itself particularly on the observation of the American visitor. The method of instruction is intensely practical. In German, for example, the reading matter deals chiefly with industrial and business subjects, with technology, with the laws, especially those governing labor and commerce, and with political economy, especially in reference to the institutions

with which the every-day citizen is likely to come in most frequent contact. The industrial continuation schools for girls generally include the household arts in addition to general culture subjects and instruction in the local industries where woman's labor is most in demand.

The leaders in the field of technical education in Germany fully recognize that a high degree of efficiency is necessary to preserve Germany's hold upon foreign markets. Thus Herr Möller, the Prussian minister of commerce, in an address referred to by United States Consul-General Mason at Berlin, said:

Those whom we have been pushing out are beginning to defend themselves. Our former markets are becoming producing countries, and we shall doubtless have to see certain branches of our business decline and pass over to other countries which have cheaper labor than we. Hence we shall be more and more obliged to perfect our industries, and not only to follow up promptly all novelties and changes of taste, but to take the lead in creating such changes.

Considering that in the department of chemical manufacture alone Germany produces a total annual output of about \$300,000,000, the weight of this consideration appeals very strongly to the thoughtful citizen. It is because the need of efficient technical training is so thoroughly realized that the German people have cheerfully consented to be taxed for the support and development of industrial education. The buildings occupied by several of the technical high schools are palaces, speaking more eloquently than words could do of the important place they occupy. It is doubtful whether a more beautiful structure than that occupied by the Technical High School of Charlottenburg was ever set aside anywhere for industrial training purposes.

A significant indication of the present trend in our own land is the meeting in behalf of Technical and Industrial Education recently held under the auspices of the Graduates Club of New York City, and presided over by Dr. James P. Haney. The Hon. John C. Monaghan, of the Bureau of Manufacturers, Department of Commerce and Labor, spoke especially of the lessons to be learned of the industrial schools of Germany which he investigated as an officer of the government. Dr. Thomas M. Balliet, for many years superintendent of the schools of Springfield, Massachusetts, and now Dean of the School of Pedagogy of New York University, presented the necessity of Technical High Schools. Mr. J. Ernest G. Yalden, superintendent of the Baron Hirsch Trade School of New York City, pleaded for the establishment of apprentice trade schools as supplementary to public elementary education. Mr. Milton P. Higgins, of Worcester, Massachusetts, and Mr. Magnus Alexander, of Lynn, both identified with large manufacturing enterprises, described plans for meeting the most urgent demands resulting from modern industrial conditions.

Prof. Richards of Columbia University called attention to the investigations made by a Massachusetts Commission on Industrial and Technical Education, which showed that seventy per cent of families would permit their boys to attend school two years longer than they do if corresponding industrial advantages would result. Mr. Dean, general supervisor of industrial work for the Y. M. C. A., also referred to this report, which relates particularly to the age of the working child from twelve to sixteen. The investigations were to determine what these years in industrial life meant to a child, and what their value might have been. The opinion was expressed that "these three or four years of a working child's life are practically wasted, so far as productive value or efficiency is concerned; that any scheme of education which is to increase the product-efficiency of a child must consider the child of fourteen; and, finally, that the education which fits a child best for his place in the world as a producer tends to his own highest development, physically, intellectually, and morally."

Mr. Monaghan called attention to a fact to which national vanity has been blind hitherto, and that is, that our phenomenal material prosperity is due in a large degree to what have seemed to be inexhaustible industrial resources. With thousands of acres of productive land at his disposal, a farmer does not very seriously entertain the idea of scientific agriculture. With hundreds of thousands of acres of forest land in existence, the wisdom of scientific economy has not made much of an impression upon the lumber man. The havoc wrought by the squandering of our inheritance, and the wanton destruction of a capital which should have been carefully administered for the benefit of generations yet unborn has hastened the need of training in practical industrial economics. The discovery that the knowledge acquired at school was in no wise utilized as it might have been in industrial life has further established the need of correlating the lives of boys and girls to the environment in which they are living and that in which most likely they will have their being after the door of the school is closed behind them.

Dr. Balliet has been recognized for several years as a leader in the field of public technical education. The experiments worked out at Springfield, Massachusetts, under his direction laid a sane foundation for the work most needed at the present time. He argued especially for technical schools, and the rank of secondary schools "in which may be trained that large class of men who come between the engineer and the skilled workman." He would have day high-schools with four-year courses, giving, besides the purely literary training of the traditional programme, thorough instruction in mathematics, mechanics, physics, and chemistry in their applications to the various industries. These schools should teach

mechanical and free-hand drawing, including designing, and should require daily shop work throughout the course, to give a student the principles and many of the details of practice in a number of the trades. He would supply also evening technical schools which should give to skilled workmen, without interruption to their daily work, an opportunity to acquire the necessary scientific and technical training to fit themselves for positions as foremen and superintendents. Mr. Higgins, from his extensive observation, explained that the trade which was formerly taught to the apprentice in close relationship with his master must now be acquired in trade schools, and that the occupations most urgently demanding such schools are those that have to do with machinery, including machinists, pattern-makers, and foundry men. He suggested that such a training school should be organized for the object of teaching trades to boys attending school on half time, one half of the class being in the training shop, while the other was attending to the usual work of the school. He, too, held that the age for beginners should be fourteen or fifteen years, and he felt assured that the pupils would go out at the end of a four-years' course as skilled mechanics worth from two dollars to three dollars a day, with a good education and excellent prospects of advancement.

Mr. Alexander pointed out that a new system of apprenticeship has come into existence. The General Electric Company at West Lynn, Massachusetts, recognizing these conditions, has for the last five years carried on and developed an apprenticeship system which has proved very successful. Applicants have to serve a trial period of from one to two months, during which time they are under the closest scrutiny of a man well qualified to observe the general make-up of the boys. Those who in this period give promise of becoming good artisans are allowed to sign the regular apprenticeship agreement, covering four years of service, with a wage scale, making the boy self-supporting from the very beginning. The aim is not only to develop skilled machinists and tool-makers, carpenters and pattern-makers, iron, steel and brass moulders, instrument makers and electrical workers, etc., but also to develop a class of artisans from whom men for leading positions in the factory may be chosen for assistant foremen, foremen, master mechanics, and superintendents. The following extract from Mr. Alexander's address is particularly worthy of note, as it goes to the very root of the problem:

The modern industrial conditions with their specializing tendencies have introduced complicated specializing machinery, which often can be manipulated only by operatives who have achieved skill in the handling of that particular machine. These conditions, however, have called for a new type of employee, one who can not only operate the complicated machinery, but who also understands the nature of the machine, how to doctor its ills, and to provide it with the auxiliary tool equipment that is neces-

sary for the performance of some specific operation. To occupy such responsible positions, therefore, not only requires dexterity of hand, but also industrial intelligence, which the Massachusetts Commission on Industrial and Technical Education has defined as the mental power to see beyond the task which occupies the hands for the moment to the operations which have preceded and to those which will follow it, — power to take in the whole process, knowledge of materials, ideas of cost, ideas of organization, business sense, and a conscience which recognizes obligations.

Here is indicated a line of thought which has direct bearing upon the reconstruction of school programmes.

The Technical Education evening of the Graduates Club was followed by a three days' session of the Eastern Associations of Art and Manual Training Teachers. The combining of these two organizations in one convention was in itself a significant event. Art and manual training, as far as the elementary schools are concerned, are very profitably taught in close interrelation. This idea has been most fully worked out in the schools of Manhattan and the Bronx, under the leadership of Dr. James P. Haney. Drawing, color work, design, and construction are not taught as separate subjects, but as interrelated parts of one productive whole. At the same time, this work has been correlated with the other studies of the school in such a manner as to bring unity and purpose into a programme which, in itself, would lack cohesion and unification.

The exhibit supplied by Dr. Haney for the meeting gave a very clear idea of the fundamental outlines of his plan, which represents a distinct departure in manual training. It is governed neither by the so-called social-epoch theory, nor does it permit manual training to be treated as a separate subject with a content of its own, as some educators would have it. Dr. Haney aims rather to make the arts serve as modes of expression and as aids to a practical interpretation of the course of study in terms of drawing, construction, and design. In the early years, when the programme of the school is bare and meagre and occupied chiefly with mechanics of the three arts, he utilizes topics chosen from the children's environment, which by the daily contact are endowed with an intense interest. Later on, as the course grows richer, the topics of the programme themselves become the centre around which the arts and crafts revolve.

Dr. Haney's work may well serve as a highly suggestive model for elementary schools with regard to a general art-industrial training. Meanwhile, a departure has been made at Springfield, Massachusetts, in the direction of a specifically practical preparation for the mechanical trades. This marks the first beginning in supplying this sort of instruction through the common schools at public expense. Seven years ago there was established in the shops of the Manual Training High School a course of trade instruction for men already at work. Classes were formed in mechanical

drawing, in plumbing, in machine-shop practice, in tool making, and in pattern-making. Later classes were added in electricity and applied mechanics. All instruction was given with a view to immediate application to the mechanical trades. Those especially favored were men who had no opportunity in their shops to learn more than a small part of their trade. The plan was to give them an opportunity to learn the whole of it. The expense involved in opening this night school was insignificant, compared with the results. It meant simply a fuller utilization of the school plant. The shops were already in existence as part of the equipment of the Manual Training High School. The salaries of the teachers formed practically the only additional expense involved. Tuition has been free from the beginning, though a small sum is charged to cover waste of material. The school enjoys the favor of both the labor unions and the employers, and has the proud distinction of being the first trade school ever established and conducted in this country wholly at public expense. New York City has applied the lesson of the Springfield enterprise, and has itself established two similar schools, one in the Brooklyn Manual Training High School and the other in the High School of Long Island City. There is no reason why this plan should not be feasible for every manual-training high-school in the country.

New York City, which for many years lagged behind the rest of the country in supplying manual training in connection with secondary schools, has recently become the leader in a new departure aiming at the industrial education of girls. Whoever it was who conceived the idea of the Girls' Technical High School as an integral part of the common-school system conferred a great boon upon the whole country. Little thanks are due to those whose official support could have effectually promoted the development of it. The designated purpose of the school was for three years pushed to the background, and theory played foot-ball with the course of study. Nothing but sound common sense, indomitable courage, and an ingenuity which knows how to turn opposition to good uses, could have enabled the friends of the school to preserve its life in spite of the stringent absent treatment proposed for it by those whose self-appointed task is to debate educational questions in the abstract. It has been singularly characteristic of New York common-school administration to object to everything having the smell of bread-and-butter about it. Young women who have been graduated from the grammar schools of Manhattan have not been impressed by their instructors with even a suggestion that a course of study which takes frank recognition of the practical means of life may have as much dignity about it as one composed of the ordinary high-school trivium.

Tradition has a very strong hold upon Little Old New York, especially

in matters educational. The management of the Girls' Technical High School, fortunately for its continuance, realize that the kind of work to be done must win the approval by patient and vigilant procedure. Even the teachers assigned to the school not infrequently brought with them the ordinary prejudices against obviously useful subjects. The introduction of a new religion into a hostile community could not have met with more obstacles. A year ago the tide of opinion began to turn in favor of the school. The faction in the Board of Education which had been intensely hostile to the designated object of the school melted away. The president, who is a decided champion of technical education, appointed a high-school committee in sympathy with the work. One point already gained is that a site has been purchased for the erection of a new building. The essential characteristics of the school's policy have been vindicated.

So far as Mr. William McAndrew, the principal, has been able to shape the work of the school, which is scattered over several buildings and is sadly wanting in adequate equipment, the aim has been, and is, to make the girls self-supporting and skilled in some special occupation in which womanliness need not be sacrificed, but adds rather to the economical value of the work. Dressmaking, millinery, designing, the household arts, printing, stenography, journalism, book-keeping, and various forms of manual trades are promoted. The academic training is not at all neglected. It stands second to none, ranking with that supplied by the schools with a purely literary programme.

Self-reliance, personal initiative, and good cheer are encouraged to the fullest extent. How intensely practical the instruction is may be judged from the fact that at the recent exhibit of the school the most satisfactory part of the display consisted of the girls themselves, dressed in the results of their own labors. Attention is given also to the cultivation of grace by such exercises as performing the minuet and folk dances. The physical well-being of the girls receives the most careful attention. Self-expression is given fullest encouragement. Repression is almost eliminated from the list of disciplinary measures. Teachers send each morning to the principal's office the best work of the preceding day, and the head of the school is placed in a position to praise rather than to reproach. The spirit and methods of the schools are different from conventional models. The school marks an important departure in a work most urgently needed in the present stage of our civilization.

This brings up the whole question of the preparation of girls for the duties of life. The problem is an entirely new one, and a solution is urgently demanded. A small child told me a few days since, with utter astonishment, that she saw "a trolley-car drawn by horses." Yet the schools in general have not taken cognizance even of the fact that the stage-

coach and the horse-car have been retired. Their programmes do not reveal the tremendous changes which have taken place in the economic field. They do not seem to know that the proportion of men and women in certain lines of occupation has been wellnigh reversed. They need to be told that an education which does not prepare for the realities of adult life is a fraud upon humanity.

What of the girls now growing up? The family ideal has become inadequate under the stress of the newer economic demands. At the same time, it will be a sad day for civilization when the home ceases to be regarded as the basic unit of society. The young girl of to-day who looks forward to matrimony as the aim and end of her existence is in a pitiable plight. The number of men worthy to be the stay and support of a woman, and able to meet the requirements of a household, is relentlessly diminishing. On the other hand, a girl who enters upon a work requiring considerable preparation can hardly be expected to dismiss forever her business interests on the eve of her wedding day. If she does yield them lightly, she is of little value to the world, and her family will be none the richer for her having shared in the business of life. We expect of her — as we do of boys — that she shall devote her best self to whatever occupation she may turn to. Make-shift and time-serving laborers suffer serious consequences in their character.

What can the schools do? There is no doubt that they were originally instituted for the boys. From the start the programmes were shaped by the needs of the learned professions. They have never got away from this basis. The colleges have kept elementary and secondary education in the bondage of tradition. In the course of time various pedagogic excuses were invented to account for the school programmes as if they were moulded wholly by the general needs of humanity. "Mental development," "harmonious development of powers," "formation of character," were convenient terms behind which antiquated notions could be kept alive, concealed from the vulgar gaze. Once having placed the schools on the platform of "mental development," "h. d. o. p.," "f. o. c.," etc., there appeared to be no reason why the girls should not be included under the same programme.

Attempts to humanize the teaching of the schools have invariably met with opposition from the guardians of the learned professions. When, in spite of this opposition, industrial and "practical" considerations, pure and simple, are establishing themselves, it is because the institutions for higher education are reluctantly compelled to acknowledge them, and they do it on grounds of physiological psychology.

Where do we stand now? Everything is beautifully systematized. Logic reigns supreme. The fact that real human needs of the young are

not as logical is admitted academically, but not practically. The schools are machines. Co-education, no doubt, is a great advance over the exclusion of girls in whole or in part from the educational opportunities held out to the boys. But under the relentless sway of system, the outcome has been that boys and girls now pass through the same hopper.

Few special things are done for the girls. We teach them sewing, to be sure. But, as if it were a crime to teach something distinctive to girls, the would-be radicals asked immediately upon the introduction of this craft, "Why should not boys sew, too?" Another victory was to be won for deadly uniformity. But the human elements in the people who pay the bills failed to approve. Sewing is taught to the girls. We teach them cooking, too, in a few schools. This is a splendid departure; and the freer it is kept from "scholastic" considerations, the more it will do for the world. It supplies a basis for the argument which has been, and still is in some quarters, the Cinderella of education. Some day actual preparation for the actual duties of actual individuals will be frankly acknowledged as a form for school programmes. What the Girls' Technical High School of New York City is ideally trying to do points out a way.

Every girl has a right to the fullest development of her womanhood. There is nothing more precious in the world than womanhood. The school which does not by all means in its power labor for the preservation of this treasure is neglecting a great opportunity. Yet, while womanhood and motherhood are ideally synonymous, the day when marriage was considered necessary for the support of a girl is no more. That girls still need to be trained in all that is necessary to make the most of the privileges and duties of motherhood no one will deny. But, aside from this, the girls, just as the boys, want opportunities to find for themselves a place in the economy of civilization. They want, and have a right, to be permitted and encouraged to make a choice, and to prepare for their chosen vocation with enthusiasm and the determination to succeed in the life of usefulness to come.

OSSIAN H. LANG.

CHRISTIAN IX OF DENMARK.

TRANQUIL as the life he had led as the beloved ruler of the Danes, the passing of King Christian IX of Denmark proved a fitting end to a career conspicuous for simplicity and uprightness. Seldom has the death of a sovereign evoked expressions of regret so uniformly sincere as the messages of condolence which poured into the Danish capital immediately following the announcement of January 29. From near and far, from high and humble alike, came heart-felt sentiments expressive of the esteem in which the aged monarch was held by all who knew his reign to be unequalled in point of years, serene judgment, and unfailing desire to dispense justice. Dramatic incidents there were none to mark the final hour which King Christian passed on earth. A simple farewell to those standing in sorrowful attendance was the last message to family and friends. And so he died, fully conscious of the fact that he held his people's love to an extent that history must put on record. That he was honored beyond the confines of the little country over which he ruled so justly, the presence of special representatives of foreign governments and of royalty itself at the funeral bore telling evidence.

Simple, yet dignified, as behooved an event which placed almost every European court in mourning, the obsequies at Roskilde consigned to their final resting-place the remains of a noble King where for more than a thousand years the Danish rulers have been buried. For Roskilde is the ancient capital of Denmark; where traditions cluster around the achievements of the nation at a time when all Scandinavia, and part of Germany, belonged to the Viking race. Then, after the final burial rites had been performed, and the late King Christian had been placed at rest by the side of his beloved Queen Louise, who died in 1898, a shot rang out, and Yussuf, the favorite riding horse of the King, passed with his master into eternity. It was in accordance with the old Danish custom that when the ruler dies his charger shall not survive.

That William II, of Germany, should have considered it his bounden duty to be a personal mourner at the bier of the Danish King is not in this instance to be charged to eccentricity on the part of the Kaiser, whose spontaneity has been frequently of a kind making for uneasiness among nations. Beyond the shadow of a doubt, only the high esteem in which Emperor William held the late King Christian could have induced the former to start post-haste for Denmark. Even during the lifetime of

Queen Louise, it must be remembered, William II made repeated efforts to be included in the famous family circle which gathered annually at the castle of Fredensborg, near Copenhagen. But the Queen of Denmark at that time had still fresh in mind the loss sustained by her country when the war with Germany deprived the nation of Schleswig-Holstein. However, it is to the credit of William the Persistent that from each succeeding visit to the Danish court he has come away more and more impressed with the simplicity of the family life existing there. Also, he has been instrumental in having made less bitter the antagonistic feeling heretofore existing among the Danes against the southern neighbor. Especially in Copenhagen the Kaiser's visits have not only strengthened the ties of commerce between Germany and Denmark, but even something like cordiality has of late sprung up. Since the last war on the Continent, the European chancelleries have seen not a few changes touching political alliances. Former grievances have been erased from more than one slate. William of Germany had reason to believe that personally the Danes could bear him no ill-will. His presence at the funeral of King Christian, therefore, was diplomatically correct, and constituted his graceful acknowledgment of the noble characteristics inherent in his fellow-sovereign.

While the attendance of the Kaiser at the funeral was the result of sentiment, perhaps, direct family ties were responsible for the presence of the many other crowned heads that paid final tribute to the King of Denmark. The relationship of Christian IX was so extensive that on this particular score no other monarch could brook comparison. The press of the Western Hemisphere has repeatedly called the attention of the reading public to the interesting members of royalty in other lands that have sprung from the Danish house. England, Russia, Sweden, Norway, France, Germany — every European nation, almost — is allied to the late King of Denmark through marriage. One of the smallest among the European kingdoms, yet the country gave to England her present queen. George of Greece is a son of the late Danish king; the Dowager-Empress of All the Russias is his daughter; King Haakon VII of Norway is a grandson of the deceased monarch. History, perhaps, may assign to the late King of Denmark the title of Christian the Good; still, he will go down to posterity as the "Grandfather of Kings" and the "Father-in-Law of Europe."

When Christian IX passed away he had almost reached the patriarchal age of eighty-eight years. April 8 would have been celebrated with exceptional pomp by the Danish nation, had the old ruler been spared for that anniversary. In fact, each succeeding birthday since the king became an octogenarian has been an event of moment throughout the entire land. In the peasant's hut, no less so than in the palace of the

noble, the venerable sovereign was accorded homage on his natal day. In city and hamlet flags would fly in honor of the day, bands would play the national anthem, and citizens would assemble for the purpose of paying tribute because Providence had left King Christian in the full enjoyment of his mental and physical faculties. The world sent greetings to the Fredensborg palace; and the children of the king from near-by or far distant countries would assemble around the family board, presenting a picture the counterpart of which no other royal house has ever had to offer.

While in the natural order of things it seemed self-evident that the day could not be far distant when good King Christian would be gathered to his fathers, so closely and so long had he been identified with the cause of his people in both prosperity and adversity that when the church bells rang forth their sad message that the King of Denmark had passed to his reward it proved a stunning blow to the entire nation. Within the very hour, almost, of his death his health had been as good as at any time during the past few years. When the summons came he had the satisfaction of knowing the world to be at peace, comparatively. Few realize the pangs it gave him to have the Russian Czar and the Mikado of Japan fight such bloody wars in an hour when he knew his own career was about to close. And it pleased King Christian beyond measure when the Portsmouth treaty went into effect; and, with the contention between Sweden and Norway settled satisfactorily to both countries, the restoration of quiet in Scandinavia resulted in the further honor to his lineage that his grandson, Charles, ascended the Norwegian throne as King Haakon VII.

The King is dead, long live the King! may be a truism applicable without comment. Still, the loss of Christian IX to his country will be felt more keenly as the years pass by. Even though Frederick VIII is the worthy son of a worthy father, time alone can cement a friendship like that which existed between his royal parent and the nation. Frederick, undoubtedly, will know how to uphold the traditions established by his namesake, Frederick VII, the granter of the liberal Danish Constitution. Like his father, who followed in the footsteps of the noble Frederick, the present King of Denmark must realize the necessity of popular coöperation. Only in this manner can he exercise his prerogative without running counter to whatever political activity may assert itself during the reign upon which he has just entered.

The predominant characteristics of the late King Christian were, as has been intimated, democratic simplicity and a high sense of justice as it concerned everybody without distinction. From the standard he set himself he never swerved. Like a golden thread in a spotless fabric, his loyalty to himself brought out this finer quality even at the risk during the beginning of his reign of being misunderstood by many. That he was open to argu-

ment, however, he evinced on more than one occasion when, in spite of tremendous pressure in certain quarters, he would follow the dictates of the masses, though apparently this policy was diametrically opposed to the best interests of royalty itself.

Neutrality, at the same time, was the one great force which made the Danish monarch loom up so conspicuous a factor at home and abroad. During the fiercest political agitations in Denmark, notwithstanding arguments to the contrary, he aimed at maintaining an equity as it concerned his own participation in the affairs of the government. Had he done otherwise, the monarchical institution would perforce have been swept away, and the integrity of the country would have been threatened to the point of breaking. It was because King Christian knew the danger that lurked in a republican Denmark that he wished to make the régime as suitable as possible to the liberal aspirations that pervaded the nation. True enough, it took years before he yielded finally to the demand, which culminated in the formation of the Liberal cabinet. That the personality of Christian IX during that formative period of stress and turmoil never for an instant was exposed to the derogatory attacks not uncommonly made use of by political agitators explains the esteem in which he was held, no matter whether by those in power or by the rank and file of the opposition. As far as it lay in his control, he wished to be a part of the entire nation, and not the leader of a faction merely.

From the standpoint of diplomacy, as the astute art is practised by the initiated in Europe, Christian IX was not considered a success. The diplomacy which concerns itself with intrigues and entangling alliance believed for a certainty that on more than one occasion the King of Denmark missed his chance. To the unscrupulous politician, who deems the welfare of the people as a whole of secondary importance to his own selfish desires, the neutral attitude of King Christian was incomprehensible. Backed by the then all-powerful Russian Czar, it would, perhaps, have been possible some years ago to have compelled Germany to restore to Denmark the provinces of which she was despoiled in the early sixties. England, too, might not have been unwilling to lend a hand where it meant humiliation to the Kaiser and the German nation. Powerful agencies were at work to bring the peacefully inclined Danes within the maelstrom of European politics. It meant the parting of the ways; and the intuition of the Danish ruler showed him the straight road which led past pitfalls at the bottom of which were the whitened bones of more than one of the lesser kingdoms and of principalities doomed through ambition to be absorbed by some great power. Neutrality, again, won the day, and the present inviolability of Denmark is due in no small degree to this policy of standing aside and letting others fight their own battles.

If by diplomacy, however, is meant that higher ethics, the practice of which leads to a better understanding between individuals without the securing of special advantages, then the late King Christian can be rightfully included as among the most successful of diplomatists. Entirely apart from the relationship which the English reigning family bore to him, and in no manner influenced by the fact that his grandson occupied the throne of Russia, the late king acted the rôle of pacifier because his inclinations had always been in the direction of peace and good-will among men. Both during the lifetime of Queen Louise, and afterward, the palace of Fredensborg meant to the royal Danish family exactly what it implied in the vernacular — the palace of peace. In the eyes of Europe, Fredensborg stood as a higher tribunal where personal grievances were adjudicated as it concerned emperors or kings or princes. The principles of The Hague became paramount here long before nations awoke to the necessity of international courts of arbitration. Does not this account for the wish of William of Germany to enter the charmed circle, where selfish aggrandizement was not tolerated, and the individual was judged through merit only? Can diplomatic tact carry further than thus encompassing elements naturally antagonistic, and having the lion and the lamb lie down together in blissful peace?

Favored by nature with a constitution which from early youth bespoke that physical perfection which is the groundwork of high mentality, King Christian knew how to husband his strength; and his family life remained as simple as it had been in the days previous to his elevation to the throne of Denmark. Reared in the school of daily struggle, he never forgot the lesson which teaches dependence on self through self-denial. Few princes in a similar position would have held to the identical programme when fortune at last smiled on an existence by no means to be envied. Poor in pocket, but confident that matters adjust themselves according to an all-wise Providence, in which King Christian never lost his faith, he married and brought up his family while practising the most rigid economy. Kindness and consideration for the least of those who served the princely couple characterized the family which during that earlier period little anticipated that a royal throne stood in waiting for the fourth son of Duke William of Glucksburg.

Tall of stature and with handsome features, opportunities had not been wanting for Prince Christian to have married above his rank. When the question of the bestowal of Queen Victoria's hand interested every royal family in Europe, it was whispered about that the young Danish cavalry officer might prove acceptable in the premises. But just as Victoria chose her own Prince Consort, it was a real love-match which brought about the marriage of Prince Christian to the Hessian Princess Louise. Matrimonial

affinity was the paramount question. In all those years since 1842, the character of the late King Christian never permitted the raising of a finger. Do the annals of European court life contain many royal biographies similarly free from stain?

To the day of his death, almost, Christian IX retained his grace of carriage and held the record as one of the finest horsemen of the country. His health when he entered the eighties would have fitted a person half his age. In daily exercise he held his own with the youthful grandchildren whose company kept him young in body as well as in mind. The citizens of Copenhagen knew the aged monarch for one of the most ardent of pedestrians; and the workman bound for his daily task became accustomed to the kindly greeting of his King when the latter was taking his morning constitutional in the vicinity of the palace grounds.

Fate decreed that, in the hour when Prince Christian became King of Denmark, the territory where stood his cradle passed into the hands of Prussia. The war of 1863 resulted in the loss of the province where he was born on April 8, 1818. His father was Duke Frederick Wilhelm of Schleswig-Holstein-Soenderborg-Glucksburg. His mother was a grand-daughter of King Frederick V, and a sister to the wife of Frederick VI. Prince Christian was the sixth of nine children, and he was only thirteen years old when his father died. Following the wishes of the dying man, the young princes were brought under the guardianship of Frederick VI; and, as a favorite of this Danish king, Prince Christian, at the age of fifteen years, was sent on a special mission to the court of St. James, in order to convey a greeting to Queen Victoria on the occasion of the latter's ascension to the British throne.

Not only did Prince Christian receive a thorough military training, but his education was also instrumental in furnishing him with a full knowledge of what at that time was essential to the individual of superior birth. Two years were spent at the University at Bonn, and when on his return from the famous German town the young prince paid a visit to Berlin, King Frederick Wilhelm IV tendered him an especially cordial reception.

On the twenty-second of May, 1842, Prince Christian was married to Princess Louise Vilhelmine Frederikke Karoline Augusta Julia of Hesse-Cassel. A new chapter opened up in the career of the young nobleman, and the family life, as it now developed, was an inspiration from the day when the perfectly matched couple moved into the yellow palace in Amalie street. The expectations that the Danish nation at that time held out regarding another princely couple, the then Crown Prince Frederick — later King Frederick VII — and his wife, Princess Mariane of Mecklenburg, suffered disappointment, and public opinion more and more turned in the

direction of Prince Christian and Princess Louise as the ones most likely to solve a problem which concerned itself considerably with the succession to the Danish throne. Even then, however, the candidature of the Danish prince was merely a far-fetched supposition. No one could at that time have guessed that the son born to the young couple the year following would to-day be the King of Denmark, as the successor to his father who had yet to show his mettle in war and peace.

It was ten years later that Prince Christian was chosen Prince of Denmark and became the heir to the Danish throne. On July 31, 1853, the Danish Chamber voted him as eligible by virtue of his wife's mother having been the sister to King Christian VIII. The protocol of London proved all Europe satisfied with this choice; and when King Frederick VII died, on November 15, 1863, Christian IX was proclaimed as his successor. It was the beginning of a reign which was to last for more than forty-two years; and it proved a record remarkable because of the influence wielded by the royal Danish family from then up to the present time.

Six children were born to King Christian and Queen Louise. However, none first saw the light of day as royal issue. Following Frederick — the present Frederick VIII — came Alexandra, William, Dagmar, Thyra, and Waldemar. During their infancy and youth a condition far from opulence governed their daily routine. Reminiscent gossip will have it that the now Queen of Great Britain and the Dowager Empress of Russia were obliged to do their own sewing in order to have garments suitable for their needs. A disciplinarian of the first order, when Louise became Queen of Denmark she did not permit her exalted position to interfere with such doctrines of economy as she had cultivated during the less rosy days that preceded her elevation.

It is a curious fact that already some months before King Christian became ruler of Denmark, his second son, William, was proclaimed King of Greece under the name of George. Likewise, the marriage of Alexandra to the then Prince of Wales took place during that same period preceding the accession of Christian IX to the throne of Denmark. Then came the significant event which united Dagmar to the Czar Alexander III. Following this, Princess Thyra married the Duke of Cumberland, the son of the exiled King of Hanover. The youngest son, Prince Waldemar, took as his bride Marie d'Orléans of the French royal line. In 1869 Crown Prince Frederick, now the King of Denmark, was married to Princess Louisa, daughter of Carl XIV, of Sweden and Norway.

Many grandchildren grew up to bless with their almost constant presence the family circle presided over by King Christian and Queen Louise. To name a few of those who have stood conspicuous in the public eye, Nicholas II of Russia is the son of that favorite daughter of the royal

couple, Dagmar, Dowager Empress of the Russian Empire; while Haakon VII, of Norway, who was chosen ruler of the Norwegians, was Prince Charles of Denmark, the second son of the present King. The relationship, however, reaches almost every court in Europe; and the record which the late Queen Louise left behind, as an evidence of her skill at matchmaking, shows that it was not for nothing that she had had bestowed upon her the title of "Mother-in-Law of Europe." It was due to her remarkable knowledge of men and things that her children attained such eminence among the leaders of nations. Danish success abroad owes her a considerable debt of gratitude.

It was Queen Louise who stood as the power behind King Christian, even long before the kingly office had been bestowed upon him. With a prescience worthy of a seer, she scanned the European chess-board of the future, and calculated in advance what would be the best move from the standpoint of matrimonial combinations. Her intuitions did not play her false; and when at her death, in 1898, there stood gathered at her bedside her children and grandchildren, the Queen had the satisfaction of knowing that, when she should be no more, history would see to it that the Danish lineage should not be forgotten. She had united Europe through family ties, and made peace a stronger factor in the affairs of the Continent.

No biographical sketch of the late King Christian can be complete without some reference to what Queen Louise meant to that remarkable group of royalty at the Danish capital. Enough has been said to show that she was the motive power of many happenings which have become historical. At Fredensborg, for instance, hers was the guiding genius which made of those famous family gatherings political events with which every European statesman had to reckon. It is said of Bismarck that he found in Queen Louise the first woman who could bid him defiance even more successfully than the skilled diplomatists with whom he was wont to fence continually. The Danish Queen never forgot that it was the Iron Chancellor who spurred on William of Prussia to wage war against the little country to the north, and that thus was brought about the loss of Schleswig-Holstein.

When Alexander III of Russia became such a frequent visitor to Fredensborg, what a satisfaction it must have been to his sagacious mother-in-law to know that she had as her ally the then mightiest ruler in the world! Would a Bismarck now dare to arise and point to Denmark as a fertile field for spoliation? In fact, it will forever remain one of the unwritten chapters of history that the peace of Europe was maintained largely through the influence of the late Queen Louise of Denmark. While the Czar of Russia, the then Princess of Wales, the King of Greece, and the

many other relatives of the Queen played the simple life on their visits to Fredensborg, affairs of state formed a not inconsequential part of the programme during those idyllic summer months in Hamlet's land. From the royal castle there sprang a wave of confidence which soon communicated itself to the Danish nation. It was hope restored to a point where no enemy was feared. That royal family circle over which Queen Louise presided with such dignity and grace was ample guarantee that henceforth Danish territory should be inviolable.

Rumor had it during the Russo-Japanese war that had Queen Louise lived she would never have permitted her grandson to engage in that deplorable struggle. She would have gone far behind the arguments of the Czar's advisers; and assuredly she would have found the remedy which would have made possible the maintenance of good relations without the sacrifice of honor on the part of either nation. But the most astute woman diplomatist since the days when the court of France furnished such shining examples of the kind did not live to witness the demoralization of an army which until then had held all Europe in awe. She was spared a humiliation which would have proved a crushing blow to her pride as the mother-in-law of the Czar of All the Russias.

The golden-wedding anniversary of the late King and Queen of Denmark was celebrated on May 26, 1892. This event was the culminating demonstration of the affection which the people bore to the royal couple. The festivities in Copenhagen were conducted on a scale of unprecedented magnificence. Throughout the provinces, likewise, the day was observed with special exercises. The school-children of the entire country sent their felicitations in the form of words and beautiful ornaments; and every great European capital felt an interest in the Danish celebration which rounded out half a century of married life with never a single cloud to blur the matrimonial horizon. That the death of his beloved Queen in 1898 must have appeared to the bereaved monarch as the beginning of the end there can be no doubt, although he revered her memory in silence for fear of paining others to whom she had meant so much.

While the passing of Christian IX found him in the possession of his people's love and confidence without a single exception, the same condition did not obtain when, as the successor to Frederick VII, he ascended the Danish throne in 1863. Personally, Prince Christian was not objectionable to the masses, who knew him by reputation to be fair-minded and willing to follow the dictates of his own conscience. But it was exactly because of this inherent quality in the make-up of the new ruler that the Danes viewed him somewhat askance. It would have been the same, however, had any other individual been the subject of scrutiny as concerned the occupancy of the throne which that best-beloved of Danish monarchs, Frederick VII,

had made synonymous with popular participation in the affairs of the government.

The war broke out, and at the head of his faithful troops the new King of Denmark went to the front to stay the advance of the southern enemy. The world knows the result of that unequal conflict. Despite the bravest resistance by the Danish soldiers, the fortunes of battle finally went against them. But while the loss of Schleswig-Holstein proved a grievous blow to the little nation, something of immense consequence to the country sprang from the conflict which had virtually been forced upon Denmark. The people became convinced that Christian IX stood willing to sacrifice his own life as readily as did the private soldier. He was a born commander; of that there could be no doubt. He did his part nobly, as it concerned saving Danish territory from complete spoliation.

The political unrest which seized upon the nation following the war with Prussia and Austria has sometimes been blamed upon Christian IX. It should be recalled that the duchies of Holstein, Lauenberg, and Schleswig were part of the dominions of King Frederick VII; but, since the extinction of his dynasty was virtually accomplished with his death, it was argued by Prussia that the rights of succession in these provinces no longer belonged to the royal Danish house. Although his father had for a consideration resigned his rights to the duchies, the young Duke of Augustenburg claimed them as his inheritance. Both Prussia and Austria backed him in this pretension. Denmark refused to yield; the war broke out; and while England and France had been relied upon to come to the aid of the Danes in such an emergency, that little country had to fight single-handed the two great military nations of the Continent. Therefore, because Christian IX had been unable to summon to his assistance those whose promises were not fulfilled, popular opinion judged him in part responsible.

That this argument was not well founded, Danish historians have since recorded to the satisfaction of the whole country. Something of an entirely different nature was at the bottom of the distrust shown to the new régime. Political agitators whose first contentions cannot be gainsaid, had begun those aggressive campaigns directed not so much against the throne as against the bureaucracy which attempted to introduce reactionary methods. The country would not stand an interpretation of political liberty short of what Frederick had meant it to be when he gave Denmark her Constitution. The provincially exclusive atmosphere in which King Christian had been brought up did not accord with what the masses now claimed as their prerogative; so that, when a new electoral law went into effect in 1866, it was less liberal in its tendency than King Frederick's proclamation which it was meant to supplant.

Assuredly, during the later years of his reign Christian IX must fre-

quently have asked himself why he opposed so persistently and so long the attempts of the Liberals to gain the concessions which finally came to them. Ministry after ministry upheld the reactionary policy, apparently with the sanction of the King. The cabinet of which Premier Estrup stood at the head for almost eighteen years was an example of what the liberty-loving Danes had to content themselves with during that period. The lower house, the Folksthing, stood in strenuous opposition to the Landsthing, which represented the nobility. Things even proceeded so far that King Christian, always under the inspiration of Estrup, went over the heads of the parliamentary majority and issued provisional budgets in direct violation of the Constitution. Not until 1894, when Premier Estrup was forced to resign because of an overwhelming popular demand, did this state of affairs cease.

The political conflicts which rent the country during that momentous period were in reality blessings in disguise. Liberalism, as opposed to the reactionary Moderate party, was being trained in a school of experience without which it would have been unable to hold itself in check. The agrarian movement went hand-in-hand with this political education, and throughout the country districts enlightenment sprang into full bloom. The farmers gradually took possession of the governmental reins through the representatives which they sent to the Danish Congress. The Leftists were reaping the reward of their labors. And then came the final victory, when King Christian dismissed the last Moderate cabinet and chose his advisers from among the Liberal ranks. It was the institution of the cabinet which will be known in history as "The Farmers' Cabinet," and with slight changes of personnel it is to-day entrenched as strongly as when the members took the oath of office more than twelve years ago.

With all this evidence at hand aent Christian's policy during the fight for complete political freedom, there is still room for the assertion that his purpose was essentially to maintain a just poise as concerned the battle of parties for control. He would have been little less than human had not his natural inclinations been in the direction of the established order of things. To plunge head-foremost into the vortex of iconoclastic aspiration, as he saw it, could hardly be expected of one whose whole training had been disciplinarian to the point of severity. And that, nevertheless, King Christian succeeded in holding the respect of those most strenuously opposed to the policy which he represented is the best argument in favor of a personality so eminently lovable.

The Denmark of to-day is a prosperous country. In every effort to redeem within the loss sustained by the nation from without, the late King Christian was a conspicuous factor. He was first and foremost in fostering the export trade after the farmer had turned his resources into a

veritable gold mine through an intelligent understanding of the art of agriculture and of utilizing its by-products. Danish butter has become famous the world over. The industrial standing of the country among the nations is an accomplished fact. Prosperity reigns in city and in village. The literature and art of Denmark have passed the boundaries of the land and wrought benefit to others. Names like those of Brandes and his co-workers link themselves significantly with that of so eminent a figure as the late Professor Finsen in the domain of science. In all these endeavors Christian IX took his place naturally at the head, bearing in mind constantly the national motto of "One for all, and all for one."

Native-born Americans who have come in contact with the Danes settled in the United States need not be told what sort of citizens the former countrymen of King Christian make in their new-found homes on this side of the Atlantic Ocean. Throughout the Western States, the Scandinavians have been instrumental in building up the communities. The Danish-Americans, no less than their kinsmen, the Swedes and the Norwegians, are among the stanchest supporters of republican institutions. It was the constant pleasure of the late King Christian to meet prosperous visitors from afar who related to him in person how they had met success away from their ever-beloved native land of Denmark. Christian IX was most thoroughly posted as regards the various industries and occupations in which his former subjects were forging to the front abroad; and he had often expressed the wish to see for himself how Danish pluck and intelligence had conquered in spite of the odds against the new-comer equipped with no other capital than health and courage. It is proverbial among Europeans that the Dane is blessed by nature with a constitution which is the envy of other nations. Assuredly, King Christian proved such an example. His mentality did not contain the fluctuating characteristics that in some communities are classed as genius; but the life he lived was one of extraordinary usefulness. He died at peace with nations and individuals.

In accepting as his birthright the royal mantle of his parent, Frederick VIII has before him a career already begun in part a number of years ago. It was his duty as crown prince frequently to act as regent during the late King's absence from Denmark. The new ruler is thoroughly at home in all that pertains to the governmental machinery. His constant attendance during the parliamentary sessions taught him the science of differing from your neighbor without evincing too bitter an enmity. As was the case with King Christian, the then crown prince aimed to hold to the middle path. Stepping naturally, therefore, into the position provided for him by the law of the land, it may not now be amiss to inquire as to what are the capabilities of Frederick VIII, and whether he will carry forward successfully the work inaugurated so auspiciously by the lamented Chris-

tian. It is not only the future of Denmark which is concerned. European tranquillity may depend to a considerable extent upon the attitude of King Frederick in his relations with the heads of other nations.

Family ties, as in the case of his late parents, will, beyond a doubt, constitute an important factor in the régime of King Frederick. As a daughter of the late King Charles XV of Sweden, the new Queen of Denmark will cement even more closely than before the friendship existing between the royal houses of the two nations. And as for Norway, the fact that King Frederick's son is now the crowned head of the newest European kingdom should be a sufficient guarantee that the best of feeling will continue to exist between the Danes and the Norwegians. The greater Scandinavia, which the late King Christian believed at heart to be the future salvation of the North, may now become a reality through the formation of an alliance which will enable each of the countries concerned to appear of higher importance in the eyes of the world at large.

The elevation of Prince Charles of Denmark to the Norwegian throne as King Haakon VIII could never have been accomplished but for the fact that the late King Christian IX saw more clearly than others the importance of granting his consent. It is doubtful whether the present King of Denmark felt altogether at ease when the proposition was advanced for his son to become the ruler of the country recently a part of Sweden-Norway. Swedish feeling ran very high at the time of the separation, which was instituted by the Norwegians. There was considerable risk attached when a step in the wrong direction might precipitate what for more than a century all concerned had studiously avoided. But once more it speaks for the high esteem in which the late King Christian was held, that when the matter was put squarely before him and he said to his grandson that he should go, and God be with him, no dissenting voice rose in protest. The aged monarch knew what was best, it was agreed; and King Haakon's coronation proved that the world accepts the selection as the best possible. With an English princess as the Queen of Norway, the integrity of Norway is so secure that no nation would care to test the country's right as an independent monarchy.

Recurring to what may be the foreign policy of Frederick VIII, there can be no doubt whatever that in the main he will adhere to the principles established by his father. Christian's friendship for the Kaiser was very outspoken during his later years. An annual visitor to Wiesbaden, the Germans had formed a genuine attachment for the aged Danish King, whose simplicity stood in contrast to the pomp and military display usually accompanying their own ruler when on his travels. King Christian, however, recognized in the cleverness and dash of his fellow-monarch a necessary accompaniment to a nature which is the personification of royal activity.

His own years and his own inclinations, it is true, carried him in another direction. Notwithstanding which, he admired William II as a character quite out of the ordinary run.

The admiration which Frederick VIII holds for the German Emperor has been commented on frequently. Not so very long ago the Danes as a whole did not look with favor on this condition of affairs. The then crown prince was sometimes accused of bending his knee to the ruler of a country considered the sworn enemy of Denmark. But gradually the nation awoke to the fact that diplomatic shrewdness guided the crown prince in what he did. And now there is but one opinion as to what is the best course to follow: Germany's friendship and the Kaiser's good-will are well worth cultivating from the Danish point of view.

Emperor William, it can be said, has succeeded in overcoming the national antipathy which the Danes for so many years bore against the Germans. But it behooves King Frederick to keep a close watch on his personal feelings, lest his predilection for the war lord lead him into strange paths where international dangers and pitfalls abound. William II, it cannot be gainsaid, seeks friends both for their own sake and for the value they may possess as prospective allies. The neutrality that Christian IX fostered with the fervor of a religious belief has been too successful from the standpoint of Danish inviolability to be thrust ruthlessly aside. There can be little doubt that when the next great European war breaks out, Germany, as one of the contending parties, and the leading character in the drama, will want as many supporters as possible among the lesser nations.

England, on the other hand, is no less interested in retaining her long-established friendship with the Danes. The success of the respective great Powers, in a war, would depend in many ways upon the attitude of the smaller countries. As concerns the territories intervening between the warring nations, their hour of peril will be at hand when the long-anticipated conflict begins. It will be for Frederick VIII to show his people whether his leadership is sufficient to steer the ship of state successfully through the European storm. In holding close to that unwritten alliance which binds the three Scandinavian countries to neutrality will rest the safety of Denmark under her new King.

One more word as to the closed régime and the starting of the new. While the late King never saw his opportunity to visit the United States, his son may carry out a plan long cherished. In closer touch with this country even than his father, King Frederick very recently expressed the wish that he might see for himself how excellently the Danes have borne the banner of reputation into the Western world. Commerce with this country has increased to a very great extent within the last few years.

The Scandinavian-American steamship line has recently been augmented by many fine new vessels. Should the King of Denmark decide upon such a trip across the Atlantic, there awaits him a welcome here which the Danish-Americans would not be alone in tendering. Among the many felicitations that reached him on his ascension to the throne, none struck a more sympathetic chord than the message of good-will which came from the United States. Tinged with regret because of the noble character which had passed away, it held out the hope that the successor to the honors would earn and retain in equal measure the love of the nation and of the world at large.

That King Frederick will strive with all his might to prove worthy of the task assigned to him, there is every evidence. His past performances are an augury of his intentions. The curtain has rung down on a royal career the counterpart to which may long be sought in vain; but Denmark takes comfort in the knowledge that the new King has within him the identical strain. Many monuments will be erected to the memory of Christian IX; but giving his people the best of which he is capable will be the highest tribute the son can pay to his parent.

JULIUS MORITZEN.

ECONOMICS AND POLITICS OF THE RECLAMATION SERVICE.

No other act of Congress in recent years has been so radical in its departure from old methods of governmental administration, and no other has been of greater service to the far West or more promising of real good, than the Reclamation Act of June 17, 1902. The newness of the act consists in the governmental policy inaugurated for the disposition of public lands, on the one hand, and the new species of government service to the people, on the other. While the act itself is not socialistic because of limitations set upon it, it is good evidence of what a government, if it be wisely and intelligently administered, may do for the development of the resources of a country. It is an indication, too, that our land policy in the past has not been all that it might have been in the development of the country and in the wise conservation of the means of national wealth and prosperity.

The ordinance of 1787 for the government of the Northwest Territory suggested the general policy of the Government in the disposition of the public domain. But the report to Congress of Alexander Hamilton in 1790 is generally considered the foundation of the policy for the distribution of the public lands. He recommended, among other things, that large tracts of land be sold to individuals and companies, and small tracts of one hundred acres each to actual settlers. He recommended that a general land-office be established at the seat of national Government. However, the plans of Hamilton were slow in maturing, a general land-office not being established until twenty-two years after the report, although district land-offices were established in 1810 in the Northwest Territory. While Mr. Scott of Pennsylvania advocated, in the first Congress of 1789, that a land-office should be established for the benefit of pioneer settlers in the West, the controlling motive in the disposition of the public lands was that of raising revenue for the expenses of the national Government. At first, the smallest tract that could be sold was six hundred and forty acres. In 1804 the minimum was made three hundred and twenty acres, in 1820 it was eighty acres, and subsequently the minimum was set at forty acres. Until the Pre-emption Act of 1841, the importance of providing homes for all the people who desired to locate seemed to have been made secondary to raising revenue.

The policy of distributing lands to home-seekers and settlers finally triumphed and became the ruling idea of the distribution of public lands, although it has frequently been widely diverted from its primary motive. As a departure from the methods of land-holding practised by the various European nations, the United States conceived the idea of giving to every individual who desired, a title to a part of the public domain. The policy was to divide the territory into small farms, which were to be occupied and tilled by the owners, in order to give the citizens free access to the soil and to encourage the development of the resources of the country and provide occupation for its numerous citizens. Acting on the policy that there was land enough and to spare, and that it was an advantage to the nation to have the land occupied and tilled, the Government has always been lavish in its disposition of public lands. This is evidenced by the Pre-emption and Homestead Acts, as well as by various other laws which have made it easy for the citizen to take and to hold land.

Whatever knowledge the people of the United States had of the territory west of the Mississippi at the time of the formation of the Union, few, if any, thought it would ever be a part of the United States, and the few who knew anything of it considered it to be a vast and worthless desert. Statesmen could not have known, at that early period, of the extensive country that has since been called the arid or semi-arid region of America. Even after the accession of the West they could not have been aware of the importance of water to the possibilities of the country. Had they known this as well as it is now known, no doubt the early land laws would have provided for the disposition, distribution, and use of the waters of semi-arid America.

Economically considered, water should be treated as being in the same category as land; and if the Federal Government assumes the right and duty to control the public lands, it ought likewise to assume control of the public water. Although it has reserved the right to pronounce any streams navigable, and to manage them in the interests of commerce, it has never attempted until recently to exercise any control over water in its economic distribution. Had it done so before the beginning of the use of water for irrigation purposes, it would have saved a vast deal of confusion, owing to the conflicting laws of the various States and Territories in which irrigation is now carried on. As it is, the public land is controlled by the Federal Government, and the water in streams by the individual States.

As the Inter-State Commerce Act of 1887 became necessary because the railroads passed from State to State, so is federal control of the supply of irrigation water necessary so long as streams pass from one State to

another. The evils already engendered through the practices of the legislatures of the various States and Territories of the Union will be overcome with difficulty, even though Congress should pass general laws relating to the use of water and its disposition and distribution. The old idea in common law that each individual along the course of a stream has a right to a portion of the water therein, has come directly in conflict with the new system or theory, backed largely by the statutes of the various States, regarding priority of right. The struggles of individuals, companies, and States over these water rights have been numerous. The vast number of cases in litigation throughout the West to-day show the question to be still unsettled. How else can it be done than to have the Government take possession of the water in any drainage basin and distribute it equitably to parties living within that basin? Nor would it be necessary to confine its regulations to lakes, rivers, etc.; but the underflow should be subject to its control as well.

But what has the Federal Government done recently by way of reclamation? The Act provides:

That all moneys received from the sale and disposal of public lands in Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming, beginning with the fiscal year ending June thirtieth, nineteen hundred and one, including the surplus of fees and commissions in excess of allowances to registrars and receivers, and excepting the five per centum of the proceeds of the sale of the public lands in the above States set aside by law for educational and other purposes, shall be and the same are hereby reserved, set aside, and appropriated, as a special fund in the Treasury to be known as the "reclamation fund," to be used in the examination and survey for and the construction and maintenance of irrigation works for the storage, diversion, and development of waters for the reclamation of arid and semi-arid lands in the said States and Territories, and for the payment of all other expenditures provided for in this Act.

Under this Act a fund of over thirty millions has already been accumulated for expenditure; and plans for the irrigation of nearly two million acres have been consummated. Many projects have been actually undertaken. It is estimated by the census of 1900 that the average value of each irrigated acre in the United States is forty-seven dollars, and that the average annual income is fifteen dollars. It appears, from recent investigation, that this is a very low estimate of value and income; but upon this basis the present projects would add to the wealth of the United States the sum of \$87,373,000, and to the national income \$27,885,-000 per annum. The following table shows the present progress of the work:

PROJECTS UNDER CONSTRUCTION.

STATE	PROJECT	AMOUNT SET ASIDE.	ACRES IRRIGABLE.
Arizona	Salt River	\$3,600,000	180,000
Colorado	Uncompaghre	2,500,000	125,000
Idaho	Minidoka	1,300,000	60,000
Nebraska & Wyo.	North Platte	3,500,000	100,000
Nevada	Truckee-Carson	2,740,000	100,000
New Mexico	Hondo	280,000	10,000
South Dakota	Belle Fourche	2,100,000	80,000
Wyoming	Shoshone	2,250,000	125,000

PROJECTS ON WHICH BIDS HAVE BEEN RECEIVED.

Calif. & Ariz.	Yuma	\$3,000,000	85,000
Montana	Huntley	900,000	35,000
Mont. & S. Dak.	Fort Buford	1,800,000	60,000

PROJECTS APPROVED BY THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR.

Kansas	Garden City (pumping)	\$250,000	10,000
Oregon-Cal.	Klamath Falls	1,000,000	236,000
Oregon	Malheur	2,250,000	100,000
Montana	Milk River	1,000,000	200,000
North Dakota	Bismarck	300,000	15,000
North Dakota	Buford-Trenton (pump.)	550,000	18,000
Washington	Palouse	2,800,000	80,000
Idaho	Payette-Boise	11,000,000	372,000

The policy of the Government has been to improve, so far as possible, the public domain in the arid and semi-arid regions. While nearly all the public lands of the United States have been taken up or filed on, there remain four hundred and seventy millions of acres belonging to the public domain in this far Western territory. This is exclusive of all forest and Indian reservations. It is estimated that fifty million acres of this land may eventually be brought under irrigation. In the entire arid and semi-arid regions it is estimated that the total amount that can be irrigated is one hundred million acres. Of this, nearly ten million acres are already under cultivation. If the Government can reclaim fifty million acres of comparatively worthless Government land and make its value fifty dollars per acre, on the average, the wealth of the nation will be increased two billion five hundred million dollars; and if, with the aid of private enterprise, the amount cultivated may be made to reach one hundred million acres, the national wealth would thus be increased five billions. Hence, it is easy to see that the Government is engaging in no small undertaking.

The Government proceeds to make preliminary surveys by competent engineers, who estimate the water supply and the cost of building dams, reservoirs, and ditches. Their report goes to the Government Board or Commission to determine the feasibility of the project. If favorable, they so report to the Secretary of the Interior. If the report meets with his approval, funds are set apart out of the Reclamation Fund for carrying on the work, and contracts are let for construction.

The Secretary of the Interior also determines the maximum amount of land that may be entered; that is, whether the settler may take forty, eighty, or one hundred and sixty acres. The Reclamation Act provides that the land shall be entered under the Homestead Act, and that the individual landholder shall be allowed to purchase water rights to a tract not exceeding one hundred and sixty acres. Thus, in the Yuma project, the farm unit will probably be forty acres, while in the Uncompaghre Valley project it will be from forty to one hundred and sixty acres, and in the Truckee-Carson project in Nevada it will be eighty acres.

The cost of irrigation construction carried on by the Government is to be paid by the users of the water in ten annual instalments. The cost varies in proportion to the difficulty of construction and the accessibility and amount of the available water. The estimated cost of water at the Yuma will be forty dollars per acre; at the Uncompaghre, thirty; the Huntley, twenty-six; Hondo, twenty-eight; Fort Buford, thirty-one; North Platte, thirty-five; Truckee-Carson, twenty-six; Payette-Boise, thirty; and Belle Fourche, thirty-two. In order to carry out the plan, Water Users' Associations are formed for the local administration, and for the distribution and use of water. After the first cost of construction of the irrigation works has been paid, the owners of the water rights have no further expense except the annual payment for keeping up the water supply, which includes repairs, cleaning of ditches, and the expense of distributing the water. The permanency of the construction and the thoroughness of the Government work will reduce the annual cost to a minimum.

The Reclamation Act does not permit people to take up land in an irrigation district without taking and paying for the water right also. This provision distributes water and land together, as it should do. Had it been possible to pursue this policy from the first, it would have saved much trouble and would have added millions of dollars to the wealth of the nation. The law also requires continuous residence on the land from the first; and this removes the speculative element which has proved so baneful to the whole public-land system. Every precaution is taken to eliminate fraudulent procedure. Had the administration of the public domain under the old laws been as careful, it would have prevented the land grabbing which has been a dark blot on the settlement of public lands in the West.

But why should the Government have undertaken this irrigation project? Why not have left it to private investment? Because private investment had about reached the limit of its development. Irrigation began by the settler taking a small rivulet from the flowing stream and irrigating a few acres. Following this stage came the irrigation of ranches by individual enterprise. Then came a period of development of the large water companies and irrigation companies for the extensive supply of water.

Nearly all of these lost money, and many of them failed; but their irrigation problems were usually small compared with the great undertakings of the Government. Besides the immense cost of these projects, the long period of construction, and the subsequent period of ten years before the first cost is finally paid are great obstacles to prevent the carrying on of the work by private enterprise. Thus, it is estimated that the Salt River project will be completed in 1908, the Yuma project in 1907, the Uncompahgre in 1909, the Minidoka in 1906, the Huntley in 1907, the North Platte in 1907, the Truckee-Carson in 1909, the Hondo in 1906, the Fort Buford in 1907, the Belle Fourche in 1906, and the Shoshone in 1908. But the expense will not all be paid to the Government until ten years after these dates. The future success of irrigation requires a gigantic enterprise supported by millions of wealth, which shall equalize the burdens and benefits of the development of the resources of the soil. It can no longer be done by individuals or by groups of individuals, but only through the unifying and directing agency of the Government. It is the true province of government to aid citizens wherein they cannot help themselves.

The management of the water is finally given back into the hands of the people, where it rightly belongs. The Government becomes merely a temporary promoter of wealth, aiding and abetting its citizens in legitimate industry. The sole objects of the Government are to give the people a chance to realize the benefits of the public domain, and to add to the national wealth. It is interesting to note, however, that the Government has gone farther in this industry-aiding enterprise than in any other. The building of the great dams, reservoirs, ditches, and aqueducts represents a vast outlay, and necessitates many subsidiary enterprises, such as the building of plants for the manufacture of cement, the building of saw-mills for furnishing lumber for houses, dams, and reservoirs. It brings the Government into a new rôle, for in every way it seeks to accomplish its ends with the smallest cost to the people who purchase the land and the water rights. It may save millions of dollars by carrying on its own independent enterprises.

To develop a community of small farms is to create an ideal democracy. With the population living in close proximity, good schools and churches are possible. The sparsely settled community suffers from a low grade of education and from religious destitution. The social status of agricultural communities is greatly enhanced by a comparatively dense settlement of a farming population. The modern conveniences and comforts of civilized life appear, such as gas, electric light, telephones, electric and steam transportation, and modern dwellings. Means of culture, such as libraries, scientific societies, lectures, theatres and operas, are made possible. The judicial and punitive machinery is perfected, and the political life improved.

The opportunity for land-holding by the man of small means grows gradually less. While land with water rights may be expensive, the advantage gained is in large returns from a small acreage. Ordinarily, forty acres under a good irrigation system are sufficient for successful and remunerative farming. The thickly settled community, with practically the same interests, makes a high state of civilization possible. The socializing process is intense; the common interests bring the people closer together and unite them in social improvement.

Successful farming by irrigation requires a high degree of intelligence. The selection of the crops that are likely to be the most remunerative, of the most appropriate variety of seed, of the method of tilling the soil, of machinery, etc., as well as the economic use of water — all these call for the exercise of intelligence equal to that required in any other occupation. Experience in irrigation shows that much has to be learned about the right use of water; for crops in irrigated districts are more frequently drowned out than dried out. But the certainty of a crop is what makes larger expenditure by the farmer profitable. One of the chief advantages of farming by irrigation is the certainty of the results which follow the judicious outlay of money and labor. The markets also require close study and business ability for their successful exploitation. However, the great demand for agricultural products in the arid and semi-arid districts makes the market practically sure.

On the whole it may be said that intensive agriculture is a process of manufacturing products by the aid of nature. The old method of extensive agriculture, by which large areas are cultivated in the easiest manner possible, is passing away. The modern method is to make each acre yield the largest possible returns. Irrigation has done much to show the possibilities of intensive agriculture. It will be noticed that, by irrigation, the average annual income is over thirty per cent on the value of the land; in many instances it reaches over one hundred per cent.

To take the bare desert, with scarcely any sign of grass, tree, or shrub, and, within a few years, to transform it into a garden, is one of the marvels of modern agriculture. The writer visited the Imperial Valley in San Diego County, California, last summer, and beheld one of these marvellous transformations by the application of water to one of the most repulsive and forbidding deserts of the West. It is almost incredible what has been accomplished within three years. Flourishing farms of alfalfa, wheat, barley, milo maize, and fruit greet the eye where four years before there was only glistening sand, dotted here and there with bunches of sage and an occasional friendly mesquite. It is no wonder that people grow enthusiastic over the problems of irrigation! Those who do not believe in the reclamation service of the Government would,

as a result of a few months' touring through the irrigation districts, completely change their minds.

One of the great advantages of the development of irrigation is the support it gives to manufacturing and railroad extension in the arid regions. The mining industry has just begun to develop. The great treasures of the mountains have not yet been uncovered. While the income from mining in the arid regions is over \$160,000,000 per annum, this is small in comparison to what the future will yield. While there are now over 50,000 miles of railroad in this region, the future development of railroads will be great. Add to these the fact of the tremendous water power available in the mountain streams for manufacturing purposes, and it is easy to see that this vast territory of the West, once considered unfit for habitation, will absorb all the agricultural products that can be raised in it, without serious competition with the great farms in the humid regions.

The thoroughness of the Government work in building dams, reservoirs, and aqueducts, as an object-lesson to the public, is worth all it costs. Economy of water supply is the vital phase of irrigation; and thus far, in most districts, the lesson has been poorly learned. It frequently happens that too much water is used, and this is not only an extravagant waste, but it destroys the crops and sometimes ruins the soil by forcing the alkali to the surface. Moreover, the waste water injures other sections than the ones from which it is drained.

The use of reservoirs for the storage of flood waters is the objective work of the Government. This will greatly enlarge the possible area of cultivation, and, at the same time, furnish a reserve supply of water to be used when the streams are low, and when it is most needed. The impulse given to irrigation by the Reclamation Act is far-reaching in its consequences, not only in furnishing a larger and more constant water supply and an increase in the acreage, but in improving, in many places, the methods of farming, through the introduction of a more scientific handling of the water. Scientific agriculture is making a great forward movement.

While a large acreage in the middle West is capable of increased production through more scientific methods of agriculture, and a large amount of neglected land will be brought under cultivation, the agricultural impulse, in the near future, will be felt most in the arid regions. The region west of the Mississippi is destined to be the scene of great industrial activity. The area of industrial expansion is rapidly shifting from the valley of the Mississippi to the far West.

F. W. BLACKMAR.

THE WOMEN OF JAPAN.

In many ways our country has been fortunate enough to win the good opinion of foreign critics. One of them has said: "The Lord has never made anything more beautiful than your Inland Sea." And of that old-time, half-smiling culture of Nippon which had penetrated to the very bottom of society, another has been gracious enough to say: "Why, your coolies and jinrikisha men speak a language fit only for the court of Louis XIV." But what of our women?

M. Pierre Loti, the French Academician, seems never to have grown weary of writing of "those singular dolls with flat profiles," of "the little eyes drawn to the temples, little eyes as of cats." He has said that "the Japanese women of all classes are small of body and mind, artificial and affected." But not content with this superficial criticism of the women of Japan, he once endeavored to show how learned he could really be in the following:

Their religion must appear very complicated and confused to their giddy little brains, when even the most learned priests of their country lose themselves in their cosmogonies, their symbols, and their metamorphoses of gods, and in the millinery chaos upon which the Buddhism of India has so strangely foisted itself without destroying anything.

It will appear from the above that even the prose of M. Loti sometimes becomes muddy. If one would write simply and clearly, he must first be master of his subject. He must know what he is writing about. But that is neither here nor there. Does not this academician know that the three representatives of Japanese scholarship who were selected to go from our country to India to make the first investigation of the philosophic Buddhism were the women Jenshinni, Jenzoni, and Keizenni? But why should he have burdened himself with a tedious historical study, when he could with so much comfort and ease tell the whole world that he knew it all? Now, our good M. Loti has seen a treaty port or two in Nippon; and he also saw those outlandish first few balls à l'*Européenne* held in Tokio at the Rokumeikwan, when Western civilization was, like young wine, mounting to the head of the nation, when Count Inoue was happy with his whitewash diplomacy. All these things were burlesques, which murdered the classic grace of our women and their costumes, and only succeeded in caricaturing the vulgarities of the West. To a woman of Nagasaki, on whom a boatman-coolie would scarcely have bestowed a

passing glance, the learned academician devoted himself for the purpose of making an impression. If we take him at his word, there is no doubt that his efforts were successful; and he took occasion to report his success to the world by means of a popular novel.

In reply to my comments some persons might ask: Is it not a rather original idea to select M. Loti as a true representative of the West, and base thereupon the charge that all the Western nations are libelling the women of Japan? In answer to this I am prepared to quote from the writings of a Christian gentleman, a missionary and an educator; and I have culled the following from a new book of his, advertised quite extensively — doubtless with his knowledge, if not his consent — as the most recent and complete authority on Nippon and things Nipponese:

In no regard, perhaps, is the contrast between the East and the West more striking than in the respective ideas concerning woman and marriage. The one counts woman the equal if not the superior of man; the other looks down upon her as man's inferior in every respect. . . . In the one, the wife at once takes her place as the queen of the home; in the other, she enters as the domestic for her husband and his parents. . . . In the one, the wife is the 'helpmate'; in the other she is the man's 'plaything'. . . . In the ideal home of the one, the wife is the object of the husband's constant affection and solicitous care; in the ideal home of the other, she ever waits upon her lord, serves his food for him, and faithfully sits up for him at night, however late his return may be. . . . The one considers profound love as the only true condition of marriage; the other thinks of love as essentially impure, beneath the dignity of a true man, and not to be taken into consideration when marriage is contemplated.

That, perhaps, is the reason why the Eldorado of women, called America, the home of this Christian gentleman, has never seen a woman in the presidential chair, not one; and the history not only of America, but of the entire West, seems quite unable to give us a single name that might be placed side by side with that of Hojo Masako. And who, pray, answered to the name of Hojo Masako? A woman of Nippon — and in her day there were many men in Nippon. She lived in the Augustan age of Nippon statesmanship. And permit me to remark, that I have not cited the name of a number of empresses who have sat upon the throne of the Mikado. Does this glimpse into our history assure you that with us woman is inferior to man?

I am not saying that a pair of eyes — especially a pair of imported ones engaged in collecting data in support of certain conclusions about the women of Nippon formed in the United States or in Europe — focussed upon a certain corner of our social life, might not see, to the entire satisfaction and comfort of the critic, that in Nippon a woman is a "man's inferior in every respect." But, the reverend authority to the contrary notwithstanding, our historians without fail go to two sources whenever they wish to trace the greatness of a historic character or to

account for a great historic event. And these two sources are — wife and mother. In America, Mary Washington is the mother of George Washington, after all; and to the student of Nippon history, Kusuncki Masatsura, to whom we have erected a temple, and whose memory we worship as the god of Nippon patriotism, is the son of his mother.

In Nippon, where, according to the reverend author, the wife enters as the domestic of her husband and his parents, the Lord of Inaba — unquestionably one of the ablest men of his day — is remembered in history as the husband of Kasuganotsubone. In the latter, the founder of the Shogunate, Tokugawa Ieyasu, placed more confidence than in his "Elders." She stood as the embodiment of the highest type of constructive statesmanship in her day. In Nippon, many persons could write many a page on "the unknown husbands of well-known women"; but it would tax the genius of an apologist and something of a sophist to say much about the unknown wives of well-known men, which seems to be a fairly entertaining topic in the happy West, where "the wife at once takes her place as the queen of the home."

To be sure, many great forces in the universe are silent; and the power of the Nippon woman belongs to that distinguished company. To walk boldly in front of her husband in a parade, only would strike her sense of humor. She has frequently seen turkey gobblers, peacocks, and other things that strut; but the sight of them has always tortured her sense of taste and form. Moreover, through her reading of history, and through what she has seen in life, she has become acquainted with the fact that the fashioner of history frequently makes his way behind a mask, and that a great prince often follows his own puppet. Her eyes are always on the real; and she makes liberal tribute to men of the spectacular type.

"Man's plaything!" A student of the shadier side of New York society might find some pertinent meaning in this expression of the reverend critic. Using it as he does, in connection with the Nippon woman, the expression stings us, the hapless males of that land, with an overwhelming irony. Having danced to the pipings of our ladies' wits for some fifteen centuries, we men of Nippon might be permitted to beg for the last grace of burying our humiliations in the shade. It has not been altogether the fault of the men of Nippon that they have spent so much of their time and effort upon the art of war and in the profitless pursuit of gold, and therefore have not had half as much time as our women to devote to the cultivation of the powers and fancies of the mind.

As for the wife serving her husband's food to him and "faithfully sitting up for him at night however late his return may be,"—why should she be censured for such things, if they are quite as pleasant to her as making a lady's maid out of her husband and compelling him to cook his breakfast

for himself on a winter's morning are to the refined selfishness of the civilized and Christian wife of the West? I venture the offhand assertion that more wives have laid down their lives for their husbands in the heathen city of Yedo in one year than in all the capitals of Christendom in ten years. The unselfishness of the Nippon woman seems to be quite as marked as the selfishness of her Western sisters. All that I pray is that the authority from whom I have quoted above will prove that my observations have been erroneous.

As if for the purpose of giving a sort of backbone to his story — but certainly not because he felt the need of so doing — the reverend author quotes from “the editor of the ‘Japan Mail,’” who “himself married a Japanese woman”:

The woman of Japan is a charming person in many ways — gracious, refined, womanly before everything, sweet-tempered, unselfish, virtuous, a splendid mother, and an ideal wife from the point of view of the master. But she is virtually excluded from the whole intellectual life of the nation. Politics, art, literature, and science are closed books to her. She cannot think logically about any of these subjects, express herself clearly with reference to them, or take an intellectual part in conversations relating to them. She is, in fact, totally disqualified to be her husband's intellectual companion, and the inevitable result is that he despises her.

More's the pity! We have a book called “*Genji Monogatari*,” than which none is more important to us in the entire range of the classic literature of Nippon. The position it occupies in our literature is similar to that occupied by Homer's works in Hellenic literature, and by Shakespeare's works in English literature. May I be permitted to ask these precious foreign critics to name the author of the greatest classic of Nippon? No Baconian controversy has served to cast any doubt upon the authorship. The author of the work was Murasaki Shikibu, a court lady of rank. Seishonagon, another woman of Nippon, wrote the famous “*Makura Zoshi*,” which is classed by many critics as only second to the “*Genji Monogatari*.” A few years ago, the writer happened to be in a certain part of the United States during the time of a drought; and the people flocked into the churches to pray that the gracious heavens might send them rain. In Nippon, many, many years ago, in the days of that historic drought when all the rivers were but the powdered skeletons of the living waters that had been, the people went to a poetess and begged her to address an appeal to heaven. Clad in white, bareheaded, under the cloudless glare of the sun, she read her classic lines; and to-day there are thousands of people — descendants of the simple folk to whom the poetess was gracious — who would swear to you that the sky was so touched by the pathos of her lines and the music of her rhythm that it sent down a perfect flood of rain. As historical record, there is a shrine which the grateful people built in

honor of the poetess. So transcendent did her poetic gifts seem to her people that they, like the Greeks in their goodly days, begged her to join the company of the immortals. What names, pray, can America give us, out of all her accomplished and enlightened women, that can be placed even within a measurable distance of the heights where stands the name of Koshikibu as a lyric poet? To find one in any way comparable with her, we must go to the one songstress of Greece — Sappho.

A confession, even if good for the soul, is sometimes humiliating. But, since what must be must be, here it is: The brains of Nippon have always been with her women rather than with her men. And what is more humiliating still, is the fact that Nippon women very often outdo their brothers in their own territory. The one in Nippon whose generalship conducted the first successful foreign campaign was the Empress Jingo. Under her victorious banner, the warriors of Nippon marched through Korea on their first foreign campaign. Tomoe, who fought side by side with the famous warrior Yoshinaka, was the peer of any of her soldiers. In all the desperate sieges of the feudal days, the women of the clans, *naginata* (spears) in hand, were always conspicuous for their bravery and fighting qualities. I have already cited the historic case of Hojo Masako. To-day we are very proud to say of Tokugawa Ieyasu, the founder of the Tokugawa Shogunate, that he was the greatest constructive statesman that Nippon has ever seen. Nevertheless, every historian admits that in the building of the House of Tokugawa it is impossible to say how much of its stability and of the profound wisdom of its policy was due to the now famous lady called Kasuganotsubone. Certainly, after the death of Tokugawa Ieyasu, she was the brains of the government. Even in the sad days of the Tokugawa culture, when frivolity in its madness darkened into crime and excesses knew no bounds, one could see the names of Kamei Shoken, Hara Saihin, Yama Saiko, and Cho Koran stand out, with no little lustre, against the sombre background. And they were the names of scholars, women all, especially distinguished for their Chinese culture.

An eminent professor connected with the Imperial University of Tokio, named Basil Hall Chamberlain, is one of the three scholars of foreign birth who can pass the exclusive gateway of Nippon literature, classic and otherwise, without a key and without a pause. I do not know what he thinks of our women to-day, but there was a time when even he allowed himself to write:

Women are all their lives treated more or less like babies, neither trusted with the independence which our modern manners allow, nor commanding the romantic homage which was woman's dower in Mediæval Europe.

If, in spite of his scholarship, his brain, his opportunity of seeing people

and things, and his thirty-odd years of experience in Nippon, Prof. Chamberlain was to such an extent misled in his conclusions, it is not at all unnatural that so many other critics — critics with three months' or three years' treaty-port experience — should write such utter nonsense when they pose as judges of Nippon women.

Both Miss Bacon and Mr. Lafcadio Hearn have said many a kindly thing about our women. Both of them have seen the Nippon woman of these modern days — days of transition, days of tangled progress. Not knowing the traditions that have led up to the Nippon woman as she is today, they, with all their sympathetic insight, have found not a little difficulty in accounting for those qualities in her that capture the soul. With the exception of these critics and a very few more, all the civilized writers who have hailed from the homeland of gallantry have libelled the Nippon woman; but she has simply smiled sweetly at all that has been said to her discredit.

ADACHI KINNOSUKE.

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AMERICAN POLITICS.

UNQUESTIONABLY, the most unique episode in American politics to-day is the recrudescence of William J. Bryan. It is more remarkable than the sustained popularity of Thomas Jefferson, who three times received votes in the electoral college as a candidate for President and who was twice elected. It is more unique than the experience of Andrew Jackson, who was also thrice a candidate and twice elected; and it overshadows by far any political event during the present generation. Ulysses S. Grant was a popular idol, who endeared himself to a grateful people by his services as soldier and statesman; but even the magic of his name failed to secure him a nomination for a third term. James G. Blaine was much beloved; but after he had been nominated and defeated he sank into oblivion. Grover Cleveland, after serving his first term and securing a renomination, retired to private life only to be called forth again to a successful campaign; but his third nomination was due less to a popular uprising in his behalf than it was to the clever manipulation of his friends; and he won the Presidency because the Republican party was sadly divided as the result of the factional differences developed in the Minneapolis convention. In Bryan, however, we find a man who twice led his party to defeat; who was then repudiated and endured with scant patience; who advocated doctrines and policies which alienated a very large proportion of his party from him; and whose leadership seemed ended, and yet who is now welcomed upon his return to this country with an enthusiasm as spontaneous and demonstrative as it is devoted and sincere.

No one ever believed that Mr. Bryan would cease to be a factor in his party. More than two years ago, when the St. Louis convention had apparently relegated him to the rear, it was asserted in *THE FORUM* that he would have to be reckoned with in the future. It did not take the gift of prophecy to make the assertion. Mr. Bryan, despite his successive defeats and his comparatively small showing of delegates, was known to enjoy a large personal following, composed of earnest men who thoroughly believed in him. These men could not and would not desert him; and, indeed, it is now easy to recall the fact that President Roosevelt's enormous pluralities were shown by analysis to be due more largely to the fact that Bryan Democrats would not vote for Judge Parker than to accessions to the Republican ranks. It was always evident, therefore, that Bryan would continue to be a dominant force in the Democratic party. It was not so apparent that he would be the practically unanimous choice of that party for a third nomination.

What has happened, then, to bring about this condition of affairs? The reason can be stated in two words — Theodore Roosevelt. If it had not been for President Roosevelt, the name of Mr. Bryan would not have been to-day upon everybody's tongue. It has been Mr. Roosevelt's great moral courage, his fearlessness, and, above all, his devotion to the rights and interests of the people, that have swung the Democratic party into line for Bryan. Mr. Roosevelt's course has been popular in the widest and broadest sense. His positive attitude on public questions, his direct and energetic manner of dealing with great problems, and his freedom from the domination of the trusts, are characteristics which find their counterpart in Mr. Bryan more than in any other Democrat who can be named to-day. It is not too much to say that they are not too pronounced in any Republican candidate. There is a belief that Mr. Bryan, if he should be nominated and elected, would carry on the work which Mr. Roosevelt has so ably and vigorously begun. In other words, he is regarded as the Democratic embodiment of the ideas which actuate Mr. Roosevelt, especially as these ideas relate to the curbing and suppression of monopolistic corporations.

Mr. Bryan, therefore, comes into the public eye as the Democratic candidate at a time when there is a marked paucity of men of the Roosevelt type among the available candidates in the Democratic party. If the nominating convention could be held immediately he would be chosen with hardly a dissenting voice. Many men who, in former campaigns, were opposed to him, now refer to him in laudatory tones. For instance, Mr. Ingalls, who as one of the great railroad magnates of the country, opposed Mr. Bryan in 1896 and 1900, now regards him as "the foremost American citizen," and asserts that if the election should be

held next November, "he would be elected by the largest majority ever given a candidate for the office." Ex-Governor Crittenden, of Missouri, who was also outside of the Bryan breastworks in 1900, now predicts that Mr. Bryan will make the best President in the history of the United States — a somewhat sweeping assertion when one recalls Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln, but indicative of the enthusiasm of the new convert. In Illinois, where several county conventions have already adopted resolutions favoring the nomination of Mr. Bryan, it is noticeable that the anti-Bryanites are returning to the fold. In Missouri, ex-Governor Francis, Secretary of the Interior under President Cleveland, extols his former chief and Mr. Bryan in the same breath. William F. Vilas, who regarded the outcome of the Chicago convention of 1896 with holy horror, and who stood manfully by President Cleveland while in the latter's cabinet, gives it as his opinion that Bryan is the only man who can unite the Democratic party and that there is no longer any risk or danger from the silver question. "His sound democracy otherwise," says Mr. Vilas, "his great qualities, and his unblemished excellence of character, entitle him to confidence." Senator Bailey, of Texas, who denounced Bryan as a populist in 1896, now comes forward and predicts his election by an overwhelming majority. Mr. Croker, former Tammany leader, joins in the chorus of praise and commends Bryan as one of the ablest men in the United States. The Wisconsin Democrats, in convention assembled, see in Mr. Bryan their future President. From one end of the country to the other, there is a pæan of praise; and when the Democratic hero returns to his native soil after a tour of the world, we find delegations of prominent Democrats hastening to New York from the remotest sections in order to do him honor. Surely the political history of the United States affords no similar spectacle.

The political situation changes so rapidly in this country, that the present point of view may be entirely different two years hence. Assuming, however, that Mr. Bryan will then be, as he is now, the logical candidate of the Democratic party for the Presidency, it is worth while to recall the two principal issues which brought him prominently into public notice. He was a tariff reformer before he was an advocate of the free coinage of silver, although it was the latter issue which made him famous. His devotion to the free coinage of silver, however, dates from 1890, when he was nominated for Congress upon a platform which demanded free coinage of silver on equal terms with gold. Even when he went down to defeat in 1896 he bore his colors aloft; and, in an address to "the bimetallists of the United States," urged them to continue their efforts to secure the desired result. "If we are right, as I believe we are,"

he said, "we shall yet triumph." He counseled continued agitation of the subject. "No wise policy can be injured by agitation," he added, and his last utterance in his record of the famous contest breathed defiance. "No question," he wrote, "is settled until it is settled right."

Since that time his advocacy of the issue has never wavered. No one who knows Mr. Bryan will concede for a moment his abandonment of a principle which he believes to be righteous; and that he thus regards the free coinage of silver is equally certain. "I am more radical than I was in 1896," he says, "and have nothing to withdraw on economical questions which have been under discussion. I believe in bimetallism, and I believe that the restoration of silver would bring still further prosperity, besides restoring par in exchange between gold- and silver-using countries." It is true that he recognizes, to quote his own language, "that the unexpected and unprecedented increase in gold production has for the present removed the silver question as an issue." Not permanently, but for the present; and he suggests, in a speech at a London dinner, that if the country has progressed upon one leg, it might have experienced still further development if allowed to walk upon two legs.

We may naturally expect, therefore, that Mr. Bryan, as a candidate for President, will still be loyal to the belief which he espoused after much study and deliberation. Circumstances alone can decide, however, whether anything that he may say or do regarding the free coinage of silver in 1908 will have serious effect. It is, perhaps, going too far to assert, as does the Chicago "Chronicle," that "silver is a dead issue and William J. Bryan died with it as a national politician." The two statements are not necessarily connected. It remains to be seen, first of all, whether silver is a dead issue. It has been quiescent for these ten years, to be sure, but the decade has been one of unexampled prosperity. If panic and distress should come, with consequent scarcity of money and much suffering, the chances are that the silver issue would be awakened into new life. Whether this untoward condition will be reached in the next two years is problematical. If it is not, it is doubtful whether all that was said by Mr. Bryan in 1896 and 1900 regarding silver will figure in the campaign. The great mass of the people will regard the gold standard as having been irrevocably established; while the doubting few will rely upon the large Republican majority in the Senate to prevent the enactment of disturbing legislation.

While the silver issue may or may not be injected into the next Presidential campaign, no such uncertainty attends the tariff. It becomes a matter of some moment, therefore, to know where Mr. Bryan, if he is to be the Democratic nominee, stands upon this question. It has

already been stated that he was a tariff reformer before he was an advocate of the free coinage of silver; but it may not be generally known that his mind was diverted from the tariff to the financial issue because there was no disagreement as to the former between him and his Republican opponent in the Congressional race, while as between a single and a double standard, Mr. Bryan espoused the latter. When he entered Congress, however, the tariff was uppermost. A Democratic majority controlled the House of Representatives, and a number of so-called "pop-gun" bills, attacking separately the schedules relating to wool, binding twine, etc., were reported from the Committee on Ways and Means. Mr. Bryan's argument in behalf of these measures, delivered on March 16, 1892, was the beginning of his fame.

The circumstances attending the delivery of the speech are not now of importance; the substance of his address is of timely interest. It shows that Mr. Bryan is as bitterly hostile to the policy of protection as he is to the single monetary standard. It is characterized by him as a vicious system, created by the Civil War and continued by favoritism. "The system is sustained," he declared, "simply by the coöperation of the beneficiaries of a tariff, who are held together by the cohesive power of plunder." Elsewhere in his speech he denounced protection as false economy and "the most vicious political principle that has ever cursed this country." While he did not go so far as to commit himself to absolute free trade, he expressed the belief that no tariff should be imposed beyond the point necessary to supply revenue for the most economical operations of the government. Indeed, Mr. Bryan's position cannot be better illustrated than by quoting this dialogue, which occurred during the course of the speech:

Mr. MCKENNA: Do you really believe that the protective policy is similar to the pickpocket's policy of putting a man's hand into another man's pocket and extracting money from it?

Mr. BRYAN: Yes, that is my belief.

It was in thorough consonance with these declarations that the Chicago platform of 1896 contained the following:

We hold that tariff duties should be levied for the purpose of revenue, such duties to be so adjusted as to operate equally throughout the country and not discriminate between class or section, and that taxation should be limited by the needs of the government honestly and economically administered.

It is, perhaps, not strange that there are now flocking to the standard of Mr. Bryan the great number of Democrats who, like Mr. Watterson and Mr. Vilas, have always been the foes of the protective system. Mr. Cleveland has not yet joined the Bryan ranks, but it is certain that if he believed the silver issue to be really dead, he would not hesitate to

endorse a fellow-Democrat whose views upon the tariff so closely coincide with his own.

The plan of campaign upon the Republican side is already decided. There is to be, for the present, at least, no yielding to the widespread demand for some revision of the tariff which will curb the monopolistic trusts. Their motto is, "Stand pat." Speaker Cannon, outlining the Republican policy in a carefully prepared address, asserts that dire distress would follow an attempt to change the tariff at this time. The promise of revision is connected with the distant future. There can be no action at the next session, it is asserted, because the three months to which that session is limited would not allow sufficient time to properly consider the subject. Even should a Republican Congress be elected, nothing is to be done at the succeeding long session, because then the Presidential campaign will be impending and it is a matter of history that no party attempting to revise the tariff downward on the eve of a Presidential election succeeds with its candidate at the polls. Revision, according to President Roosevelt, is to be undertaken "whenever it shall appear to the sober business sense of our people that, on the whole, the benefits to be derived from making such changes will outweigh the disadvantages." The most universal suggestion is that the revision of the tariff shall be made the occasion of the assembling of an extraordinary session of Congress after the new Republican President, if elected, shall have been inaugurated in 1909. This is the Republican programme; and idleness and poverty are predicted if it is not allowed to be carried into execution.

The Republicans will be wise if they can focus the struggle upon the question whether or not the protection system shall stand. There are thousands upon thousands of Republicans who will endure the existing conditions rather than menace the foundation of the temple of protection. This condition has been illustrated with emphatic effect recently in Iowa. In that State there has been waging for some years a contest between the revisionists and the "stand-patters," resulting in the victory of the spokesman of the former element. Upon the broad principle of protection, however, these Iowa Republicans are a unit. Note the first sentence of the tariff plank of the platform:

We are uncompromisingly in favor of the American system of protection.

The remainder of the paragraph may be quoted, because it has been the subject of considerable comment, but, after all, it is little more than mere verbiage:

Duties on foreign imports should not be levied for revenue only, but should be so adjusted as to promote our domestic interests, enlarge our foreign markets,

secure remunerative prices for the products of our factories and farms, and maintain a superior scale of wages and standard of living for American labor.

Wise and unselfish tariff laws maintained for our general welfare, equally opposed to foreign control and domestic monopoly, are essential to our commercial and industrial prosperity. We believe that all inequalities in the tariff schedules which inevitably arise from changing industrial and commercial conditions should be adjusted from time to time; and, condemning without reserve all assaults upon the protective system, we favor such reasonable and timely changes as will keep the tariff in harmony with our industrial and commercial progress.

We favor the reciprocity inaugurated by Blaine, advocated by McKinley and Roosevelt, and as recognized in Republican platforms and legislation.

The Republicans of Michigan, in State convention assembled, "emphatically affirm our continued belief in the wisdom of the Republican protective policy," and as the campaign progresses, there will not be a discordant note. In fact, nothing could be better calculated to unify the Republican ranks — and it will be shown later that there is a lack of solidity in many States — than an assault upon the principle of protection *per se*. Minor differences will be forgotten; and the party will rally around its ancient standard. Only one fact can militate against this condition. If the great mass of voters lack faith in the honesty of the Republican pledge to execute revision, they may take the matter in their own hands, and rather than secure no relief, accept the wholesale reduction which the Democrats will certainly undertake.

It is also a question whether the people will unhesitatingly accept President Roosevelt's assertion that the question of revising the tariff stands wholly apart from the question of dealing with the so-called trusts. "The only way in which to deal with these trusts and this great corporate wealth," says Mr. Roosevelt, "is by action along the line of the laws enacted by the present Congress and its immediate predecessors. The cry that the problem can be met by any changes in the tariff represents, whether consciously or unconsciously, an effort to divert public attention from the only method of taking effective action." This is certainly not the popular idea. The general impression is that the tariff is the mother of trusts; and it will take more than the utterance even of President Roosevelt to eradicate this belief.

But there are other issues besides the tariff and the free coinage of silver to be considered if the Democrats propose Mr. Bryan as their candidate. We have already seen that, according to his own statement, he is as radical as ever in all of the views entertained by him on economic questions, and his newspaper, "The Commoner," declares, in large type, that "the Chicago platform still lives." If this is really true, then Mr. Bryan's candidacy assuredly means a repetition of the campaign of 1896.

The Chicago platform was enacted ten years ago; but if it still lives, the struggle of 1908 must be waged not only upon the existence of the protective principle, and the single gold standard, but upon the right of federal courts to issue injunctions in labor disputes, and whether national banks shall exist and issue currency. Not only did the Chicago platform denounce these banks, but it contained the following deliverance:

Congress alone has the power to coin and issue money, and President Jackson declared that this power could not be delegated to corporations or individuals. We therefore denounce the issuance of notes intended to circulate as money by national banks as in derogation of the constitution, and we demand that all paper which is made legal tender for public and private debts or which is receivable for dues to the United States shall be issued by the government of the United States and shall be redeemable in coin.

Mr. Bryan may be the nominee in 1908. He is the apostle in whom thousands upon thousands fervently believe. He is honest and sincere and an upholder of the rights of the masses. He may be nominated; but before he is elected, his political enemies will make the most of the declarations of the Chicago platform and of his own utterances upon issues which vitally affect the commercial interests of this country. In addition to this, it will be recalled that Mr. Bryan, as the nominee of the Populist party in 1896, stood upon a platform in which an advocacy of government ownership of railways was the least radical of the reforms suggested. All these things will be cited against him. Whether or not they will affect the public mind is a question which the future alone can answer.

Henry Watterson, astute observer of events and wise commentator on political affairs, when asked why he thought that Bryan would be nominated in 1908, gave three reasons. The first was that "Mr. Bryan has a distinct following which has held together; which believes him to have been cheated out of two elections; and which cannot be voted solidly for any other candidate." He emphasized, secondly, that many of the original causes of factional differences have disappeared; and, last of all, he predicted that the desire of the Democrats to avoid an unseemly division at the next national convention would lead the State conventions to name Mr. Bryan as the party leader and thus render his nomination a foregone conclusion.

There is much cogency in these three reasons. It has been shown that Bryan's personal following is loyal to him through sunshine and through storm. The second suggestion is worth even more emphasis than Mr. Watterson placed upon it. The Democratic party is to-day in a more harmonious condition than for many years. The old bitter-

ness of 1896, while it may be again revived, has been passing away. The Democrats who deserted after the memorable split in the Chicago convention and who allied themselves with the Republican party may not have returned to the Democratic ranks, but the keen edge of their opposition has been dulled by time. In fact, it is not too much to predict that conditions are such as to lead many of them to return to their first love. Men who remained with the party but whose devotion was more superficial than sincere are now accepting the situation with more than perfunctory spirit. It is noticeable that in nearly all the conventions which, taking time by the forelock, have declared for Bryan's nomination, the wave of enthusiasm was swollen by the demonstrations of those who now believe that Bryan is the only man who can lead his party to victory.

Glancing over the leading States, it is plain to witness that Democratic differences, if they exist, are being carefully concealed, and that, animated by the hope of success, the leaders are resolved to stand together. Any one who observed the Democratic attitude in the last Congress must have been impressed by the fact that the usual exhibitions of Democratic disagreement were avoided. There was an evidence of leadership and discipline quite unwonted in a party where individuals have been too prone to regard their personal views as of more importance than party harmony. This was not a mere coincidence. It was the result of a wise determination to show that the Democrats could possess the solidity of a well-trained army. In the same spirit the Congressional campaign of the present year is being conducted. Every effort is being made to eliminate factions. Harmony is the watchword. The party is at last appreciating the truth of the sage adage that a house divided against itself cannot stand.

On the other hand, political disturbances in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Iowa, seriously menace Republican supremacy in those States. The struggle in Iowa, which finally resulted in the renomination of Gov. Cummins, has left many serious wounds which are not likely to be healed before election day. It will result in some changes in the political complexion of some of the Congressional districts, even if the chances for success of the Republican candidate for governor are not adversely affected. In New York the Republican situation is admittedly in bad shape. The New York "Sun," which prides itself upon its political perspicacity, predicts the election of a Democratic governor; but whether this be true or not, the fact remains that the Republicans are not united. Trouble between the factions has been brewing for many years, and this may be the year of the party's undoing. It is doubtless true, as asserted, that many Republican leaders would be very glad

to have the storm break now so that the skies may be clear again in 1908. Much will depend, of course, upon the outcome of the Saratoga and Buffalo conventions; but if the Democrats nominate a conservative candidate who has character, standing, and popularity, they can well afford to work with a prospect of success. Nor are Iowa and New York the only States wherein the unity of the party is menaced. There is a threat of Republican fusion with the Democrats in Vermont, where Senator Proctor's long and commanding leadership has aroused natural jealousies and enmities; while in Rhode Island it is quite certain that a similar combination will be effected. Massachusetts also belongs to the category of States wherein serious Republican differences prevail, the tariff question being the principal cause of disagreement.

In Ohio, also, the situation is admittedly serious. The conditions which led to the victory of the Democratic candidate for governor at the last election still prevail; and even the most optimistic Republican leaders view the outlook with some anxiety. In Wisconsin, Senator La Follette heads a band of insurgents who are determined to follow their leader to the last ditch, and who would rather see their party overwhelmed than witness the victory of the opposing faction. There are conditions in New Jersey which indicate Republican rupture; and it is very significant that former United States Senator Smith has reappeared in the field of politics. Mr. Smith was one of the products of the Democratic landslide of 1892, but politics — national politics, at least — seemed to lose their interest for him when the Democratic party in 1896 declared for the free coinage of silver and a low tariff. Now he is again in the front; and, most remarkably, makes his re-entrance as the patron of Mr. Bryan in the State. It is easy to argue from this that Senator Smith sees for the New Jersey Democrats more than a fighting chance. Other States could be named wherein the Republicans are paying the penalty of long-continued power. There is nothing remarkable in this situation. The only question worthy of consideration is whether this natural sequence of prolonged control will work out its usual result this year or in 1908.

While there is some reason to anticipate a Democratic victory this year, it is more likely that a Republican majority will be retained in the House of Representatives as the result of the election this fall, and that the change will not be effected until 1908. There will be a material reduction, of course, in the present number of Republican members. This is now abnormally large, many Republicans being carried into Congress on the Roosevelt wave which swept the country two years ago. There is no apparent reason, however, for anticipating a complete up-

heaval. The country seems, in the main, to be contented and prosperous. The existing Congress cannot be charged with having neglected its duties or avoided its responsibilities. It deserved the high commendation of the President, who asserted, in a formal utterance, that in the last session it had accomplished more substantial work than had been achieved in any previous session since he had become familiar with public affairs. "The legislation," said he, "has been along lines of real constructive statesmanship of the most practical and efficient type, and bill after bill has been enacted into law which was of an importance so great that it is fair to say that the enactment of any one of them alone would have made the session memorable."

It was, indeed, a remarkable record which elicited these words of praise. The railroad-rate bill, the meat-inspection measure, the pure-food bill, the bill for the free manufacture of alcohol used in the arts, the plan for the reorganization of the consular service, the joint statehood bill, the employer's liability bill, the provision for a uniform and more strict method of naturalizing aliens, and the legislation which decided the character of the Isthmian canal, constitute a catalogue of achievement of which Congress may well be proud. It is a record which ought to appeal to the country. The voting public sometimes does strange and unaccountable things; but where the element of dissatisfaction is lacking and when no spirit of general unrest is discernible, a revolution would not seem to be impending.

The political battle threatened by the American Federation of Labor, as outlined in the last issue of *THE FORUM*, has been definitely undertaken. At the time of this writing, the first skirmish is being fought in Representative Littlefield's district in Maine. Mr. Littlefield incurred the enmity of the labor interests by his hostility to what is commonly known as the anti-injunction bill, a measure presented in the last session of Congress and discussed in the Judiciary committee, of which Mr. Littlefield is a prominent member. It provided, in brief, that nothing done or attempted to be done in the way of furthering any trade dispute between employers and employees should be deemed a criminal act, nor should the charge of conspiracy lie against such person or persons, nor should any restraining order or injunction be issued in relation thereto. In the vain effort to secure Mr. Littlefield's defeat, President Gompers, of the Federation, made a prolonged tour of his district, delivering noon-hour speeches to the workingmen and urging them to help the cause of labor by voting against him. The importance of this personal onslaught upon Mr. Littlefield lay in the fact that victory would encourage the labor element to continue its warfare upon legislators deemed hostile to them,

while defeat would give confidence to those Representatives whose political existence was otherwise threatened.

While Mr. Littlefield was thus singled out for especial attack, the Federation of Labor did not restrict its movement to him. A series of pointed questions were addressed to every candidate for legislative and congressional honors, without regard to party, informing him that it was necessary for him to plainly define his attitude upon certain issues, which, according to the letter, were characterized as the basis of political evils. These questions, summarized, demanded the candidate to state whether or not he would vote directly as a member of Congress or indirectly as a State legislator for the anti-injunction bill, for the eight-hour day in government contract work, and the installation of the referendum. The letter concluded:

To each of the questions asked, we would like a clear-cut "yes" or "no." If you or any other candidate refuses to come out for the people squarely and openly, in writing, signed by yourself, we shall take the steps described in our letter to congressional candidates. Please let us hear from you at your earliest opportunity. A refusal during the next ten days will be a negative to our questions, and we shall govern ourselves accordingly.

Never in the political history of the country has organized labor taken such a determined, not to say aggressive, stand in its efforts to secure legislation deemed by it essential to its interests. Its official organ, the "American Federationist," does not mince words in treating of the subject. It openly proposes "to punish enemies, support friends, and elect to Congress men from the ranks of labor." Mr. Gompers points to the results accomplished in Great Britain by the prominent part which organized English labor achieves by its active participation in politics, and points admiringly to the "labor group" in the British House of Commons. "Would the workmen of Great Britain," he asks, "be as influential as they now are if they had voted for and elected Tories and sham Liberals to the House of Commons?" In Congress, on the other hand, according to Mr. Gompers, the interests of labor are completely ignored. "What did organized labor get from Congress?" he asks, with emphasis.

It was interested in several bills; it argued, presented data, attended hearings. When the session came to an end there was no result. The eight-hour bill, the anti-injunction bill, and other bills tending to the protection of the rights and lives of men, women, and children, had again been juggled with, but none of them passed, and there was no prospect of any satisfactory action on any of them at the next session.

And then Mr. Gompers added this vigorous comment:

The game is an old one. The present Congress is no worse than many of its

predecessors. Organized labor is weary of these delays and false pretences. It is determined to make its wishes respected, its voice heard.

These utterances have been repeated in more emphatic terms in an address to the country, in which it is asserted that Congress has turned a deaf ear to the masses of the people and that the time has arrived for the workingmen to assert their rights. It is so evident, in fact, that the struggle is to be waged with great earnestness on the part of the workingmen that the Republican leaders, not omitting President Roosevelt, have given this phase of the political situation very careful consideration. As an outcome of the conferences which have been held at Oyster Bay, it has been determined to appeal to the conservative labor element with the proposition that all laws must be framed with due regard to every interest, and that it is impossible to enact legislation distinctly favorable to labor interests and hostile to all others. In addition to this, it will be shown that the Republican party has been, in season and out of season, the friend of organized labor.

Whether this position will be effective in neutralizing the present antagonism remains to be seen. Inasmuch as the movement is not partisan, but is directed equally against Democrats who have offended labor by their votes or speeches in the House, the Democratic managers are also much concerned; but it will require an analysis of the votes next November to determine whether organized labor exerts that influence in political campaigns which is popularly attributed to it. The fairest test would be to have the Federation publish its "blacklist" which it claims to have prepared, and then proudly point, on the fifth of next November, to the scalps which it may wear at its belt.

It is interesting to note that Speaker Cannon, who never yet lacked the courage of his convictions, does not hesitate to accept the gage offered by Mr. Gompers, and in his speech before the convention which recently renominated him for Congress, declared without qualification that he is not in favor of the legislation which Mr. Gompers so emphatically demands.

"The power of the courts," he said, "to issue writs of injunction to prevent irreparable injury to property or to a property right for which there is no adequate remedy at law, is older than the Constitution, and as well established as any other principle of law or equity. The inalienable right of every citizen, be he weak or strong, is to come and go to and from his property without molestation, and to carry on business thereon; and, in the exercise of such right, he is entitled to call upon the government for protection through the courts."

Inasmuch as Mr. Cannon is one of the Republican leaders marked for political destruction, his defiance adds piquancy to the situation. It

will make his district the centre of the contest which labor threatens to wage in such energetic and even bitter fashion; and the outcome of the struggle will be awaited with deepest interest.

When Congress adjourned, President Roosevelt publicly noted the fact with an expression of satisfaction that no legislation of questionable character had been presented to him for approval. This remark attracts attention to the series of disturbances which have affected the political and moral atmosphere of this country during the past two or three years. This storm varied in intensity in different localities; but nearly everywhere it swept unfaithful officials into well-deserved retirement. There is no doubt that the exposures were occasioned by political conditions that demanded remedy; it is equally certain that a purification of the moral atmosphere was needed; and it is also true that beneficial results followed publicity. One effect, however, of extravagant assertion and violent agitation has been a wave of pessimistic hysteria. With that proneness to extreme which is characteristic of the American people—for in this country the pendulum always swings in a wide arc—we are asked to regard political society as in a hopeless state. For instance, in a magazine which makes some pretension to appealing to people of purely literary tastes, this assertion was recently made:

The story of Graft is old. We are growing to realize dimly that our nation is permeated with it, that our body politic is built upon corruption.

If this be true, then is our boasted civilization a dismal failure. If, after more than a century of effort in the upbuilding of a nation; if, after all these years of struggle in the development of a pure democracy; if, after the sacrifice of blood and treasure in many wars to preserve our unity and sustain our integrity, we have accomplished nothing more than to present to the world a spectacle of universal dishonesty in our official life, and if our public servants are in the category of the men who wrecked Rome with lustfulness and avarice, then, indeed, is it time for us to wear sackcloth and ashes. If such be the case, the structure for which our forefathers laid the foundation with so much care is nothing more than a hollow mockery. The fruit of the tree they planted has become as apples of Sodom in our hands.

The assertion above quoted, is, of course, so apparently extravagant as to make denial unnecessary; and yet, as long as it stands uncontradicted, it will be accepted by many as true and will strengthen the too prevalent impression that simple, courageous honesty has departed from our political and official life. It is worth while, therefore, to enter a definite, positive answer to the sweeping charge, not a mere general

denial, but specific proof that the inherent honesty of the great mass of American citizenship rests upon a solid foundation.

Broadly speaking, there are two classes of public officials — those who do and those who do not directly handle public funds. In the latter classification we may begin with the apex of our institutions, the Supreme Court of the United States. Since the establishment of that tribunal in 1800, a long line of illustrious men have sat upon the bench without the evil smell of smoke upon their garments. Ever mindful of the dignity and responsibility of their high office, they have successfully resisted the temptations which have surrounded them, and they stand to-day, after years of eminent service, a pure and uncorrupted body.

It may be said, however, that this is not a fair illustration, inasmuch as the Supreme Court justices are selected after great deliberation and with particular reference to their unblemished character; and, conceding this, consider for a moment the Congress of the United States. Here is a body which comes directly from the people, and which, so far as the House of Representatives is concerned, is the intimate expression of the popular will. Bearing in mind the truth of the old proverb that no stream can rise higher than its source, we must regard the House of Representatives as being fairly typical of the state of the public mind. If our body politic is permeated by corruption, is it not a fair supposition that the men selected for Congress would represent a low state of public morals? But is not the contrary true? It would be impossible to find anywhere in the world a body of nearly four hundred men, elected under varying conditions and representing the most diverse sections, so lacking in all the qualities which represent dishonesty in its multitudinous forms. These men are not bribe-takers; they are not corrupt; they are, as a whole, imbued with honest and patriotic motives.

Nor do these words characterize the present Congress alone. A quarter of a century nearly has passed since the Credit Mobilier scandal; and during the years before and since hundreds and thousands of men whose names are unknown or forgotten, have labored industriously, conscientiously, and honestly for the good of the country. The standard of self-respect is higher to-day than ever before, so that the evil of intemperance, which was once tolerated in the national legislature, is no longer publicly witnessed. The sensitiveness of the public conscience is to-day so keen that the one or two transgressors in the Senate have paid the severest penalty for lapses which a few decades ago would not have been regarded as serious. In the Senate, as everywhere else, the exception proves the rule. The very fact that one or two men in a generation depart from the path of rectitude only emphasizes the honesty of the many. When the charge is made that our nation is per-

meated with corruption, it seems to me that the Congress of the United States, which represents the people, is a direct and convincing refutation; and, speaking from personal knowledge, extending over many years, I pay tribute to the honesty and conscience of the men who are intrusted with the nation's destiny.

And still it may be said that this is not getting down close enough to the people — that the chosen few are cited as typical, and that these are not as liable to yield to temptation as those who dwell not in the public eye and who are subject to the impelling necessities of poverty. Let us consider, then, the men who directly handle government money. Take army paymasters, for instance. In the past ten years these paymasters have disbursed, in round numbers, \$340,000,000; and every dollar of this enormous sum has been properly accounted for. There has not been a defalcation in this branch of the service for twenty-three years, nearly a quarter of a century. In the navy there are 196 paymasters, who during the past decade have disbursed \$660,000,000; and the testimony of Paymaster-General Harris is to the effect that in the handling of this great aggregate the Government has never lost a penny through the dishonesty of the disbursing officers of the navy.

The officers of the engineer corps of the army have expended for the improvement of rivers and harbors approximately \$500,000,000; for the construction of fortifications and the defence of the sea coast, \$125,000,000; and for miscellaneous civil works, \$75,000,000. Again we are dealing with vast sums of money, and yet instances of dishonesty are exceedingly rare, and it should be added that the two notable cases which have occurred in the corps were detected by the fellow-officers of the culprits. Indeed, the name of the engineer corps of the army is synonymous with honest dealing; and when, nowadays, the Government desires to undertake a public improvement, the fact that the supervision is intrusted to an army engineer is sufficient guarantee that not one cent will find its way into dishonest pockets.

It may be urged that the disbursement of the hundreds of millions in the War and Navy departments is intrusted to a high class of men, whose accounts are carefully audited; and yet it must be remembered that men who want to steal will always find some way to gratify their guilty desires. We come now to consider, therefore, the men who represent most closely the average walk of life, to whom temptation comes in its most insidious form, and who are financially least able to resist, viz.: the postmasters, the letter-carriers in the city, and the free-delivery carriers in the rural districts. There are, in round numbers, 70,000 postmasters. Last year 140 only were arrested, not alone for dishonesty but for every possible violation of the postal laws. There are 22,000

letter-carriers. Last year only sixty proved recreant to their trust, with millions of letters containing money and other valuables passing through their hands. There are 12,000 railway mail clerks; less than one man in a thousand was placed under arrest. There are 32,000 men employed in delivering mail in the rural districts. These men not only handle a very large number of valuable letters, but they are given money by the country people every day in the year to purchase money orders. How many of these men were dishonest last year? Exactly twenty-six! And these men, with the letter-carriers in the city, are surely not to be included in any privileged, highly-trained class of men who are immune from temptation because of their education and environment. On the contrary, they represent the average type; and the splendid record for honesty which is shown by them is enough to encourage every one who desires to think well of his fellow-man.

These figures might be indefinitely extended. For instance, more than a thousand men during the past ten years disbursed one billion and a half dollars for the Interior Department, and yet only twenty were removed for dishonesty. Hundreds of disbursing officers and others during the present fiscal year will handle \$500,000,000 and will honestly account to the Government for the expenditure of every penny, notwithstanding the fact that they are peculiarly exposed to temptation.

Officials of the National Capital recall the fact that some years ago what was known as the Dockery Commission was created by Congress with the view of overhauling and improving the methods of administration in the Federal departments. Among other things the commission discovered much laxity in the manner of adjusting and settling accounts. In many instances as long as two years elapsed before the accounts of disbursing officers and paymasters were balanced, and, in the mean time, the door was wide open for peculation and escape. In order to buttress its argument for new laws which would remedy this state of affairs, the commission proposed to show to Congress that many instances of dishonesty had occurred. The presumption was a natural one, especially when in one notable instance the books showed that one paymaster had no less than \$142,000,000 outstanding against him for a period of four years. Every cent of this enormous sum was finally audited as having been honestly disbursed; and an investigation extending over a quarter of a century, prosecuted with great thoroughness, resulted in the discovery of only two defalcations. Since that time, three or four disbursing officers have proved recreant to the trust reposed in them; but, after all, considering the temptation which comes to them through the possession of actual cash, the record of these officials is one which can be cited without apology.

And, last of all, thousands of Government employees, in their minor positions, conscientiously and honestly protect the interests of the Government which they serve. In the War Department, for instance, out of 3,401 employees during the last ten years only seven have been removed upon charges affecting their integrity; and the record in other departments is equally gratifying.

In presenting this necessarily condensed record there is no attempt nor desire to overlook the fact that thievery and corruption exist. These evils have always prevailed and will not be entirely exterminated as long as human nature remains unchanged. It would be foolish even to pretend that the millennium is already in sight. My sole contention is that, amid the wholesale crimination which is the product of the present hysterical state of the public mind, a word of protest ought to be uttered against regarding the occasional wrong-doer as a type of all mankind.

But, granting that there is dishonesty and corruption, the fact which it is important for us to know is whether our substratum of honesty and conscientious endeavor remains firm. It is a matter for serious consideration if our whole political and official life is permeated by corruption, and the desire to do right for right's sake is completely atrophied. If that time has come, we might well look forward with anxiety into the future. The facts and figures which are here presented do not warrant a hopeless outlook. Our institutions still rest securely upon the integrity of the honest many. We are not entirely given over to corruption; and while all conscientious and patriotic citizens must rejoice to see wickedness driven from the high places, and while for the wrong-doer we heartily invoke the penalty of the law and the obloquy of public condemnation, there must come a reaction against the wholesale, reckless, and unwarranted accusations which, even now, are being laid before the public under the guise of truth.

HENRY LITCHFIELD WEST.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

“La Duma est morte, vive la Duma!” In these words the benediction was pronounced on the youngest parliament by the leader of the mother of Parliaments. It was the greeting of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the Prime Minister of England, to the delegates assembled in London at the interparliamentary peace conference. That meeting was held amidst historic surroundings, for a stone’s space from where the delegates sat the great battle of liberty and parliamentary freedom had been fought and won by a people to whom liberty was the most precious of all gifts — a people who had taken up arms to preserve their liberties, and who had sent a king to the block when he attempted to make his irresponsible will superior to their freedom.

It was a dramatic moment. It was one of those moments when the world pauses for a brief second as if overwhelmed by the immensity of the epoch which it has brought forth. This latest child of freedom, this Duma wrung from the hands of a trembling sovereign, fearing to yield and possessed by even a greater fear if he did not yield, had sent delegates to London to take part in the deliberations of parliamentarians from the civilized world over, from parliamentary countries with their traditions and their heritages, their glorious birth-right for which men have labored and died. And when this conference met these Russian delegates were men without a parliamentary country, for the nerveless hand that had made them had over night unmade them. The first Russian Duma was a thing of the past. The Duma had been dissolved.

In his address of welcome, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, not merely as a distinguished member of Parliament, but as the Prime Minister of Great Britain, and therefore the real ruler of the British Empire, voiced the sentiments of every man present, or practically the entire civilized world, when he said, *“La Duma est morte, vive la Duma!”* The newspapers opposed to him politically fell foul of him and censured him for interfering in the domestic affairs of a country with which England is officially on friendly terms by giving the weight of his approval to an institution that the Czar had crushed out of existence because of its contumacy. It savored of one of those “blazing indiscretions” for which the late Lord Salisbury was famous. It was Rooseveltian in its disregard of the established canons of diplomacy and the circum-

spection which doth hedge the tripping tongue of European statesmen. But if it was indiscreet it was at least courageous; if it was unwise it was popular. It expressed what everybody felt. Berlin no doubt read it and sardonically grinned. St. Petersburg read it, and the autocrats no doubt swore great oaths, and instinctively hands dropped on sword hilts. The masses read it, the masses in Russia as well as in Germany, France, England, and the United States, and they, never doubting that the cause of freedom is to triumph in Russia, found encouragement in the words of the Premier.

On the twenty-first of July the Czar by decree dissolved the Duma and ordered the convocation of a new Duma on March fifth of next year. The following is the text of the decree, which I publish in full because it so intimately reveals the moral and mental character of the Russian autocrat, and as a historical document is worthy of preservation:

We have called the representatives of the nation by Our will to the work of productive legislation. Confiding firmly in divine clemency and believing in the great and brilliant future of Our people, We were expecting benefits for the country from their labors. We proposed great reforms in all departments of the national life. We have always devoted Our greatest care to the removal of the ignorance of the people by the light of instruction, and to the removal of the burdens of the people by facilitating conditions of agricultural work. A cruel disappointment has befallen Our expectations. The representatives of the nation, instead of applying themselves to the work of productive legislation, have strayed into spheres beyond their competence and have been making inquiries into the acts of local authorities established by Ourselves, and have been making comments upon the imperfections of the Fundamental Laws, which can only be modified by Our Imperial will. In short, the representatives of the nation have undertaken really illegal acts, such as the appeal to the nation by the Duma. The peasants, disturbed by such anomalies and seeing no hope of the amelioration of their lot, have resorted in a number of districts to open pillage and the destruction of other people's property, and to disobedience of the law and of the legal authorities. But Our subjects ought to remember that an improvement in the lot of the people is only possible under conditions of perfect order and tranquillity. We shall not allow arbitrary or illegal acts, and we shall impose Our Imperial will on the disobedient by all the force of the power of the State. We call upon all well-disposed Russians to unite for the maintenance of legal power and the restoration of peace in our dear Fatherland. May calm be reestablished in the Russian land; may God help us to realize the chiefest of Our tasks — that of the reform of the lot of the peasants. Our will on this point is unshakable, and the Russian husbandman, without other people's property being encroached upon, will be supplied in cases where the peasants' lands are too small with legal and honest means for the enlargement of their property. The representatives of the other classes will at Our request devote all their efforts to the realization of this great task, which will be performed definitely in a legislative manner by a future Duma.

In dissolving the Duma, We confirm Our immutable intention of keeping this institution, and in conformity with this intention We appoint March 5, 1907, as the date of the convocation of a new Duma by a decree addressed to the Senate. With

unshakable belief in divine clemency and in the good sense of the Russian people, We shall expect from the new Duma the realization of Our efforts and their introduction of legislation in accordance with the requirements of a regenerated Russia.

Faithful sons of Russia, your Czar calls upon you as a father upon his children to unite with him for the regeneration of our holy Fatherland. We believe that giants in thought and action will appear, and that, thanks to their assiduous efforts, the glory of Russia will continue to shine. — NICHOLAS.

In this farrago of words, this jumble of authority by right divine and the transparent hypocrisy of benevolence, there is one sentence that rings true. "A cruel disappointment has befallen Our expectations," writes the imperial author, and of that we can have no doubt. Bitterly disappointed he has been, but not more so than his helpless subjects or the peoples of other lands who have watched with thrilling interest the first step in the direction of constitutionalism in Russia. The disappointment of the Czar is the disappointment of every autocratic ruler who imagines that men of full stature can like little children be made happy with a toy. The Russian people asked for a parliament, a working parliament that should be the real government. The Czar threw to them a make-believe parliament, a manikin of a parliament whose legs and arms would move when he pulled the strings; and, stupid man that he is, he expected that his people would be content with this block of wood when they demanded a thing of flesh and blood. The Czar's cruel disappointment comes from the fact that the members of the Duma were not satisfied to be given office without authority. They believed that the Duma was to be a reality, and not merely a sham. The Czar flouted it and attempted to make it simply another device to prevent the carrying out of those reforms which must come if Russia is to go forward as one of the civilized powers. The Czar can play fast and loose now, and create and dissolve as his veering fancy seizes him, because the Russian has no parliamentary or constitutional traditions to move him; but the Czar is weaving for himself a shirt of Nessus that will inevitably prove his destruction.

"When the Russian upheaval is in full swing the world will witness scenes the like of which are unrecorded in history," writes the correspondent of the London "Daily Telegraph," a correspondent conceded to have a more intimate knowledge of Russian affairs than any other writer. He continues:

The French Revolution will be child's play to it. For Russians themselves affirm that the peasants in many parts of the Empire are downright brutes—harmless brutes in ordinary times, but wild beasts when roused by alcohol or moved by hatred. Certainly the deeds which they are capable of performing when in such a condition of semi-responsibility are Dantesque in their ingenious ferocity. Talk of the abolition of the death penalty as the fervent desire of the Russian nation!

The statement, many affirm, is a piece of cruel irony. The benighted masses have no scruple about taking life when it suits their purpose, or to gratify their passion. Who that has read Maxim Gorky's account of the way in which they treat a peasant woman suspected of infidelity to her husband can for a moment believe that the Russian mooshiks are actuated by feelings of humanity, and impatient to have the death penalty abolished for political crimes, or are indignant when the authorities deal ungently with a female assassin? The men who can stand and enjoy the sight of a young, and it may be quite innocent, woman being tied, practically naked, to a horse's tail and whipped through the streets, stumbling and falling, moaning or screaming, covered with blood and dust, are not likely to feel very keenly the pangs of a strange woman, whom they have never seen, and whose programme they neither know nor sympathize with. That, at least, is what observant Russians write and believe.

According to them, the real fact of the matter would seem to be that inside the Russian peasant lurks a human beast, more horribly grotesque in its ferocity and cruelty than the average *bête humaine*, and when it has been roused by the revolutionary fever to the pitch of frenzy, woe to those who cross the animal's path. With bombs to be had at the rate of ninepence — that is the average market price of the genuine home-made article in the Csar's domains — the demon of destruction will revel in unwonted orgies. The peasants care nothing for politics. They are impatient when orators talk to them of the various liberties — liberty of conscience, of speech, of meeting, of association. "Give us liberty to till the land, and we shall be satisfied," they virtually exclaim. Whereupon political orators endeavor to show them that the two things are reciprocally dependent upon each other, and that land without liberty is like having stolen property with no evidence that you came by it in an honest way.

But the fact remains, and will remain, that the peasant wants the land, all the land, and nothing but the land. And many of the Liberals have promised him not only all the land, but far more than exists. And he believed them. For the Russian mooshik is the most credulous of human beings, and his few thoughts have a long progeny of wishes. When they awaken to the fact that they have been deceived, they may be expected to destroy the property and lives of those whom they consider responsible for the deception practised on them.

And they are quite capable of attacking their friends of to-day. For the peasant, enslaved for generations and kept ignorant of the first principles of morality as well as of the rudiments of knowledge, recognizes no barriers in thought or wish. Thus he minglest idolatry with his liturgy, superstition with his religion, cruelty with his daily action. He will tear a woman to pieces who is assumed to be a witch, and he will seize the man whom he suspects of incendiarism and throw him into the burning house. He is wholly incapable of seeing things from the angle of vision which would be that of an Englishman, or American, or a Frenchman, or a German.

It is not to be supposed that there is not at least one man in Russia who does not know the character of his own people and the dangers that threaten, and yet no man comes forward with the only real remedy — justice instead of injustice, freedom instead of force. One man there was who tried to govern according to the enlightened spirit of the age, and that man was thrown to the wolves of reactionism by his royal master. Witte knew and had the courage to do; but he was sacrificed

because the courage of the Czar is negligible and his will is like the sand that is blown and scattered by every passing wind of impression.

Now that the Duma has been dissolved, now that there is no longer any necessity even to pretend, the advocates of the policy of repression have been given a free hand and the history of Russia is being written in blood. The people are ready for anything; the army and navy are in a state of almost open mutiny; and the picked regiments, the guards and the other *corps d'élite*, are no more to be relied on than the conscripts whose barracks are placarded with seditious proclamations. When at a great state function the Czar is nearly killed by a shot from a battery of the guards, when the Grand Duke Nicholas is nearly killed by men of the Imperial Guards, when with the connivance of the police a bomb-thrower is permitted to enter the house of the Prime Minister, when the murder of governors and other high officials has become so frequent that now murder almost ceases to excite comment, when the whole country is in a state of ferment and anarchy and almost civil war prevails, it can be seen how little dependence the Czar can place on force. And yet this child in a man's image, clinging with all the stubbornness of an undisciplined child to his determination to enforce his will, encourages his creatures to renewed ferocity, and telegraphs the Governor of Warsaw, who had escaped the assassin's bomb: "Do not be discouraged; be resolute in the battle with insensate anarchy and sedition."

Anarchy may be insensate; it is, but it can hardly be more so than "orderly government" that drives an entire nation to anarchy and makes the bomb and the bullet the weapon of the political reformer.

In view of the open expression of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's sympathies, it is not surprising that the understanding between England and Russia that a few months ago seemed imminent has now been put in the background. In the last number of this Review I referred to the proposed visit of a British squadron to Russian ports during the summer, and the political importance to be attached to that exchange of courtesies, the first formal friendly visit of an English squadron to a Russian port since the Crimea. If the English officers and sailors should be well received, if the Russian press and people should show that they preferred England's friendship to her enmity, then the way would be paved to a diplomatic exchange that would make it possible for the two long-time foes satisfactorily to settle their differences; and both countries would find that more profitable than to keep alive the friction. The promise of the Czar to give his people a constitutional form of government gave additional impetus in England in favor of an understanding; as con-

fidence could be placed in the sober sense of the people when there was no reliance to be placed in the promises of autocrats or adventurers, to whom war meant the strengthening of their power or still further lined their pockets with the unholy profits of dishonest contracts. When it was seen that the Czar's pledges of reforms were not made in good faith, so much opposition was aroused in England to the visit of the fleet, several questions regarding it being asked in the House of Commons, that the Government decided to postpone the visit "until a more propitious time."

A statement of extraordinary importance — extraordinary because of the plain language used and the gravity which it revealed — was made by Sir Edward Grey, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in the House of Commons in the early days of July. For more than a year past there has been great and ominous unrest among the Mohammedian people; in Africa, from the Cape to Cairo, a wave of fanaticism has swept over the continent that has aroused serious apprehension in the dominant race. This growing unrest and defiance of the constituted authorities culminated in an attack made by Egyptian natives at the village of Denshawi on British army officers in uniform, who were shooting wild pigeons, and resulted in the death of one officer and the serious injury of some of his companions. It was felt by the British Government that a severe example must be made, and four of the natives, after trial before a mixed court, were sentenced to death, and others were flogged and imprisoned.

In explaining the circumstances under which the trial took place, Sir Edward Grey said:

All this year a fanatical feeling in Egypt has been on the increase. It has not been confined to Egypt, but has spread along the north of Africa. It was for that reason that a little time ago the garrison had to be increased. The attack on the British officers recently is something which would never have occurred now but for the fanatical feeling which had spread in Egypt during this year. Since that attack took place, and even before the trial of those condemned, one or two disagreeable and significant attacks had been made upon, I think, British subjects, or, at any rate, Europeans, by natives. We may be on the eve of further measures necessary to protect Europeans in Egypt. . . . As things are now, I say deliberately and with a full sense of responsibility, that if the House of Commons does anything at this moment to weaken or destroy the authority of the Government as it exists in Egypt you will be face to face with a very serious situation, because if the fanatical feeling in Egypt gets the better of the constituted authority of the Egyptian Government, you are then face to face with the necessity for extreme measures. The work done by Lord Cromer has been widely recognized. If you compare Egypt to-day with the Egypt of twenty-five years ago, I doubt whether in any generation you will find the lot of the common people improved so much as that

of the Egyptian people. I know very well that the House is not going to allow the work to be swept away by a rush of fanatical passion. . . . I know the House is determined not to allow the work done in Egypt to be undone, but if we say anything in debate now to weaken the authority of the Egyptian Government, they may find themselves at any moment forced to take other measures — unconstitutional measures, which we are bound to take in an emergency, but which no one would regret more than the present Government and the present House of Commons, though they might be compelled to do so.

This “fanatical feeling” to which Sir Edward Grey referred is undoubtedly the outcome of the Japanese war, the direct result of a white race having been defeated by an Oriental race. Edward Dicey, the well-known authority on Egypt, recently wrote:

I do not suppose that one Egyptian native in a thousand or a hundred thousand had any conception where Japan was, who the Japanese were, or to what race or religion they belonged. But all over Africa, north, south, west, and east, the tidings of Russia's defeat at the hands of a colored race, who, whatever else they might be, were certainly not Christians or whites, spread with the strange rapidity by which news in the East passes from hand to hand. There is not a village in Egypt in which there is not some Mullah or Mahdi or holy man, learned in the Koran, who was only too glad to announce to his adherents that the downfall of the infidel was at hand, and that the day was coming when Islam would once more become supreme. The Egyptians are not fanatical Mohammedans, but they are fervent followers of the Prophet, and they are convinced that the decline of the Cross is certain to lead to the rise of the Crescent. A British Government is necessarily the worst Government in the world to provide against an hypothetical danger, and no British statesman, to whatever party he might belong, seems to have contemplated the possibility that the downfall of Russian military prestige might possibly stir up discontent and disaffection in Egypt. No effort was made to reinforce our garrison there or in the Soudan. On the contrary, the one desire, both at Westminster and at Cairo, seems to have been to effect a reduction of the British army of occupation. This desire, not unreasonable in itself, was undoubtedly stimulated by the optimism of British officialdom in Egypt, who kept on to the very last assuring everybody there was no truth whatever in the reports of disaffection amongst the natives, and who pooh-poohed the notion that the Soudanese, as well as the fellahs, were not enamoured of British rule.

I am inclined to think the prompt, stern judgment passed upon the ring-leaders in the Denshawi outrages will keep things quiet in Egypt for some time to come. In the East half-measures are always ineffective. If you have to use force it is the wisest and the most humane course to strike quick and strike hard. Any mitigation of a well-deserved punishment with the view of conciliating popular sentiment is ascribed not to humanity, but to fear, and this is especially the case when the offence for which the punishment is inflicted is due to racial hatred and religious fanaticism.

In Egypt as in India the danger to British supremacy comes, paradoxical as it may sound, from British benevolence; and it is practically the same danger that the United States will eventually have to meet in the Philippines. In India as in Egypt under British rule the native like the fellah

has been raised in the scale of civilization; he has been educated and made prosperous. As he has advanced, as his property and his personal liberty have been secured to him, he has developed politically, and with that development is born the faculty of criticism and the desire to free the land from the oppression of the white man. For the native looks upon the white man as an oppressor, no matter how gentle the hand that rules him, and objects strongly to the white man's reforms, because the native is the product of century-long conservatism and every innovation is to be resented. The result then is that the more the native is educated, the greater the multiplication of the vernacular press, the greater the freedom of speech permitted, the more danger there is to alien rule and the greater the danger of one of those uprisings always to be feared in the East when the teachings and preachings of leaders and priests have brought about in the Oriental that mental condition that makes him ready for any desperate display of fanaticism.

A white paper recently issued containing correspondence between Lord Cromer and Sir Edward Grey has a remarkable anonymous letter addressed to Lord Cromer, which shows the fanatical nature of the people of whom he is the ruler. The letter contains this striking passage:

The words of the Imam are echoed in every heart, and every Moslem hears only the cry of the faith. As men we do not love the sons of Osman; the children at the breast know their works, and that they have trodden down the Egyptians like dry reeds. But as Moslems they are our brethren; the Khalif holds the sacred places and the noble relics. Though the Khalif were hapless as Bayezid, cruel as Murad, or mad as Ibrahim, he is the shadow of God, and every Moslem must leap up at his call as the willing servant to his master though the wolf may devour his child while he does his master's work. The call of the Sultan is the call of the faith. It carries with it the command of the Prophet (blessings, etc.). I and many more trust that all may yet be peace; but, if it be war, be sure that he who has a sword will draw it, he who has a club will strike with it. The women will cry from the housetops: "God give victory to Islam!" You will say: "The Egyptian is more ungrateful than a dog, which remembers the hand that fed him. He is foolish as the madman who pulls down the roof-tree of his house upon himself." It may be so to worldly eyes, but in the time of danger to Islam, the Moslem turns away from the things of this world, and thirsts only for service of his faith, even though he looks in the face of death. May God (His Name be glorified) avert the evil.

The old diplomatic injunction of "*cherchez la femme*" has been changed, so far at least as England and France are concerned, into "*cherchez l'Allemand*," because whatever happens, then look for the sinister hand of the German. Germany is supposed to be encouraging Pan-Islamism to the injury of England and France, England especially, so as to gain by whatever may follow when the jihad is proclaimed and the Moslem hordes in Asia and Africa shall engulf the white conqueror and destroy the Empire which is his pride as well as his travail.

The suggestion appears fantastic, because if Islam is to do in the present century what Attila did in the fifth century, and the Mohammedans like the Huns are to submerge a dominant civilization, it is difficult to understand how Germany would escape, although she has less to fear than England or France, as Germany has no great Mohammedan dependencies. Proof of Germany's duplicity — confirmation strong as holy writ to the British and French mind — is found in the Tabah incident, the English-Turkish boundary dispute, and the intrigue Germany is now said to be carrying on with the all-powerful and mysterious Senoussi Brotherhood. The hinterlands of Tripoli, the Soudan, and in a certain degree the whole of Islamic Africa are under the religious domination of the Senoussi Brotherhood, whose most distinguished member is the Sultan of Turkey. Of this religious confraternity little is known, except that in a general way it is a patriotic order under religious governance, whose purposes are not dissimilar to those of the Chinese Boxers. Like them its aim is to regain its own; like the Boxers it has a fierce hatred of the Giaour and would drive into the sea the detested foreigner who has set his foot on their necks.

Recently the German Government sent an expedition, ostensibly for scientific purposes, to Tripoli; but that expedition, certain French and English correspondents now declare, concerns itself as little with science as did the Russian commercial company with timber when under the guise of timber concessions it attempted to erect strategical posts on the Yalu and threaten the independence of Korea, which was the inciting cause of the Russo-Japanese war. Defeated in the attempt to gain political and commercial advantages in Morocco, German diplomacy has now turned its attention to the hinterlands of Algeria and Tripoli, and is attempting to arouse among the fanatical tribes ruled over by the Bey of Tripoli a religious feeling against the English and the French. The Senoussi Brotherhood, whose hostility to the English and French is well known, is to be used to carry out this intrigue. But it is hostile to them not so much on national grounds as on religious grounds — it loathes all foreigners and all people who do not profess the true faith and to whom Mohammed is not the only true prophet and the Sultan his vicar on earth. Why the Senoussi should have for the Germans any greater affection than they have for any other Occidentals is not apparent, although that they might be influenced by German advice to try to throw off the yoke of the "roumi" or Christian can very well be believed.

Whatever the reason, the fact remains that throughout the East, both the Near and the Far, the spirit of unrest prevails, and for the first time the white race is being forced to recognize that the fear that the

Oriental had for the Western races is fast disappearing. It was that fear which made it possible for a handful of whites to impose their will upon millions of black and brown men; for to the Oriental mind power is strength, and strength is understood and respected. But the Oriental is beginning to understand his own strength, he is beginning to measure it against the strength of the men whose very name inspired terror, and he is beginning to ask himself if he has not too long been unreasonably terrorized. Japan has partially solved that doubt. The subtlety of the Oriental mind has grasped a salient fact. It knows the jealousies and rivalries of the Christian nations, and it sees in this hostility the fruition of its dream, the reconquest of that vast empire from Mecca to Morocco which was once Islam.

It was only a few years ago that England was straining all her resources to subjugate the Boers and bring the Transvaal under the British flag; and now so well has the work of pacification progressed that the British Government deems the time ripe to grant to the Transvaal a constitution by which the Boers will be permitted a voice in their own affairs. In the closing days of the session the terms of the constitution for the government of the Transvaal were laid before Parliament, and they are so unexpectedly generous, they show such a strong desire on the part of the conquerors not to take advantage of the conquered, that one is again impressed by the far-seeing wisdom that is akin to genius of English statesmen in dealing with subject races, which has made England the world's great colonizer. In fact, so liberal are the terms that the opponents of the present Liberal government (and it should be remembered that while it was the Conservative government that fought and concluded the war, it is the Liberal government that grants this constitution) denounce the grant as a cowardly surrender, and that most imperialistic of all poets, Rudyard Kipling, breaks out into passionate verse:

The shame of Amajuba Hill
Lies heavy on our line,
But here is shame completer still
And England makes no sign.
Unchallenged in the market-place
Of Freedom's chosen land,
Our rulers pass our rule and race
Into the stranger's hand.

Broadly speaking, the constitution grants to British as well as Boers the right of manhood suffrage without property qualification: all adult males who have resided in the Transvaal for six months, and who are not officers or soldiers of the British garrison, are to enjoy the right of

franchise. The Boers wanted the franchise extended to women, but this was refused. The country is to be divided into constituencies represented in the lower house of the legislature by a single member. Under this arrangement the Assembly when it comes into existence will consist of sixty-nine members, thirty-four to the Rand, six to Pretoria, and twenty-nine to the rest of the country, which, it is expected, will give the British a slight preponderance in the Assembly, as there are said to be more British than Dutch voters in the Transvaal. The members will be paid salaries of \$1,000 a year, they will be elected for five years, and the speaker will be the choice of the majority. Both English and Dutch may be used by members in debate. There is also to be a second chamber. During the life of the first parliament it will consist of fifteen members nominated by the crown, but at the end of that parliament arrangements will be made for the creation of an elective second chamber.

Under the terms of the Vereeniging treaty—the treaty of peace which brought the war to a conclusion—it was agreed that no franchise should be granted to the natives, the colored races, before the grant of self-government. Respecting this stipulation, the franchise is extended only to whites, but the constitution safeguards the rights of the natives. Any legislation which imposes disabilities on natives which are not imposed on Europeans, or any legislation affecting the alienation of native lands, must receive the approval of the home government; but with that exception the Crown has no power of veto.

Some of the opponents of the present government believe that the Boers will have a majority in the lower house of the Assembly, and that once again the British will be at the mercy of the Dutch. In his speech outlining the terms of the constitution to the House of Commons, Mr. Winston Churchill, the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, attempted to quiet these fears with this roseate statement:

What will be the result of these arrangements? I decline to speculate in prophecy. I cannot tell how the British in the Transvaal will help us, but this I know, there are undoubtedly more British voters in the Transvaal than Dutch. They can obtain a majority if they desire it. It may be that the Government called into power will be acceptable to both parties and embrace both races. Whatever the outcome, his Majesty's Government are confident that the Ministers who may be summoned, from whatever party they are drawn, and to whatever race they belong, will in no circumstances fail in their duty to the Crown. When this Parliament is called together it will be a highly representative authority, and it will be the duty of whoever represents Colonial business in this House to stand between it and all unjustifiable interference from any quarter.

Rhetoric aside, the truth bluntly stated is that the Boers are put on trial. If they show that they accept the situation and are willing to

coöperate with the British "in their endeavor to place the Transvaal on the road to unity and prosperity," to quote the London "Morning Post," all will go well; but if the spirit of Krugerism still lives, if the irreconcilables are in the majority, if the Boer has for the British the hatred that made the war inevitable, the constitution will be annulled and the Boers will be deprived of the right to govern themselves. The "Morning Post," which opposes the present government and is the leading representative of an imperial federated empire, in the course of a well-balanced and restrained editorial uses this pregnant language:

There is a large section of the Unionist Party which has always perceived that there were only two courses to adopt in regard to the government of the Transvaal: either to establish a benevolent autocracy and to maintain it for several years, or to grant responsible government. The mining houses and their representatives in South Africa made the first course impossible. They should not, therefore, complain that the Imperial Government has been forced to have recourse to the granting of responsible government. But no feeling or sentiment of mistaken generosity should be allowed at the present moment to disguise the real feelings of the British people when granting this constitution; and a solemn warning may once and for all be uttered. Should the Boers prove by their action that responsible government is incompatible with loyalty to the Crown and with unswerving adherence to the Vereeniging terms, there is not the remotest doubt that both political parties in this country will be again united in an appeal to those unalterable forces which brought the new colonies within the Empire.

The session of Parliament that has just closed, the first session of Bannerman's premiership, added little to the volume of the statute books, but was nevertheless a Parliament of unusual interest. In addition to the Transvaal constitution, the House passed the Education Bill, which has yet to receive the approval of the Lords, and the Secretary of State for War brought forward a scheme to reorganize and reduce the army. And not the least interesting thing in connection with the session was the unmistakable evidence of friction between the Labor members and the Liberals, which must eventually lead to a break, if not to open war.

I have before referred to the unconscious influence that the trans-Atlantic branch of the great English-speaking race exercises on the cis-Atlantic branch, and *vice versa*, and how any great social or political movement on one side finds its counterpart on the other. The incursion of labor into politics in England is immediately followed by the activity of labor in American polities. The last few years in the United States have seen a breaking up and merging of parties. That same dynamic movement is going on in England. In a sense the Tory party in England may be said to correspond to the Republican party in the United States, the party of special privilege, and in England as in the United

States democracy was a thing to be shuddered at. The English Liberals were neither Democrats nor Tories; they were Tory at heart with an affectation for Democracy, although really afraid of it and only faintly comprehending what it meant. The last election brought about an alliance between the Liberals and the English Democracy, the working-men, the Radicals, and the Socialists. To obtain the parliamentary support of these auxiliaries, Mr. John Burns was given a seat in the cabinet, and the Government pledged itself to enact advanced labor legislation.

In fulfilment of this promise several bills were passed which it was expected would secure to the Government the support of the Labor group in Parliament; but this willingness of the Government to yield to Labor has emboldened the latter to make further, and as some people think, impossible demands. So long as Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and his colleagues are willing to yield, the relations between them and the Labor members will be pleasant enough; but at the first sign of resistance the Liberal Government will find no more bitter opponents than the men who pride themselves on being called Independents, and who frankly avow that their support will be given to whichever party will pay the largest legislative price for their votes. In this the Labor members are employing shrewd tactics. They have been elected to Parliament to secure legislation for Labor, and they can best secure it by remaining independent of all parties.

To forecast the future of political parties in England is an experiment as hazardous as to attempt to forecast it in American polities; and, yet, one who has had the opportunity of testing the sentiment of Englishmen in and out of Parliament must be impressed with the feeling that both the leading political parties of England are in a state of flux. The old Tories, the men who are Tory by tradition as well as Conservative by instinct, cling with the devotion of age steadfastly to the faith of their fathers; but the younger men doubt the wisdom of giving power to names rather than to men and abilities, and say that the time has come when the Conservative party must be reorganized, when the Tory party must be made Democratic. On the other hand, Liberals will tell you that their peril is the menace of Socialism, that the party is tied up with the Radical element, and that they must either be carried forward by it to their destruction, or break with it and with equal certainty go to smash. And so, while the young Tories talk of democratizing their party, the Liberals talk of a "Conservative Liberal" party, which, it seems to me, is not so very unlike the political situation that exists in the United States to-day.

One hears it frequently said in the political clubs of London that Sir

Henry Campbell-Bannerman is playing shrewd politics. The House of Commons has passed Labor bills which it is expected the Lords will reject, and the Conservatives of the old school are in a majority in the upper chamber. This will make fine campaign material for the Liberals at the next election. It will enable them to appeal to Radical support, and to tell them that Codlin is their friend, not Short; that if a Conservative House of Lords rejects measures in their interest, surely they can expect nothing from a Conservative government, and that if they hope to gain anything they must continue the Liberals in power. How effective this argument will be we shall know later, but a realignment of British political parties seems inevitable.

Another cause is operating to break down party lines, for which Mr. Chamberlain is largely responsible. While the Liberal party came into power because of its opposition to protection, there are protectionists in that party precisely as there are protectionists in the Democratic party in this country; and although the last election in England is regarded by the free-traders as having administered the *coup de grace* to protection, that cause is not by any means dead. The English workingman, like the American, is too prosperous and his labor is too much in demand to sanction what he fears is a doubtful experiment. But when the tide ebbs, when over-production produces stagnation, when there is a time of industrial depression such as comes at periodic intervals, he will be ready to try any experiment that promises more favorable conditions. And what can appeal to him more strongly than legislation which frees him from the competition of the lower-paid labor of the European continent?

The Education bill, which will divorce English schools from sectarian control, has passed the Commons, but has not yet been acted upon by the Lords. It is the general expectation that the Lords will so radically amend the bill that the Commons will refuse to accept the amendments; and as neither house will yield, and the differences will be so great that compromise will be out of the question, the bill will fail.

It would be possible for Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman to force the Lords to respect the will of the people by making the Education bill a test of strength and insisting that the Lords accept it, and on their refusal appealing to the country. If he should again be returned to power, and the House of Commons should for the second time pass the bill, the Lords would have no alternative but to sanction its passage. But this Bannerman will not do, because it would be bad politics. The Liberals would in all probability be able to hold their majority, although it would be a much smaller one than the phenomenal majority they now have;

but by compelling the Lords to obedience they would lose a valuable campaign asset. A great reform accomplished, no matter how good, must always fall short of the expectations of the over-enthusiastic, and once accomplished there is nothing more to be hoped for. A thing that men hope for, that would be possible but for the obstinacy and selfishness and class interest (so it will be said) of the hereditary legislators is the one thing needed to make men resolute and determined to triumph in the face of opposition. Bannerman should feel grateful to the Lords for their political cecity.

Every successive British Secretary of State for War tinkers at the army, which is perpetually being "reorganized." Mr. Haldane, the War Minister, is no exception to his predecessors. The Liberal Government being pledged to economy, and having a pious horror of war, Mr. Haldane proposes to make the army more effective and at the same time to save the country a few millions by reducing the strength of the army by 20,000 men. Inasmuch as the Boer war showed how difficult it was for England to raise even a small army for foreign service, and that war showed the defects of the British military system, it would seem that a War Minister who wanted to make the army really efficient would find another method than by reducing its strength. But the line of least resistance is the easiest, and it is easier to disband regiments than it is to demand a higher scientific training of officers and a more business-like administration.

King Edward has been playing his favorite *rôle* of pacifier of Europe, and his steps have led him to Germany, where he undoubtedly gave his brilliant but erratic and envious nephew some excellent advice. This meeting was not merely a pleasant but meaningless interchange of family banalities. Matters of state were evidently discussed, as both sovereigns were attended by high officials of their respective foreign offices.

Speculation is rife as to the purpose of this meeting, but so far nothing except speculation is in the possession of the public. Two reasons are assigned: one that the King is trying to bring about a better understanding between his own people and those of his nephew's dominions, the other that the two monarchs met to devise plans to save the Czar of Russia from his own folly. Perhaps both subjects were considered. Undoubtedly the King would be only too glad to see a good understanding reached between England and Germany, although in the present temper of the people of the two countries that is not easy. On both sides of the North Sea the feeling is one of intense dislike and distrust. England enjoying at the present time the most friendly relations with all

the rest of the world, all the dislike of the English for the foreigner, which is a marked trait of the English character, is concentrated on the German; and allied with this dislike, which rises to the dignity of hatred, is fear. England no longer fears France as an aggressor. Russia no longer any one fears. But Germany, with her magnificent army and her fast-growing navy, is the bogey to frighten the timid. Nine Englishmen out of ten honestly believe that the sole purpose of Germany in creating a navy is to menace England; that the guiding principle of German diplomacy is to thwart England. The Germans cordially reciprocate this feeling. English statesmen, they believe, lie awake nights thinking how they can best spoil the German game. In South Africa, in Morocco, everywhere in fact, they see the hand of England stretched out to annoy and embarrass them.

The tone of the English press is significant. King Edward is so well beloved that whatever he does is right, but this meeting between uncle and nephew aroused no enthusiasm. On the contrary, the newspapers made it quite clear that the Kaiser need cherish no false hopes. That the King should visit his nephew was perfectly proper, but that England should drop her guard was not to be thought of for a minute. In a word, the attitude of the English press is that Germany is the enemy of England, and that Germany is never more to be feared than when she comes bearing gifts and with soft words proclaims her friendship. "When Germany threatens," the English papers say in substance, "we can afford to laugh, but when Germany grows affectionate it behooves us to be careful and look for treachery."

That both the King and the Kaiser would be glad to see peace restored in Russia we can very well believe, but it is not easy to see what they can do to bring that about. It is difficult to give advice to a man who is unwilling to accept advice and unable to appreciate it when it is offered. Suggestion of a joint letter from the King and Kaiser to the Czar may be dismissed as idle, and would be productive of little good. Nicholas II has before this doubtless been told what he should do; but, wedded to his obstinacy and swayed by his weakness, "his ear of sagacity is closed with the cotton of negligence."

For the sake of France, for the sake of the Catholic Church, for the sake of religion the world over, it is to be regretted that the encyclical of Pope Pius X on the French law of "*associations cultuelles*," that law which divorces Church and State and establishes societies for religious worship, is not a frank acceptance of the inevitable and submission to civil authority. By the repeal of the Concordat, the Catholic Church in France, like any other church, like any church in this country, is no

longer a ward of the state; it is no longer state-aided, but any body of persons may associate themselves together for religious worship in their own way provided they comply with the provisions of the law regarding association, the management of their property, and so forth. In short, French Catholics are now as free and independent as American Catholics, and in France, as in the United States, all that is required of them is submission to the law. In December the new law goes into effect, and any religious assemblage held in a church not in accordance with law will be regarded as a seditious assemblage and may be dispersed by the police.

The French hierarchy looked to the Sovereign Pontiff for guidance. After a long delay he has issued an encyclical which confuses rather than clears the situation. The Pope denounces the law as "nefarious," he characterizes it as "iniquitous," and says of the authors of the law that "while affirming their desire for peace they have made atrocious war against religion." But the great question, what the attitude of the Bishops shall be, remains unanswered, much to the disappointment of many French newspapers whose loyalty to the church no one may doubt.

And this question which the Pope has not answered is urgent and practical. In a couple of months the Bishops must determine whether they will obey the law or defy it. If they yield to the force of circumstances, an end will be speedily put to all religious disturbances in France; but if they are resolved to defy it, France is brought perilously close to a religious war. A majority of the French people have shown by the endorsement they have given to the party of separation in recent elections that they approve the law and are determined that it shall be enforced. If the Pope believes, as perhaps some of the French Bishops believe, that rather than risk a religious conflict that may attain the magnitude of a civil war, the Government will wink of the non-enforcement of the law or will accept a compromise that will nullify it, the Vatican is likely to find itself as much mistaken as it was in the early days of the agitation when it was evidently of the opinion that the French people would refuse to sanction the abrogation of the Concordat. Resistance to the law will mean an even more drastic law, not concession. The Church is now permitted to hold its property under suitable restrictions; but an attempt to defy the law would probably result in the expropriation of Church property by the State, and the withdrawal of the few privileges still remaining to the priesthood, notably exemption from military service.

Justice has at last prevailed. To Alfred Dreyfus has been restored his honor. After twelve years of martyrdom, reparation, slight and insufficient, is at last made, and the victim of racial prejudice, of a con-

spiracy so foul and so flagrant that it is almost unbelievable that justice could permit herself to be so dishonored in a country whose boast is the exactness with which justice is administered, has been officially declared to be innocent of the crime which he did not commit. The Dreyfus affair is an anachronism.

Dreyfus was attached to the general staff. He was accused of having sold military secrets to the German and Italian governments through their military attachés in Paris. That certain military secrets were in the possession of those governments is admitted; that another man, and not Dreyfus, was the traitor, all the world long ago knew. When the French war office discovered that its secrets had been tampered with, an inquiry was set on foot, and Colonel Sandherr, who held a high position on the general staff, who had declared that "every Jew was a scoundrel," the Marquis de Mores, and Commandant Bertin, who were equally fanatical anti-Semites, publicly announced it as their belief that "the traitor could only be the Jew of the general staff." What increased the opposition of his brother officers to Dreyfus was the fact that he was the first Jew who had ever been appointed to the general staff. Commandant Du Paty de Clam and Commandant Henry, who were the superior officers of the division to which Dreyfus was attached, eagerly accepted this suggestion.

The evidence on which the conspirators relied to convict Dreyfus was the now famous "bordereau," a document alleged to contain a list of the papers copied from the secret archives that Dreyfus had sent to Major von Schwarzkoppen, the German military attaché. This bordereau Schwarzkoppen is said to have carelessly torn up and thrown into a waste basket in his room (obviously an action so probable!), where it was discovered by a French government spy in the guise of a porter attached to the German Embassy, who placed the incriminating document in the hands of the war office. Handwriting experts who passed upon the authenticity of the document differed as to Dreyfus being the author, but notwithstanding this he was secretly arrested, denied communication with his wife or friends, and tried by court-martial. The chief witnesses against him were Du Paty de Clam and Major Esterhazy, also a general-staff officer. Esterhazy was as thorough-paced a scoundrel as ever masqueraded in the livery of an officer and a gentleman. He was a blackguard, a perjuror, a traitor, a forger, and a thief. He had spent his life in smashing the decalogue into splinters, and rather glorified in having done his work so well. There was no vice of which he was not past master. He was the real traitor, and fearing discovery he either had to pay the penalty or fasten his crime on another. Circumstances made it easy to offer up Dreyfus as a vicarious sacrifice.

The bordereau was placed before the military court, and some of the judges refused to accept it as conclusive of Dreyfus's guilt. Seeing that the whole stupendous plot was in danger of collapse and involving them in ruin, the conspirators played their last desperate card. A secret *dossier* was submitted to the court which Dreyfus's counsel was not permitted to see. Among other things this *dossier* contained a letter alleged to have been written by the Italian military attaché to Schwarzkoppen (the two men were working in conjunction) in which the Italian referred to "that dog of a D" hounding him for money. We now know that instead of "D" the letter was "P," the initial of the name assumed by Esterhazy in his dealings with the two attachés. Esterhazy, a man without means, with the extravagant tastes of a man of his type, was always hard up and always willing to do any act of infamy for the sake of money. The secret *dossier*, fortified by the perjury of Esterhazy and his co-conspirators, convicted Dreyfus. He was sentenced to life imprisonment at the Devil's Island, off Cayenne.

His friends refused to believe in his guilt. When a few months later Sandherr was succeeded by Major Picquart as the head of the intelligence department, and renewed proof was offered of the disposal of military secrets, he set on foot inquiries that convinced him that Dreyfus was innocent and that Esterhazy was guilty and Henry was his accomplice. These facts were laid before the Minister of War. Scandalous efforts were employed to silence Picquart, but he refused to be coerced, and as a punishment was sent to Tunis.

Still the friends of Dreyfus — not so much his personal friends, as some of them did not know him, but rather the friends of truth and justice — never faltered in their demand for an impartial investigation that should bring the guilt home where it properly belonged. Such men as Zola, Clemenceau, Reinach, Yves Guyot and other distinguished writers and politicians were making the fight with pen and voice. Zola's celebrated "*J'accuse*" letter belongs to that rare collection of letters that have influenced a people and brought justice. He began every paragraph with "I accuse," and arraigned the war office and their tools, and in the name of truth and justice demanded a new trial. For this the Government ordered the prosecution of Zola, and he was condemned to a fine of three thousand francs and a year's imprisonment. On an appeal the sentence was confirmed, and to escape the inconvenience of going to prison the most distinguished French author of his day was forced to flee to England. His name was struck off the roll of the Legion of Honor. Picquart after a secret examination in prison was dismissed from the army.

But now the tide turns. A few months after Zola's conviction, on

August 31, 1898, Henry killed himself in prison. His complicity in the nefarious plot was so unmistakable that he had been driven to confess that he forged part of the secret *dossier*, and this confession led to his arrest. In truly mediæval fashion his jailers suggested to him that the only avenue of escape was suicide, and they conveniently furnished him with the means to take his life. No sooner did Esterhazy hear of Henry's death than he fled to Brussels, and thence to London. A few days later Du Paty de Clam was placed on the retired list.

With the incoming of the Brisson cabinet the Dreyfus case was referred to the Court of Cassation, the supreme tribunal of France. That court decided that Esterhazy wrote the bordereau; and the last prop of evidence having been knocked out from under the war office and its ring of perjurors, a new trial was ordered. Esterhazy soon after confessed that he forged the bordereau, and that it was done with the knowledge and connivance of some of the highest officers in the French army.

Dreyfus was returned to France in July, 1899, and for the second time brought to trial before a military court, this time at Rennes. Feeling ran high. The anti-Semitic papers re-opened their campaign; Dreyfus' leading counsel was shot on the eve of his cross-examination of military witnesses. The evidence, such evidence as was offered, would not have convicted a Southern negro in a Southern magistrate's court of the heinous crime of melon-stealing. And yet five of the seven judges found Dreyfus guilty, with "extenuating circumstances," and recommended his pardon. A few days later the president pardoned him.

But this was not what Dreyfus wanted. He wanted something more. To him honor was dearer than liberty. His good name was more precious than a pardon granted on the recommendation of a cowardly court seeking weakly to compromise. It was on September 20, 1899, that Dreyfus was pardoned and released, and from that day began the second act in this most tragic story, the effort to obtain complete vindication. For seven years that effort continued. Last June the effort was at last rewarded. The case was referred to the Court of Cassation, and on the twelfth of last July that court exonerated Dreyfus from all the allegations made against him, finding "that nothing remains of the charge against Dreyfus, and that nothing subsists which can be imputed to him as a crime or offence."

Thus ends this most dramatic story. Reparation is made to Dreyfus — he is restored to the army with the rank of major, and given the Legion of Honor, a magnificent atonement on the part of France that must profoundly move the world. Picquart, the one knightly figure in this ruck of the French army, who refused to keep silent because, as he said, "I cannot go down to the grave with this secret," is made general of brig-

ade, the rank he would have attained by ordinary service if he had not been forced out of the army by the war-office ring.

Who shall doubt now that China has really awakened? *Mirabile dictu*, China is at last to have a constitution, the Emperor having issued an edict promising constitutional government when the people are fitted for it. The edict runs like this:

Since the beginning of our dynasty, there have been wise emperors who have made laws suited to the times. Now that China has intercourse with all nations, our laws and political system have become antiquated and our country is always in trouble. Therefore, it is necessary for us to gather more knowledge and draw up a new code of laws, otherwise we shall be unworthy of the trust of our forefathers and the people.

The new constitution will not be promulgated next month or next year. A long time may elapse before "the people are fitted for it," but time is of all things the least important in social movements. That the Emperor has been compelled to recognize that China must keep pace with modern requirements—that he admits the troubles of his country to be due to its antiquated laws and political system—is the all-significant thing. China has been too long sunk in a profound sleep. But the sleeping giant is at last awakening and about to give the world evidence of his strength.

A. MAURICE LOW.

FINANCE.

THE period on which the country's financial and industrial situation has entered in the past three months is, in one sense, very extraordinary and unusual, in another very familiar. In all previous financial booms there has come a time when the heaping of prosperity on prosperity has led to the relaxing of restraints which prudence and experience had placed on the policy of financiers and corporation directors. The typical phenomenon of such a period is the sudden yielding by corporation directors to demands by shareholders for a large increase in their dividends, and the plunge of such directors into speculation. We may find evidence of this tendency in the events which I have to review.

The three salient influences in favor of the markets of this season — and they are very important influences — are the magnificent promise of the season's harvests, the plainly shown disposition of European markets to lend with great freedom to the United States, and the exceptionally high profits shown in the reports of railway and industrial corporations. The promise of the crops, taken altogether, is certainly unprecedented in our history. The disposition of European lenders is quite as unprecedented in the record of the financial boom which began nine years ago. The earnings, not only of corporations whose shares are listed on the New York Stock Exchange, but those of private business as well, probably have no parallel in the country's history. Indeed, it may be said that a good part of the scarcity of available capital for the use of speculators has resulted from the fact that demands of private industry have been so great that people who otherwise would have been investing in the general market have found it far more profitable to put their capital into their own business.

The money-market question, nevertheless, as might have been foreseen by those who have read previous numbers of *THE FORUM*, has remained a formidable element in the situation. Last May the feeling of experienced bankers regarding the money outlook was somewhat obscure, but it could fairly be described as apprehensive. Perhaps their attitude of that time may best be summed up by what one of the most expert of their number privately said at the time: If no bad results were felt from the San Francisco disaster; if Europe would continue to lend freely to us; if the crops were to turn out successful; if Russia were not to upset Europe; and if, finally, there were to be no extravagant

boom on the Stock Exchange, then, though we should still have a high money market in the autumn, we should probably escape any serious stringency. It will be observed that the numerous qualifications of this prediction have in all regards but one already reached a happy solution. That one which cannot be said to have reached any sort of settlement is the question of a Stock-Exchange boom.

The bankers who expressed this conservative opinion in the spring-time found themselves ready, by the middle of July, to say that their apprehensions had been removed. The San Francisco losses seemed to have left no mark on the situation; Europe was lending freely; our harvests were enormously successful; foreign bourses successfully resisted the shock of Russian anarchy; the stock market had been subjected to a violent purging process, in the course of which speculators had been shaken out and values brought back to a conservative level. The conditions prescribed for a comfortable autumn seemed to have been attained. Then, in the middle of August, came a sudden change in the situation. Before that month was over, certain events had come to pass which compelled even these converts to optimism to make very broad qualifications. It is now in order to review in detail exactly what has happened in the events of the season.

First, as to the crops. The wheat crop as a whole promises to be the second largest in the country's history; it will apparently have been exceeded only by the famous crop of 1901, if indeed it does not in the end run beyond that one. The corn crop promises at the moment a yield surpassed only in 1905. The cotton crop, whose maturity is later, cannot be judged with equal certainty, but at the moment there are at least fair indications that, granting favorable weather between now and harvest, it will fall below only the great crop of 1904. To show concisely just what this promise is, I subjoin a table of this year's Government estimates on the condition of the wheat and corn crops, with the harvest which has seemed to be promised by such estimates — 1906 estimated as of September for spring wheat and corn:

WINTER WHEAT.

	Yield per acre.	Acreage.	Crop, bushels.
1906.....	16.7	29,673,000	494,434,000
1905.....	14.3	29,864,018	428,462,834
1904.....	12.4	26,865,855	332,935,346
1903.....	12.3	32,510,510	399,867,250
1902.....	14.4	28,581,426	411,788,666
1901.....	15.2	30,239,564	429,675,140
1900.....	12.9	25,605,714	330,890,712
1899.....	11.5	25,820,737	296,679,586
1898.....	14.7	25,736,989	379,813,291

SPRING WHEAT.

	Condition.	Acreage.	Crop, bushels.
1906.....	86.9	17,989,000	278,830,000
1905.....	89.2	17,990,061	273,498,030
1904.....	87.5	17,209,020	227,025,014
1903.....	77.1	16,954,457	236,135,948
1902.....	89.7	17,620,998	307,390,870
1901.....	80.3	19,655,813	318,785,008
1900.....	56.4	16,890,009	191,345,657
1899.....	83.6	18,772,079	250,629,750
1898.....	96.5	18,318,589	295,341,414
1897.....	86.7	15,232,774	197,451,063
1896.....	78.9	12,005,960	163,345,347
1895.....	67.1	11,575,936	133,868,576

TOTAL WHEAT.

	Area, acres.	Crop, bushels.
1906.....	47,612,000	772,264,000
1905.....	47,854,018	692,979,489
1904.....	44,074,875	552,399,517
1903.....	49,464,967	637,821,855
1902.....	46,202,424	670,063,008
1901.....	49,895,514	748,460,218
1900.....	42,495,385	522,229,505
*1899.....	52,588,574	658,534,252
1898.....	44,055,278	675,148,705
1897.....	39,465,066	530,149,168
1896.....	34,618,646	427,684,346
1895.....	34,047,332	467,102,947
1894.....	34,882,436	460,267,416

* Census Bureau.

CORN.

	Condition.	Acreage.	Crop, bushels.
1906.....	88.1	95,535,000	2,713,194,000
1905.....	89.0	94,011,369	2,717,993,540
1904.....	87.3	92,231,581	2,467,480,934
1903.....	78.7	88,091,993	2,244,176,625
1902.....	86.5	93,043,646	2,523,648,312
1901.....	54.0	91,349,928	1,522,519,891
1900.....	87.5	83,320,872	2,105,102,516
*1899.....	89.9	82,108,587	2,078,143,933
1898.....	87.0	77,721,781	1,924,184,660
1897.....	84.2	80,095,051	1,902,967,933
1896.....	96.0	81,027,156	2,283,875,165
1895.....	102.5	82,075,830	2,151,138,580
1894.....	69.1	62,582,269	1,212,770,052

* The census report gives the area of 1889 at 94,916,911 acres, and the crop of that year at 2,666,440,273 bushels.

As regards cotton, there is this to be said, that between June and August the condition of the crop, as measured by the Government, has decreased only from 84.6 to 82.9. It is more difficult to draw estimates of the actual indicated yield in the case of cotton than of grain. The favorite though by no means accurate basis of calculation is what is called the mathematical estimate, whereby the difference in condition and acreage over the previous year is ascertained on a percentage basis and the proper amount is then added to or subtracted from the actual yield the year before. The August cotton estimate showed a condition of 8 per cent above that of August 1905, and the acreage estimate 6.2 above that year. In other words, the total indicated increase in the crop should be $14\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The actual cotton brought into sight from last year's crop is about 11,300,000 bales. Allowing for the percentage increase, the present indicated crop is 12,900,000 bales, which would compare with 13,600,000 in the great yield of 1904, and with 11,256,000 and 11,216,000, respectively, for the two next highest record years, 1898 and 1897. This calculation, as I have said, cannot be taken as accurate. Assuming, however, for the sake of argument that this were to be the yield, the rather notable comparison which the crops would make with other years may be readily seen from the foregoing table.

In short, the indications of the movement are for a general agricultural yield at least as great in the aggregate as the country has ever witnessed. Grain prices have declined heavily on these expectations, wheat selling toward the close of August seven cents a bushel below the price of a year ago and corn four cents a bushel lower, and it is not by any means certain that the foreign market for our grain will not be ample; the principal reason for this belief lying in the inference that Russia in its existing state of anarchy cannot possibly harvest and bring to market such quantities of wheat as she has delivered in recent years. As regards cotton, the argument is advanced that the world's cotton trade has in the past two years consumed an average of 12,000,000 bales of American cotton annually, which, if repeated, should dispose of the coming crop easily, even on the basis of the estimate made above.

During the midsummer months these continued developments of prosperity met with a curious reception. The market had been discouraged by fears of money stringency. There had been a general decline in prices which had shaken the nerves both of investors and speculators. The depreciation in the bond market, and the knowledge that large blocks of new securities which underwriters had not been able to sell were still overhanging the market, led to a general belief that improvement in stock prices might be a doubtful matter of expectation.

And in fact, during all the summer months, commission brokers in Wall Street continued to complain of the absence of what they call the outside public.

As we have seen, this reluctance to speculate was really a favorable factor in the situation; it served, however, to dampen the hopes and expectations as to the general situation. Meanwhile, however, there had arisen a very general discussion regarding the question of increased dividends. There had been many increases of the sort, especially during the past two years; but it was a matter of public knowledge that all corporations, railway and industrial, had in this period been making large deductions from net earnings to reinvest in the properties with a view to avoiding a too sudden increase in liabilities to the money market. There began to be heard around midsummer, both in railway and banking circles, many intimations that some change in this policy might be witnessed. This was followed by distinct predictions as to what would be done by one or another corporation. The first movement of the sort was made by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Between the middle of 1900 and September, 1905, this company had paid only two per cent semi-annually. Last September the half-yearly rate was raised to two and one-half per cent; last July the directors put it up to three.

At the end of the same month, the directors of the United States Steel corporation met to declare their usual dividends and to give out their quarterly financial statement. There had been rumors that the dividend on Steel common stock omitted since January, 1904, might be resumed. These reports had not been taken very seriously, chiefly because the market thought that the directors would wait until the autumn business had been clearly defined. It was, therefore, wholly an unexpected bit of news when, on July 31, word came from the directors' meeting that a one-per-cent dividend had been declared on the company's common stock. This dividend was announced as being made up of one-half of one per cent paid out of the profits of the quarter ending March 31, and of one-half per cent for the quarter ending June 30. The retroactive element in this dividend declaration was much criticised, though there was this much to argue for it on the ground that it prevented the public from drawing any hasty assumptions as to return to dividends on the old one-percent quarterly basis. As regards the policy of resuming common-stock dividends at all, the action of the company was on the whole well received even by the more conservative critics. Since common-stock dividends were suspended at the beginning of 1904, the company's policy regarding improvement and depreciation allowances has been radically changed. During two quarters of that unfavorable season the company failed even to earn its dividend paid on the preferred stock. Since then, however,

the iron business has been flourishing and profits have been large. For the quarter ending June 30, net earnings reached the figure of \$40,125,000 comparing with \$30,305,000 for the corresponding quarter in 1905, with \$19,490,000 in 1904, and with maximum earnings, during any quarter prior to 1906, of \$37,662,000, reached at the height of the "boom" of 1902.

These large earnings, like the earnings of the past year and a half, have been put very largely into the property. It has been estimated that at least \$75,000,000 more have been applied from earnings to improvements since the common-stock dividends were suspended than were similarly applied in a corresponding period before that date. Therefore, although the accumulated surplus did not appear to have reached last June as high a figure as it had attained at the opening of 1903, it really represented far more substantial value than at that time. In the rough, the surplus available for dividends last June was \$100,000,000; and had the company's earlier policy regarding appropriations been continued, the surplus in the middle of the present year would probably have been returned as \$150,000,000. Not the least gratifying in the policy of the directors as regards the dividend resumption was their cautious statement that "a dividend" had been declared. This choice of language was equivalent to saying that continuance of the common-stock dividend must depend on conditions of the future. The directors thus avoided the very serious blunder made by them in 1901, when they announced the one-per-cent dividend then begun on the common stock as "a quarterly dividend," thereby arousing hopes of unbroken continuance which, as we now well know, were destined to absolute disappointment.

The precaution by the United States Steel directors was more than neglected in the next episode of the kind, which was of so sensational a character as to affect directly and profoundly the whole or all of the financial markets of the season. Throughout the past three months, apparently well-grounded rumors had been circulating that, in view of the years of extraordinary profits, the Southern Pacific Railway would declare to its shareholders an initial dividend, while the Union Pacific dividend would simultaneously be increased. In general it was admitted that such action on the part of both companies might be entirely proper. Southern Pacific, since its reorganization from the bankruptcy of a dozen years ago, has paid no dividends, but has put back into the property from net earnings the extraordinary sum of \$125,000,000. Three years ago, the efforts of a Wall-Street minority to force payment of a dividend through the courts failed of success and the management's conservatism was generally approved. The steady increase of earnings — even during the past year net earnings increased \$5,500,000 and

the surplus available for common stock was \$7,400,000 larger — made it seem perfectly proper that some distribution should be made to common shareholders.

Union Pacific stood on a somewhat different basis. That company has for the past six years been paying dividends on its common stock. From 1904 until last October this stock received dividends of four per cent. Earnings would have made possible a much larger dividend, but they were put constantly back into the property. Last October the common stock dividend rate was increased to an annual five-per-cent rate, and last April, the declaration of a three-per-cent semi-annual dividend put the stock on a six-per-cent basis. Monthly earnings have shown, however, a substantial increase over the year 1905, and attention was also called to the fact that the Union Pacific Company owns \$90,000,000 of Southern Pacific common stock. Whatever dividends should be paid on this Southern Pacific stock should be that much additional revenue to Union Pacific, and might at least be considered in fixing dividends for Union Pacific's own stock. On the whole, it was thought in conservative quarters that if Southern Pacific acted as expected on its dividends, Union Pacific might safely raise its annual rate for the present at least to seven per cent. Generally, however, it was assumed that an increase of this sort would be made in the form of an extra dividend, thus giving fair notice, as did the Steel Trust directors' action, that maintenance of the rate was dependent on the continuance of the existing great prosperity.

Such were the expectations in well-posted financial quarters. The result was most extraordinary. On successive Wednesdays during the early part of August, Union Pacific's directors met and simply announced that they had adjourned without action on the dividend. This happened in spite of the fact that, in recent years, dividends on the common stock have usually been declared during July. On Wednesday, August 8, a meeting was held concerning which very similar announcements were given out; nevertheless, a singular upward movement in Union Pacific and Southern Pacific stocks began at once. The ensuing day, Wall Street was full of reports that the executive committee had acted. This story also received what were equivalent to official denials. The denials were not believed, chiefly for the reason that they were made in the face of enormous buying of the stock of both companies. On the following day, a Friday, notice was posted in the Stock Exchange that a semi-annual dividend of two and one-half per cent had been paid on Southern Pacific stock and a semi-annual dividend of five per cent on Union Pacific common.

There were several aspects from which this action of the directors could be judged. One involved the question whether the Union and

Southern Pacific Railways were able to pay such increased dividends without drawing upon capital. As to this, no one has expressed the slightest doubt. The Southern Pacific's statement for the fiscal year ending last June, published at the time the dividends were declared, reported surplus earnings, after paying the regular dividend on the preferred stock, of \$20,908,000. The dividend on outstanding common stock, at the rate of five per cent per annum, calls for \$10,000,000. Clearly, the company was able to make this payment, and as a matter of fact it had been freely admitted in advance that the beginning of dividends on this company's common stock would be justified.

Turning to Union Pacific, whose fiscal year statement was also published along with the dividend announcement, this statement showed a balance for the year, after paying dividends on the outstanding preferred stock, amounting to \$25,219,000. Dividends on the common stock at the rate of ten per cent would call for \$20,000,000. This would leave a substantial surplus, though by no means as much as the company has been accustomed to put back in recent years into the property. It was, however, furthermore argued that, since the Union Pacific itself owns \$90,000,000 of Southern Pacific common stock, it was entitled, when setting aside the fund for paying its own dividends, to include what it would receive as income on that stock, now that the Southern Pacific is paying five per cent. Its annual income on this stock, at the five-per-cent rate, would amount to \$4,500,000. In addition, there remains the somewhat intangible item of the money to be derived from dividends on the distributed assets of the Northern Securities, or on the proceeds of such securities when sold by the company. Estimates have been published making the surplus for the common stock, with these two additional factors reckoned in, amount to nearly \$35,000,000.

On this basis of calculation, payment of ten per cent on the common stock would leave a surplus of no less than \$15,000,000, which would certainly be substantial. On the other hand, the point was made that the company's increased surplus earnings during the fiscal year 1906 were largely due to the company's recent policy of exchanging convertible bonds into stock. Conversion of these bonds, which have long been outstanding with that privilege, raised the amount of Union Pacific common stock outstanding from \$108,117,000 in 1904 to \$164,800,000 in 1905, and to nearly \$196,000,000 at this date. Obviously this process, while reducing interest charges, and, therefore, leaving a relatively much larger balance for dividends on the common stock, made the total amount required to pay such dividends much larger than it would have been a year ago. It also placed the company in a position where it had turned a four-per-cent obligation, which was the rate paid on the convertible

bonds, into an obligation bearing, for the present at all events, a rate of ten per cent — hardly an economical transformation.

The figures already submitted show sufficiently, however, that there were grounds for a plausible defence for the company's action in a substantial increase of dividends. Under ordinary circumstances, all due allowance would have been made for this phase of the situation. There were, however, two facts in the situation which wholly altered the public's view of the Union Pacific episode. The first arose from an announcement, officially given out from the company's office after it had been seen that the dividend declaration would be criticised. In this document it was stated that "the maintenance of these rates seems easily within the capacity of the properties." Now, to this assertion it is to be observed, first, that it made what amounted to large promises for the future, and that it made these virtual assurances at a time when judgment must be based on earnings in an unparalleled period of prosperity.

Again, attention was at once directed to the fact that neither the president, Mr. Harriman, nor any officer of the company, had the slightest right to make such assurances under the circumstances. There was something like a scandal regarding the manner in which these dividends had been decided on. So far as could be learned, the company's full board of directors had not acted in the matter, but had left the whole question to their executive committee. While, however, they had apparently authorized that committee to determine the rate of dividends for the ensuing fiscal year, there is no sign or record that they gave the least authority for what amounted to pledges looking to the future. As a matter of fact, this statement from Mr. Harriman's office followed within eight months this other statement, made in his annual report last autumn as president of the Southern Pacific:

In view of the large expenditures required, . . . as well as to strengthen the company pending the effect of the aggressive building of competitive lines which are being projected into the territory served by these lines, it is important to hold in reserve and carefully husband the resources of the company.

In other words, a management which for years had been notably conservative not only in its action on the rate of dividends, but in its statements as to future policy, had suddenly changed front and indulged in what to the eye of Wall Street and the investing community amounted to reckless promising. This of itself would have directed suspicious inquiry as to the circumstances under which such singular action had been carried out. The Stock market very soon gave ground for searching criticism in this regard; indeed, it may be said that the market hinted at what was going on even before the directors acted on the dividend. So far as the facts have as yet been brought to light, agents

of some extremely powerful New York interests busied themselves in the two or three days before the dividend declaration with purchasing what are known as options in the London market — the gist of this operation being the procuring of a species of guaranty against a stock's advancing more than a given number of points within a definitely settled period. It appears that the London dealers in this remarkable sort of contract were completely hoodwinked and deceived by the New York operators dealing with them. They sold such options in enormous quantities, thereby, as Wall Street puts the case, placing themselves short of Union Pacific stock.

While these preparations were on foot in the London market, a quite inexplicable delay occurred in announcing the action of the Union Pacific management on its dividends. That action was taken, according to all indications, on Wednesday, August 15, and probably long before. Neither on Wednesday nor on Thursday, however, did the management make any announcement whatever as to what had been done — this notwithstanding that the most eager inquiry was directed to their office, by brokers and Union Pacific shareholders, in the natural expectation of learning what steps the management had taken. To such inquirers all information was refused. Not until Friday morning were the facts made public; and the new dividend rates were then posted up in the New York Stock Exchange — an expedient extremely rare in the practice of the New York market. Before the Stock Exchange had had a chance to read this notice, the stock market, which had been dull and unsettled for a day or two, with intermittent weakness in the shares of Union and Southern Pacific, suddenly turned to the most violent activity. Buying of Union Pacific stock was conducted on a scale of enormous magnitude; the stock rose twenty-two points within three days. Up to that time the daily sales of the Stock Exchange had been such as caused the market to be described as dull and listless. On Saturday, August 18, the day after the Union Pacific dividend announcement, 1,500,000 shares in all changed hands in the two-hour session — the largest Saturday's business on the records of the Stock Exchange. On the ensuing Monday, the transactions rose to 2,690,000 shares, the largest day with one exception since the wild speculative movement of April, 1901.

This frantic movement continued, with various turns and twists of prices, throughout the ensuing fortnight. The simplest mind could see that the stirring up of such speculation, at a time when the money market occupied so precarious a position, was a grave misfortune. Of this I shall have something more to say further on. But the question was asked at once with indignant emphasis by the Stock Exchange as to who was responsible for this manœuvre to strip so enormous a specula-

tive profit from the market, on the basis of advance information. It may readily be supposed that the answer given to this question was not complimentary to the Union Pacific management. The London operations, dovetailing as they did with the wild speculation after the dividend was announced, showed plainly that some one had been speculating heavily before the dividend rate was known. Since, in Wall Street's language, Union Pacific's dividend was the "best-kept secret" in the recent history of Wall Street, no other conclusion seemed to be possible except that the management, and those in its confidence, were responsible both for the preliminary operations on London's Stock Exchange, and for the heavy speculation in New York which followed.

That I may not seem to voice in this either my individual judgment or the judgment of sore and disappointed speculators, I shall cite the comment made on the episode by an extremely conservative financial organ, whose habit is invariably to think and reflect before it speaks. The following is the London "Economist's" comment:

The latest dramatic rise in American shares, perhaps every dealer in the American market will declare, is due to the merits of companies; in other words, to the distribution of higher dividends than had been paid formerly. . . . At the prosperity of America, who would not rejoice? But when that prosperity is turned to the private advantage of a few speculators, who can postpone dividend announcements, declare what dividends they please, buy or sell at their own sweet will, the danger of gambling with these loaded-dice merchants stands out with a certain clearness. A year or so back, they could make huge hauls by the simple expedient of issuing railroad bonds at prices well above those at which they themselves paid, but of late the public will have none of such investments, being surfeited as it is and knowing that the railroads are becoming over-capitalized.

I have shown what was the immediate effect on the stock market and the extensive operations by wealthy capitalists which followed. During the next three or four weeks, it became obvious that the men behind this speculative movement were not only powerful in resources, but were determined to push their undertaking to a finish. Naturally, under these circumstances, and with the prestige enjoyed by the men supposed to be engaged in it, the speculative element in and out of the Stock Exchange was attracted in large numbers. The popular idea of the personnel of the speculative clique behind the market was that the men responsible for it were certain large financiers identified with the Union Pacific property and represented in the board of directors.

Whether right or wrong, this belief had an interesting bearing on the situation. The board of directors of that company includes two prominent members of the Standard Oil management, the presidents of two of the largest fiduciary institutions in the United States, one a bank and one a life insurance company, and one of the most influential officers in

the United States Steel Corporation. Judged by affiliations, Wall Street would probably call the Union Pacific board a "Standard Oil organization" — which certainly adds an interest to the existing situation, since it was these people which fought the so-called "Morgan interest" in the contest over Northern Pacific during 1901 and which stood aloof last autumn when their opponents in the field of local capital were trying the same experiment as is now being tried in this autumn's stock market. It will not do, however, to accept without reserve the theories of Wall-Street; all that can be said is that circumstances thus far, some of which I have already stated, pointed distinctly to the presence of precisely these interests in the stock-market operations since the Union Pacific dividend was announced.

The operations in the market were presently obstructed by several obstacles, some of them unforeseen. Two highly discreditable bank failures, both due to speculation by presidents of the institutions, caused a momentary atmosphere of doubt. In particular, the collapse of the Real Estate Trust Company of Philadelphia, a highly conservative institution which had been robbed and wrecked by its president and a real-estate promoter, were of themselves not pleasant signs of the times. But, with such support behind it, the market after a momentary halt resumed its forward movement.

More serious in its effect on the outside following of this group of speculators was the money market's action. Before the close of August, rates for call money had advanced to twelve per cent, a rate not reached at that time of year since the panic of 1893. With the opening of September, and the beginning of demands for crop-moving purposes which are then to be expected, the rate advanced to forty per cent, the highest touched in that week of any year for more than a generation — a rate not reached, indeed, even in the opening week of the famous "panic month" of 1873, which, before its end, saw call money at one and a half per cent per day and the New York Stock Exchange shut down. Along with the forty-per-cent rate at the opening of September, surplus bank reserves fell to the lowest figure ever reached at that time of year since 1893. This was the rather striking comparison, on September 1, with the surplus reserves at that date in other years:

1906.....	\$2,869,400	1899.....	\$ 9,191,250
1905.....	5,498,875	1898.....	14,991,050
1904.....	47,503,400	1897.....	39,517,700
1903.....	20,677,925	1896.....	8,636,200
1902.....	9,742,775	1895.....	39,149,925
1901.....	11,919,925	1894.....	65,820,825
1900.....	27,078,475	1893 (def.).....	11,567,525

Had this been all, the money movement might have been dismissed as the ordinary consequence of Stock-Exchange extravagance. There was present this year, however, something which did not intrude itself on the situation, even at the height of last autumn's excited speculation and stringent money. At that time, as on all previous occasions of the sort, merchants' loans escaped the influence of the tightening money market. Nothing of the sort could be said this year. Before the close of August, rates for mercantile paper placed through brokers had advanced, through exaction of a commission, above the legal maximum of six per cent. Except in panic years, this was something which had not occurred in any August since the excited twelvemonth 1872.

In the first week of September, the price of merchants' loans went higher still, and a visible uneasiness spread through the mercantile community. It was admitted that the business under way in general trade was the most prosperous and profitable witnessed in many years. What merchants had to say of the situation, however, was that although a rate of six to seven per cent did not greatly harass them in their business plans, the occurrence of such a rate six weeks before mercantile demands were at their height caused just misgiving as to whether it might not, at the climax of the season, be difficult to procure the requisite credit facilities at all.

Of this situation Wall Street itself was bound eventually to take account. It did so in a series of more or less apprehensive movements in the course of which the speculative clique had to stand under the market. All this time, the most strenuous endeavors were made to draw gold in quantity from Europe. So much had been previously borrowed by the bankers that at the close of August there were visible signs that London was restricting the granting of advances to Wall Street borrowers. Another concerted effort seemed to succeed in breaking down, for the time at least, this position of reluctance. The large transfer of loans from New York to London, and the resultant heaping up of a fresh foreign-credit balance, broke the rate for exchange on London to a figure where gold imports ordinarily would have been easily in our power. Usually, gold can be taken by New York from foreign markets when sight exchange on London sells as low as $4.84\frac{3}{4}$; at the opening of September it fell to $4.82\frac{7}{8}$, yet very little gold was taken. It was at this point that the Secretary of the Treasury resumed his expedient of last April, offering Government money, free of interest, to banks which would engage to use such funds in importing foreign gold. I discussed this Treasury scheme in detail in the last number of THE FORUM and shall not, therefore, need to review it now. There is no reason to alter the conclusions then arrived at, that such meddling by the Treasury in the market over-

steps the proper limits of Government intervention, and is bound of itself to be ultimately unfruitful of good results.

Such was the course of events up to the early days of September. It must be carefully observed that all these startling incidents, bringing about so remarkable comparisons with past history in the New York money market, occurred not at the climax but only at the beginning of the autumn harvest movement. It remains, therefore — particularly in the light of last year's experience when the strain increased steadily from August forward, until November brought the New York banks into a state of helplessness and December ended with the 125-per-cent money rates — to take a broader view of the money situation.

It will be remembered that in the last two numbers of *THE FORUM* the main topic of financial discussion has been the distinct and formidable warnings of the money market. Not to repeat in detail what was then said, it needs only to be recalled that the year began with the highest money rate and the lowest New York bank surplus reached during that month in twenty-six years; that money went in February and March to figures never reached except in years when the money strain later on became severe — such years as 1903, 1899, 1896, 1893, and 1890. On April 7, it will be recalled, occurred the first deficit in New York bank reserves reported in the springtime since 1884. At that time, and up to the early summer months, the feeling among conservative banking interests was that a perilous period was before the market.

This was not less so from the fact that capital was not only known to be tied up in trade and industry and in extensive land speculation, but that it had largely been devoted in Wall Street both to the carrying of large bond issues on a syndicate basis awaiting sale, and to the holding of active stocks on the general market at an exceptionally high figure. Many of the financial weather signs which were visible in 1903 again came into view, notably the inability of many great corporations to sell their bonds except at a heavy sacrifice.

The deficiency in capital had only partly been made good by the middle of the present year through extensive borrowings by the New York market from other money centres. Since last July a good deal of light has been shed on the nature of these borrowings, and it is possible now to say more exactly than could have been said at that time approximately how much the New York market was in debt to other markets simply for money advanced for financial purposes.

As regards our debt to Europe, some very extraordinary estimates have been given out. Some months ago it was stated in London that if our short-term railway notes were included, the floating debt of the

United States to Europe must be placed at \$500,000,000. Visiting the leading European money centres this summer, I found this estimate, on the basis stated, to be confirmed by international bankers at practically all of them. The extraordinary nature of the showing may be judged from the fact that the same financial authorities estimated, even at the height of Wall Street's promoting "boom" in 1901, that \$250,000,-000 was the extent of our net floating debt abroad. Since that time these enormous loans, on the basis of which the great speculation of that year was largely built up, were from time to time recalled by Europe, which was mistrustful of the American position. Their repayment was reflected in the unseasonable and abnormal gold exports in the autumn of 1901 and 1902; by 1904, however, it was possible to say that the debts had been liquidated, and that the New York market stood on an even footing, so far as regarded borrowings on its note-of-hand. How this debt was again accumulated, largely by the extravagant operations in the stock market of 1905 and of the early part of the present year, does not need to be described.

Now, of this foreign debt, it is to be observed that demand for its payment at maturity of the notes is not necessarily to be looked for. Usually opportunity is given for the extension of such a debt, and in the present case it seems to be universally acknowledged that Europe's financial markets have acquired such confidence in the genuine prosperity of the United States that they are willing to continue, and even increase, advances of this sort. But as against this fact, it must be remembered that any sudden unlucky accident in Europe itself would tend to force the hand of our foreign creditors, and bring about a quick recall of the capital thus advanced.

This was one danger of the situation as it existed at mid-summer; the other was our New York's similarly large indebtedness to the West. That Western banks should invest their money in the New York market during the period when their reserves may readily be spared, is natural, and in no sense objectionable. It is a normal incident of the seasons that the districts where the use of money and credit is especially active at the harvest time send their money to a perennially active market when that harvest period is over and recall it as the crop-moving time approaches.

It is this fund, invested by inland banks on the New York money market, which nowadays represents the money called from the East to move the crops. Its existence explains one apparent contradiction which appears each year in forecasts of the situation by Eastern and Western bankers. The Eastern banker invariably says that New York must ship money West in extremely large amounts at the harvest period; the Western banker simply remarks that the West is able to finance its

crops itself. What I have said may go to show that both statements, properly interpreted, are true. The West is able to finance its crops itself; but if, as has been the case, it leaves on deposit in New York the money needed for such purposes, then necessarily it must call back that money when the crop-moving time arrives.

Now it appears that, in the present year, an exceptionally large amount of Western money has been standing in New York City. This was indeed to be expected, in view of the very facts in connection with Wall Street money rates to which I have referred. The Comptroller's compilations of the National-bank returns during mid-summer showed that the West, exclusive of the Pacific Coast, representing 2,743 National banks, had on deposit with other National banks \$7,437,000 less than a year before, but that, in the face of an increase of only \$6,724,000 cash, their loans were greater by \$147,000,000 than in 1905. The decrease in amounts due from other banks, confirmed by the figures of the forty-one National banks of New York City, which showed \$5,461,000 less of money on hand deposited by outside National banks, might of itself have indicated that the West had less money to withdraw from New York this year than it had a year ago.

But the truth of the matter plainly was that these Western banks, instead of leaving their funds as deposits with New York institutions whereby two per cent per annum would accrue to them, decided, in view of Wall Street money conditions, to lend out their funds directly through their own agents in New York — getting in this way five to six per cent on time loans and whatever the market brought on call. This direct lending out of Western capital is not new; it was a notable influence in the autumn money market of 1902, and has been brought of recent years to so accurate a science that a Wall Street Stock Exchange house applying for accommodation to a loan broker will very possibly find that the money obtained has been advanced by a bank in Chicago, or St. Louis, or Denver, or Seattle. The amount of money outstanding in New York and belonging to these Western banks has been estimated this season all the way from \$100,000,000 to \$150,000,000. Since these loans were made on good security, no one was likely to assert that they could not be comfortably repaid as the loans matured. But the indebtedness was large enough, and the certainty of considerable withdrawals well enough understood, to give a feeling of perplexity, if not misgiving, to bankers who looked at the New York market's indebtedness in these two directions. Going into the autumn months with such low reserves, such stringent money markets, and such defiant attitude by the speculators, it is likely enough that the season's later months will make highly interesting history.

In view of the great reliance placed by our money market on the money markets of Europe, the situation which suddenly developed during July in Russian politics rose, for a time at least, to a position of supreme interest. Long before the Czar took his action of July 23 against the Duma there had been a continued weakening in Russian bonds. At the time, the condition of Russia was comparatively quiet, and people who judged from the surface were arguing that affairs were mending. Yet from some quarter a continuous stream of sales of Russian bonds of all classes kept coming upon the market. The explanation for this movement, at the time, was that the \$440,000,000 loan of April had not been successfully digested. This was by no means an unreasonable theory. I called attention, in the last number of *THE FORUM*, to the fact that, aside from the \$66,000,000 taken by London, France and its allied markets had contracted for \$240,000,000, which was more than any market could comfortably absorb in a short time, while Vienna, which is a poor market at best, had written itself down for \$30,000,000, and St. Petersburg had taken \$100,000,000, which it certainly could not comfortably take care of. No doubt a good part of the selling throughout the early summer simply represented the efforts of underwriters and syndicates to get rid of a part of their load.

But part of it also must have been done with a view to what happened afterward. When, on July 23, the world learned that the Czar had dissolved the Duma, had posted soldiers at the Tauride Palace to prevent the reconvening of that body, and that the Duma members themselves had fled to Finland, whence they proceeded to give out some revolutionary proclamations, the shock to all European markets was severe. As it happened, the brunt of the shock was borne by London. This was not wholly expected, because it had been persistently alleged that all London's allotment of the new bonds had been absorbed. So severe, however, was the break in prices which followed the St. Petersburg news, that the new Russian bonds, which had been at 3 per cent premium over the issue price, fell to 12 per cent discount, while the older Russian 4 per cents, which early in the year had been quoted at 86 $\frac{1}{4}$ in London, and which had sold at 78 early in July, broke toward the close of the month to 69 $\frac{1}{2}$.

While this demoralizing movement was going on, a similar liquidation broke out in the market for British consols. Early in the year this security had sold at 91; its early July quotation was 88; and it fell to 86 $\frac{5}{8}$ before the market had recovered from the shock of the Russian news. Along with this break in prices, a report was circulated in all markets of the world that certain important London banking houses — names were given with a good deal of recklessness — were on the brink of

trouble. There was apparently no truth whatever in this story; in fact, as time went on it began to be seen that the difficulties which had resulted in this London crash were not sustained by London houses at all.

On the contrary, it was Paris operators who suffered most severely, their operations having converged not on their own but on the London market. In the flush of excitement when the new loan went to a premium in Paris they had contracted for large sums of bonds in London and had been disastrously caught by the recoil. To protect their position they had thrown over British consols, of which the French capitalists held large quantities. When this was understood the market became calm because it was known that the Paris market as a whole was perfectly able to endure the strain. The Berlin market, although not a subscriber to the recent loan, was severely shaken seemingly because other markets had turned to Germany to realize on their Russian bonds. In Vienna there was a violent overturning such as might have been expected, and St. Petersburg itself was for a time in a state of demoralization.

After the first week which followed the Czar's coup d'état, sentiment began to change a trifle. It must be remembered that an investment market has its chief stake in maintenance of order. It is always ready to back with its capital a strong government which shows signs of being able to maintain itself. The unloading of Russian securities on the market before the dissolution of the Duma was occasioned beyond any question largely by misgiving that in the weakness of all parties Russia was drifting into outright anarchy. The Czar's assertion of autocratic power, while of itself by no means relished, nevertheless gave a spur to cling to from the simple fact that some one was taking a stand against anarchy and disorder. This conviction grew somewhat stronger in the ensuing week or two, when, notwithstanding the mutinies at Sveaborg and Cronstadt, it became manifest that the army as a whole was still under the control of the Imperial authorities.

Yet this sentiment expressed itself no further than in a slight recovery of prices from the lowest. Even at this date Europe's view of the Russian situation is extraordinarily confused. There is to deal with, for one thing, the unquestioned trend of European public sentiment against the Czar. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's undiplomatic exclamation of "the Duma is dead; vive la Duma!" at the International Parliamentary Conference, and the formal and serious memorial of the French legislators to the Russian people, endorsing the attitude of the Russian parliament, were signs that could not be ignored in looking to the future of the Russian crisis. At the same time the disorders in the rural districts throughout Russia continued, and it began

to make itself plain that the new Premier Stolypin could not accomplish his purpose of a coalition ministry. All this might have caused less uneasiness in the markets had it not been for the very distinct misgiving as to the probable bearing of such events on Russian finance.

However, as is well known, the Czar, in his manifesto, left himself the loophole of the promise to convene another Duma to assemble during March of 1907. It is by no means impossible that his very selection of a date had in view the time when another loan will be imperative. Large as the \$440,000,000 loan negotiated last spring by Witte was, it is admitted even in pro-Russian circles that its proceeds would be pretty much used up in meeting the deficit in the Imperial budget of the year and paying off maturing short-term obligations. It is on the very highest authority that I am able to say that comparatively little of this enormous sum will be left over for general purposes in another year. Hence, with its steadily accruing obligations, it is plain enough that Russia must again resort to the European money markets. When such an application comes, there will be another test of Russian credit.

ALEXANDER D. NOYES.

A FEW FRENCH BOOKS OF TO-DAY.

If there is ever to be an end of the making of books, the beginning of that end should scarcely be looked for in France. I might have come to this not very sapient conclusion anywhere; it has literally forced itself upon me of late, as I have wandered from bookshop to bookshop in Brussels and Paris, often not crossing their thresholds, but invariably reading and sometimes making a note of the numerous titles standing out from the red, the brown, the green, the blue, and, above all, the yellow covers. I knew I could not afford to buy one copy out of every hundred I saw, and I knew further that I should hardly care to read the tenth part of what I could afford to buy; nevertheless, while I gazed at those neat rows of volumes, I had a sense of large possessions and of protracted pleasure. I trust it is not unpatriotic to say that I do not have these sensations when I see huge piles of new books on the counters of our department stores. Paris surely has enough of those monstrous establishments; but it still has many book-shops, both large and tiny, and its stalls along the quays, though declined from their best estate, have not disappeared. May books in this beautiful city never come to be ranked with shoes as mere articles of merchandise, even though the present discussion of "*le repos hebdomadaire*" should end by spreading the gloom of a London Sunday over both banks of the Seine.

It probably puzzles not a few Frenchmen to pick and choose judiciously from the throngs of new books that clamor for their notice. They certainly bewilder a foreigner, even one whose ears have become accustomed to the groaning of the English and the American presses. Books of all sorts and sizes confront him. The covers of some are too unblushing for careful examination by an Anglo-Saxon in broad day-light. Others in sombre attire await in silence the scientist, the theologian, the physician, the scholar, for whose instruction and — shall I say, delectation? — they exist. Others, such as a perhaps premature series of small volumes dealing with contemporary celebrities, seem in their very aspect to exhibit signs of their ephemeral character. There are numerous translations of foreign books, each and all bearing witness to the facts that the world is getting smaller and that Frenchmen are becoming less self-centred. A large volume by Darwin and a smaller one by

Haeckel have confronted me in nearly every shop window. Translations of books by Oscar Wilde abound here, as everywhere else in Europe; and a recent American "best seller" allures old-world readers by a subtitle worthy of a dime novel in the palmiest days of that classical creation — "Les Empoisonneurs de Chicago."

Whether the last-named book would be admitted to the "Bibliothèque Utile" I do not know; probably it would be welcomed by the "Bibliothèque Socialiste." To mention other series would be superfluous; to name even a tithe of the latest novels, dramas, books of verse, volumes of biography and history, and collections of essays would be as fatiguing as it would be useless. Members of the Academy and of the Institute, whose names are known everywhere, jostle with young poets and novelists and critics, who glory in their youth and in their disrespect for the established order of things. The latter, however, though they may never cease to belong to that perennial class composed partly of geniuses and partly of charlatans known as "*les jeunes*," soon become veterans in one sense at least. They try so many forms of literature and find such complacent publishers and readers that in most cases, if they are successful at all, the number of their works increases very rapidly.

The convenient and sensible list entitled "Du Même Auteur," which faces the title-pages of so many French books, has a notable way of dividing itself into the three divisions of poetry, fiction, and criticism. It is only ignorance that will suggest that French verse and prose are near enough akin to diminish our astonishment at this versatility. And whatever may be said of the verses with which so many Frenchmen make their bows as writers, their talent for the drama, the novel, and the critical essay cannot be denied. Add their ability to write charming descriptive sketches, on the one hand, and works of a solid but rarely ponderous erudition, on the other, and say whether France has not reason to be proud of the extraordinary range and quality of her prose literature. What wonder that the young are here easily and speedily smitten with the longing for literary glory? What wonder that, when they have once begun to make books, they produce them at a rate which puts to shame another kind of birth-rate in their fair land?

We seem thus to be brought to the conclusion that, while the foreigner has every excuse for being bewildered by the complexity and magnitude of the French literature of the present day, he has no occasion for being astonished or aggrieved. And if he will only remember that he can eat but three or at best but four meals a day, no matter how good French cooking is, and will reason by analogy with regard to his choice of mental food, his embarrassment of riches will soon cease to worry him. I, at

least, quickly found out that there were a great many books offered me that I did not want. The sermons of a Belgian archbishop, two or three treatises on the Congo question, "The Art of Being a Widow," "The American Mistress," "Michelet — his Loves and Hates" — I preferred to read his "L'Amour" over again — novels by this writer, poems by that, I put them all aside without repining, and chose, for one reason or another, about a dozen books some of which I shall now try to appraise.

First, as was natural, I glanced through a work which purported to describe the present state or movement of letters in France. This was M. Ph.-Emmanuel Glaser's "Le Mouvement Littéraire,"¹ a volume of some three hundred and fifty pages, to which M. Henry Roujon, perpetual secretary of the Académie des Beaux-Arts, has contributed a friendly and graceful, but not very illuminating, preface. The subtitle in parentheses, "Petite Chronique des Lettres," and the date — 1905 — describe the compilation exactly. We should call it a Literary Year Book. Its author, who is a contributor to the "Figaro," has gathered for ten of the twelve months his little appreciations of such novels and serious books as specially appealed to him last year, and has appended for each month a "memento" or list of other books of the period. The appreciations rarely stretch to three pages, and often do not fill one; the items of a "memento" sometimes consist of a mere title, sometimes of a few lines of comment. The break of August-September, which is evidently as silly a season in Paris as it is with us, is filled by "Une Enquête," M. Glaser having written to numerous distinguished authors to find out what books they were preparing for the press and also whether they were in favor of retaining or abolishing the system of giving prizes in schools. Their responses, together with M. Glaser's complimentary introductions, fill about one hundred pages of the volume. Truly, if all the books published in Paris were put together so easily, one would have reason to be astonished, not at their abundance, but at their paucity.

Nevertheless, this facile performance has a value over and above its manifest utility as a reference book. It gives a bird's-eye view of the French world of letters, and lets one see that there is nothing that less resembles a dead planet. A "mouvement littéraire" there is in our sister republic, beyond a doubt; but whether it is forward, backward, or round and round, this book, in my judgment, does not clearly show. It does show, however, that there is plenty of optimism, not only in the creative writers themselves, but in their reviewers, which is even more surprising; that the young men of to-day, whether they accept

¹ Société d'Éditions Littéraires et Artistiques. Librairie Paul Ollendorff. 1906.

the Republic or not, do accept their own generation and acclaim its achievements; that literary France means something more than a country with a classic past. The volume shows also, I think, that while French courtesy forms a most agreeable constituent of French criticism, French ebullience leads not infrequently to an excessive and I suspect somewhat dangerous use of complimentary superlatives. It is delightful to find M. Glaser so appreciative of his contemporaries, when during a single month, taken at random, he has to discuss briefly and brightly eighteen novels and eleven volumes of history, poetry, and philosophy; but, despite the fact that he is not incapable of giving his compliments a neatly ironical turn, one fears that so much genial enthusiasm for the books of the living present is bound to lead to a confusion of values and at least to work no good to that future for the welfare of which, in our self-consciousness, we are perhaps unduly solicitous.

M. Glaser's index of authors fills over twenty-eight columns, each of which contains on an average over thirty-five names. From this one thousand names we must deduct of course those belonging to foreigners and those rendered honorable by death. I am not sufficiently enamored of figures to make the deduction myself; but I am quite sure that the number of living and writing French authors mentioned in one way or another in M. Glaser's book is very formidable. I am sure also that his criticism confirms the impression I have derived from all sides, that with the French literature of to-day, as with ours, the constant and excessive insistence laid on style may be regarded as a sign, if not of bad health, at least of a threatened indisposition.

Can there be an obsession of style without an appreciable retrogression of thought? I am not rash enough to try to answer my own question. I prefer to record my pleasure at discovering M. Glaser's brief but very cordial note on one of the most charming and original collections of stories I have lately had the good fortune to read — M. Jules Lemaître's "*En Marge des Vieux Livres*," which shows what aliment a subtle modern spirit can still draw from the great imaginative works of the past.¹

From the books Paris is producing to those every man of mature culture should have read is something of a step; we make it by passing to M. Henri Mazel's "*Ce Qu'il Faut Lire dans sa Vie*," which has just reached its second edition.² Drawing up lists of indispensable volumes has been the duty or the diversion of more than one distinguished man — witness Auguste Comte, and the peer who was Sir John Lubbock;

¹ Société Française d'Imprimerie et de Librairie. Ancienne Librairie Lecène, Oudin et Cie. Cinquième mille.

² Société du Mercure de France. 1906.

and there are numerous guide-books for readers, one of the best being that put forth many years ago by Mr. Frederic Harrison under the title of "The Choice of Books." I know of no other volume, however, quite so systematically planned and executed as M. Mazel's. Starting with the fact that many a lover of literature on attaining the age of forty is astonished and chagrined to think of the number of literary master-pieces he has never read and probably never will read, and positing the equally indisputable fact that we all waste much valuable time over poor novels and bad criticism, M. Mazel makes an interesting computation of what we could accomplish by reading, at the very least, three great authors a year, in their best works, if not in their entirety.

He then divides the life of a reader into six periods of seven years each, beginning with eighteen and ending with fifty-nine. The first stage, from eighteen to twenty-four, is naturally dominated by the poets and the novelists of France and by the novelists of other countries. For the next stage, from twenty-five to thirty-one, M. Mazel recommends the chief poets of other lands, the French prose classics — Rabelais, Montaigne, Voltaire, and their peers — and the ancient historians. The third stage, from thirty-two to thirty-eight, leads to the master poets of Greece and Rome, with whom Dante and Ariosto are grouped, to the modern French "Politiques," such as Lamennais and Guizot, and to the old chroniclers. The fourth stage, from thirty-nine to forty-five, is that of the French classical poets — Molière, Corneille, Racine heading the list; of the contemporary "moralistes" — for example, Taine and Renan; and of the distinguished philosophers and memoir-writers of former centuries. The fifth stage, from forty-six to fifty-two, belongs to the great French thinkers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, represented by Pascal, Bossuet, Montesquieu, and others, to the ancient philosophers, and to recent authors of memoirs. The sixth and last stage, from fifty-three to fifty-nine, is reserved for the Bible and the supreme religious writers, such as Saint Augustine and the author of "The Imitation."

This is the skeleton, if I may so call it, of M. Mazel's book; but I must at once add in justice that it is covered by a healthy and comely body. Our author is far from being a pedant. He recognizes that the tastes and needs of readers vary greatly, and, while adhering to a system, he allows much latitude as to the amount one should read of the authors prescribed. He encourages wide wandering either into near-by or into remote regions of literature, and he discusses very attractively most of the writers he has occasion to mention. He is often frank enough to say that he has not read the book he names; but one is left with the impression that his range of reading is prodigious.

Better still, one feels that M. Mazel has a keen sense for the best in books; hence one reads the sections devoted to the six stages with profit as well as with pleasure. What promised to be a handbook turns out to be a volume of excellent criticism; yet it remains a valuable manual, for the best editions of each author are cited, with the names of the publishers attached, and an index of writers makes ready reference possible. For a foreigner desiring a guide to French literature I should think that the book would prove more attractive and valuable than many a formal volume of literary history. As a systematic course of reading, those Englishmen and Americans who desire such a thing would naturally find it less available, because, although its attitude toward other literatures is liberal, its emphasis, as is proper, is laid upon French masterpieces and the criticism that has been devoted to them.

Whether a volume constructed upon a similar plan would appeal to our less docile Anglo-Saxon public may be doubted; but there are useful hints that may be taken from M. Mazel by our teachers of literature and by our conductors of literary clubs. And when one of our dramatic poets — M. Mazel has distinguished himself in this capacity — or one of our sociologists — M. Mazel writes on "social science" for the "*Mercure de France*" — gives us a volume of criticism at all comparable in quality and range to "*Ce Qu'il Faut Lire dans sa Vie*," we shall be justified in expecting that the piles of novels on the counters of our department stores will cease to threaten to topple over.

Having thus acknowledged my admiration and gratitude, I may perhaps be allowed to express a little astonishment at some of the things I find and do not find in M. Mazel's book, especially as I am quite willing to confess that, if I tried to write a similar volume, I should doubtless fill even the most benevolently disposed Freach reader with consternation. With regard to the classics of his own great literature, it befits me, of course, as a foreigner, to be very cautious. M. Mazel's well-intentioned incursions into English literature, from which he returns bearing rather strange trophies in his hands, leave, if I may so speak, a very broad wake of instruction on this point. I cannot, however, forbear to wonder whether it is not a trifle imprudent to name among the seven prime poets and novelists of France recommended to young men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five a contemporary who has but recently turned forty.

That the poetry of M. Henri de Régnier is worthy of the encomiums it is receiving in France to-day will probably seem a self-evident fact to most of the young men who care for poetry at all,¹ and they will read it

¹ See Van Bever et Léautaud, "*Poètes d'Aujourd'hui*," pp. 249-253 (*Mercure de France*).

without M. Mazel's recommendation. The poet's latest volume, "La Sandale Ailée,"¹ contains indeed many exquisite poems and ought to bear his fame afar. It perhaps deserves the jubilant praise given it by a young poet and critic, Pierre Fons, in a collection of essays I have just had the pleasure of reading.² But if the phrase "Ce Qu'il Faut Lire dans sa Vie" means anything, it means that M. Mazel is dealing with books that have become truly classical; hence my surprise at finding M. Henri de Régnier placed in company with Lamartine, Alfred de Musset, Victor Hugo, Baudelaire, Alfred de Vigny, and Balzac. The flesh and the spirit do indeed seem to blend beautifully in his verses, but who can say how far the germs of decay have been eliminated? It must be added in fairness that Signor d'Annunzio accompanies M. de Régnier, and, to satisfy my patriotism, that Edgar Allan Poe is one of the three authors recommended for the next year's reading.

It would be useless to assert that M. Mazel is a trifle too unsympathetic toward George Sand, that he makes extravagant statements about Flaubert, and that, on the contrary, he manages to be much too restrained when he deals with Guy de Maupassant. These are merely matters of personal opinion, and into even the most severely academic criticism personal opinion must make its way. My own opinions were far from being outraged when I read the admirably ironical remarks made by M. Mazel apropos of the ultra—"Stendhaliens."

Personal opinion has, however, nothing to do with the statement that Stevenson went to the Sandwich Islands to die, or with the implication that the Letters of Junius were chiefly concerned with the trial of Warren Hastings. It can hardly be urged as an excuse for coupling "Aurora Leigh" with "Jane Eyre" and other novels in such a way that a young Frenchman would be almost bound to think that Mrs. Browning was one of the most distinguished of English novelists. It can scarcely account for the entire omission of Robert Browning and of Mr. Thomas Hardy, when space is found to mention Mr. Meredith, Mr. Yeats, Mr. Le Gallienne, and Mr. Arthur Symons, and to give about half a page to Mr. H. G. Wells. Why, if Matthew Arnold was to be named at all — Arnold, who had such an admiration for the French! — only his books dealing with religion should be selected for a mild recommendation, is a question I shall not try to answer. I am far from being able to comprehend why the student should be advised to leave to one side the great rusty machine of Gibbon (!), and should yet be informed that Ticknor's "History of Spanish Literature" has not aged at all. This

¹ Société du Mercure de France. 1906. Troisième édition.

² Le Réveil de Pallas. E. Sansot et Cie. 1906. The volume contains also an interesting essay on the dramatic works of M. Mazel.

reminds me that M. Mazel frequently tells his readers that such and such a writer has aged — a statement which generally arouses my suspicions, so easy is it to make and so hard to prove. My suspicions are also aroused by such phrases and epithets as “les gentillesses de Pope,” “l’âpre Burns et le délicat Keats”; for, while one cannot say that they are markedly inappropriate, they strongly suggest a failure to appreciate the range and the significance of the writers to whom they are applied. As for M. Mazel’s grouping Shelley with Shakespeare and Milton — he does not, of course, imply the more recent poets’ equality with the supreme masters — that opens up too burning a question. Let the tears of Matthew Arnold’s ghost quench it, if disembodied spirits are allowed the luxury of tears. I have none to shed over it, or over M. Mazel, whose book has given me great pleasure and much instruction. It may leave me very dubious whether Descartes really surpasses Lord Bacon in everything except style, and whether “Daniel Deronda” is a book “tout-à-fait classique”; it may cite a trifle too often works advertised by its own publishers; but it is none the less a volume that contains many charming pages, and that could have been written only by a true scholar and lover of literature.

M. Mazel’s references to English literature in general led me naturally to read M. Georges Grappe’s small volume entitled “Essai sur la Poésie Anglaise au XIXe Siècle.”¹ It appears in a series — “Collection d’Études Étrangères” — which contains appreciations of contemporary literary movements in most of the countries of Europe, together with studies of distinguished figures like President Roosevelt. Such a series ought to be useful and interesting; for even small countries like Belgium, which one is hastily inclined to regard as a mere province of France, have their important authors and their literary aspirations and problems. In Belgium, for example, a discussion is now going on with regard to the proposed establishment of a special Academy for creative writers using the French language, who, by a curious ruling, seem destined to be excluded for the future from their proper “classe” in the existing Academy.²

We Anglo-Saxons periodically ask ourselves whether we ought not to establish one or more institutions similar to the Académie Française, and we have among us many irrepressible spirits like the young Belgian who recently asked where the forty members of the proposed academy were to be found.

But what has this to do with M. Grappe’s “Essay”? Perhaps a more pertinent question would be — What has any reader of English

¹ E. Sansot et Cie. 1906.

² See the article by Valère Gille in the number of “La Belgique Artistique et Littéraire” for August, 1906.

to do with M. Grappe's "Essay"? since he modestly calls it a mere "letter of introduction" to a subject the acquaintance of which we should long since have made. Certainly we should speak of the tiny book — it does not reach a hundred pages — with true French courtesy, for its tone is that of cordial admiration. M. Grappe disclaims being a critic; he is rather a traveller astonished and delighted by what he has seen. "*Au cours de ma visite, j'ai aimé de charmantes originalités, s'accôtant comme des palais de style divers, pour néanmoins s'harmoniser dans l'ensemble*" — that has the note of the true enthusiast. When one has been teaching and studying modern English literature for twenty years, one is likely to be more restrained — one is likely to recognize the "style divers" sooner than the palatial character of many of the buildings.

With every desire to be courteous, however, I am constrained to say that, in my judgment, if M. Grappe had read one less volume of poetry and had consulted instead a biographical dictionary or a manual of literary history, he would have improved his monograph greatly. Keats was not born in 1788; Coleridge did not give "Christabel" to the public in 1805; "The Edinburgh Review" was not founded in 1808. Such matters are trifles, and so are such slips of the proof-reader as "Mrs. Rossetti," "Miss Jugelow," and the attribution of "The Defence of Guinevere" to Swinburne on page 52 and to Morris on page 55. But when they are combined with very daring generalizations, with a lack of the sense of proportion — Scott seems to get about six lines and the pantisocratic scheme of Coleridge and Southey a page — with such novelties of criticism as the statement that "what a Tennyson owes to Shelley is unique perhaps in the history of literary influences," one begins to wonder whether the modern spirit of cosmopolitanism, which leads us to study and write about literatures other than our own, is not attended by many drawbacks.

What Matthew Arnold, whose poetry seems not to appeal very deeply to M. Grappe, would have thought of the statement:—"Il s'était assimilé ce qu'il devait garder de la fréquentation des œuvres de Shelley ou de Tennyson" — may be left to the many admirers of Arnold's verse to determine. I doubt whether he would have been specially pleased by M. Grappe's glowing appreciations of the poetic genius of Mr. Swinburne and Mr. Meredith; but those of us whose taste is less severely classic may smile approvingly at the young Frenchman's enthusiasm. I say "young," despite the fact that M. Grappe is already the author of at least five books and announces the speedy appearance of five others. I may be mistaken, and envious as well, but I cannot help inferring that a bold and lavish display of large generalizations is an even surer sign of youth than an unwrinkled brow. When I finished M. Grappe's "Essay,"

I found myself adapting two lines of Wordsworth, a poet whom our author would apparently include among the *poetae minores!* — Bliss is it in this dawn of cosmopolitan literary studies to be alive; but to be young and endowed with the faculty of intrepid generalization is very Heaven.

An entirely different sort of book, dealing with English life instead of with English literature, is Pierre de Coulevain's "L'Île Inconnue." According to the "Gaulois," it and M. Pierre Loti's "Les Désenchantées" are the two most talked-of publications of the season. That is not always the best of recommendations; but I am far from being sorry that I went counter to my first impulse and bought the volumes. If I may judge from my copies, the first-named story — if story it may be called — is in its thirty-fourth edition; the second, which is a very readable "novel of the contemporary Turkish harems," is in its nineteenth.¹ As both will undoubtedly soon be familiar to English and American readers through translations, I shall content myself by saying that "L'Île Inconnue"—which title, of course, is but another name for England, so long misunderstood by the French—is extremely interesting, and apparently valuable, because of its very acute and suggestive comparisons of the temperaments and modes of life of the French and English peoples.

It is just enough of a story to hold a flagging attention by means of its very slight plot, or rather its thread of narrative, and of its lightly sketched characters; on the other hand, these elements are not sufficiently dominant to disturb any reader who is chiefly interested in the acute analysis and the excellent descriptions to be found on almost every page. It is true that the volume contains five hundred and ninety-two pages, and may thus be fairly considered a trifle spun out. I confess frankly that more than once in reading it I began to skip, and that even now it lies on my table demanding the more careful perusal which its second half at least shall receive. But it seems to be equally true that the book is not sufficiently entralling to make one feel that one must finish it at a sitting. It may be picked up and put down day after day by all who are not alienated by its somewhat complacent attitude toward many features of so-called high life, or by its scant sympathy with Americans.

I say this subject to correction; for if a Frenchman runs great risk of misunderstanding an Englishman and *vice versa*, an American runs as great risk of misunderstanding them both as they do of misunderstanding each other and him. It is at least certain that the sympathy and fairness which are, in the main, the key-notes of this book, cannot fail to increase the present cordiality between the two peoples with which it is

¹ Both are published by Calmann-Lévy.

most concerned; and it would seem that the sane criticism dealt out with an impartial hand to both would be profitable in many ways.

As good illustrations of this sympathy and this sane criticism, I will cite the pages describing a model English nursery, and those which deplore the absence of such a special children's room from a French house. There are dozens of other passages that would serve my purpose equally well. "*L'Île Inconnue*," I repeat, is a book that deserves a careful reading, whether or not one is interested in Miss Edith Baring, who has been converted to Roman Catholicism, or whether one finds one's self not infrequently disagreeing with this or that statement. I was myself forced to smile at the categorical assertion that Americans have no need for a dog's affections. Some Americans do not need it; others do. At least one party of travelling Americans regretted this summer that "*l'Île Inconnue*" is so inhospitable to canine strangers.

A book as completely national as "*L'Île Inconnue*" is international, and about as little dependent for its real interest on the elements of fiction it contains, is M. Henri Chantavoine's "*Histoire de Pinchu*" and "*Le Ménage Poterlot*.¹" My attention was called to it by a long review in the "*Temps*," from the pen of M. Gaston Deschamps, who, it appears, was a pupil of the author's. I gather that M. Chantavoine has been not only a successful teacher of rhetoric, but also something of a poet and a journalist of ability. The two novelettes — "*histoires légères*," as the dedicatory note calls them — which compose the present volume first appeared in the "*Journal des Débats*." They certainly show, as M. Deschamps points out, a rare attitude of independence toward the political powers that be — powers which are generally supposed to be paramount in the making or marring of a professional career.

Politicians, on the one hand, and the sovereign but gullible public, on the other, receive anything but servile tributes from M. Chantavoine in the first of his stories, "*Histoire de Pinchu*." The hero is a provincial physician of very small attainments and repulsive appearance and habits, who is nevertheless sufficiently endowed with a low order of cunning to have himself elected deputy to represent a Burgundian arrondissement. One of the chief factors in his success is his velocipede, on which he scours the country. The peasants readily believe him when he tells them that the machine will be of infinite service to him in Paris, when he has to call on the various ministers of state to expedite the affairs of his constituents. He is elected, by a tremendous majority, as a true friend of the Republic and an enemy of the Church. In the Chamber of Deputies he is at once perceived to be without a peer as a

¹ Société Française d'Imprimerie et de Librairie. Ancienne Librairie Lecène, Oudin et Cie. 1906.

buffoon; but he manages to convince his constituents that he is really a power in politics, and he retains his seat for many years. The chapters that describe the stages of his demagogic career are full of amusing irony, and, while it would probably be unfair to judge French democracy in the light of this clever satire alone, it seems to me that the story of Pinchu's rise and fall — for of course time pricks the bubble — ought to interest most students of democracy, no matter what their country. It contains also charming, and, according to M. Deschamps, true descriptions of French village life, and thus has another claim to the attention of readers both native and foreign.

The second half of the volume, "Le Ménage Poterlot," is even more entertaining in its descriptions of village life and characters than the story of Pinchu, though it is probably not quite so amusing as a satire on human folly. Its author's object is to show up the shallow atheists — *les esprits forts* — who in his judgment are responsible for so much of the anti-clerical agitation that disturbs the peace of France. M. Chantavoine is evidently more or less of a partisan in the matter; but one easily sympathizes with him in his regret and indignation at the intolerant attitude assumed by so many crass moderns toward a venerable cult. We have some *esprits forts* in America; but I think we can congratulate ourselves that they do not play the part with us that it seems possible for them to play in many a lovely French village such as Sauvigny in the Department of the Haute-Seine.

Like its predecessor, this story is rather primitive in structure. The author tells us whatever he wishes to about his characters and gives us a succession of episodes and scenes rather than a closely knit plot. Narcisse Poterlot and his wife, the excellent and pretty Antoinette, are the props of the household that gives the story its title; but the chief part is played by a certain Moutardier, an *esprit fort* of the worst description. Shallow, blatant, and mean though he be, he yet manages to form quite a group of adherents in Sauvigny and to give the more respectable elements of its population not a little trouble. He almost captures Narcisse Poterlot; but the piety and common sense and wifely devotion of Antoinette foil his base designs. Finally, his real ineptitude becomes apparent to all; a new, intelligent, and energetic *curé* rehabilitates the Church in Sauvigny; and the little sermon in favor of moderation and tolerance — for the story is that just as truly as it is a satire on ignorance and intolerance in matters of religion — comes to a pleasant end.

W. P. TRENT.

THE EDUCATIONAL OUTLOOK.

THE sense of security which has come to college professors in the final establishment of the Carnegie Pension Fund will be of undoubted benefit to the colleges and universities of our land. An instance in point is that of a professor who is much in demand the country over. Recently a position of considerable importance was offered him, which moreover was very congenial to him. The argument which finally persuaded him to keep his professorship was that in ten years he would be entitled to a pension from the Carnegie Fund, and that after his death his wife would be comfortably taken care of if she should survive. The workings of this fund ought to prove a powerful argument in favor of the pensioning of school teachers generally. This is not a matter to be left to local initiative. It is doubtful whether it should be made a State affair. The reasonable plan would seem to be to establish a national system of pensions. The plea which permits annuities to be paid to war veterans certainly applies with no less force to the true preservers of the nation, who are the teachers thereof.

Among the first educators who participate in the benefits of the Carnegie Pension Fund are Dr. Harris, U. S. Commissioner of Education; Dr. Marsh, of Lafayette; Dr. Young, of Princeton; and Dr. Ladd, of Yale — men of international reputation in their spheres of labor. Dr. Harris is America's greatest philosopher; Prof. Marsh stands in the front rank of the philologists; Prof. Young is known far and wide for his astronomical researches; and Prof. Ladd is one of the three or four most distinguished writers on psychology in the English language. The acceptance of the benefits of that fund by these men has effectually removed whatever hesitancy existed in some quarters regarding the propriety of accepting a pension.

The retirement of William Torrey Harris, after serving the United States for seventeen years as Commissioner of Education, is an event of exceptional importance. It was his great personality that raised the office from mere respectability to something like the importance it ought to occupy. In a country more economical in the utilization of its really great possessions — Germany, for instance — he would not have been permitted to retire, even now, on the eve of his seventy-first birthday;

he would at least have been placed so as to remain officially an adviser of the Government.

Dr. Harris owes absolutely nothing to the Bureau of Education, which occupied a rather obscure and unimportant place before his name became identified with it. His reputation was solidly established, here as well as abroad, long before he took the office; indeed, he had already won an enduring place in the history of American education, in line with Thomas Jefferson, Horace Mann, and Colonel Parker. Jefferson was the first to organize an ideal plan for American education, which is to-day most fully exemplified, perhaps, in the State of Michigan. Horace Mann announced the basal principles of the common school. Parker was an inspirational force which burst the yoke of traditional and Europe-bred scholasticism, and infused in the schools and their methods a spirit in harmony with democracy. Harris has laid the foundation for an American philosophy of education. He is the most commanding figure in the educational field to-day.

Some day the intense study of philosophy inspired and nourished by Harris in his St. Louis days will be more adequately recognized than it is now as a significant phase in the development of speculative thought in America. Never were the history and the ideals of Hellas studied with greater ecstasy. Never were the philosophic writings of Plato and Kant and Hegel invested with more general interest. Never did Homer and Dante and Goethe appeal more strongly to the intellectual leaders of an American community. "Spiritual interpretation of the universe" was the watchword. Gradually the speculative study of education was lifted into prominence. School teaching ceased to be regarded as an occupation fit only for a stepping-stone to something else and a biding place for those unwilling to do manual work and not qualified for higher intellectual pursuits. The best minds were enlisted in the cause. The desire to go to Germany for a study of pedagogy, which took hold of many ambitious teachers, some of whom have since won distinction, was stimulated and encouraged by William T. Harris. The belief spread that the highest services to humanity were those devoted to the bringing up of the young. Under the new dispensation, Colonel Parker was enabled to win victories for the "New Education," and William James, G. Stanley Hall, and John Dewey to find eager disciples. The Herbartians might never have arrived at their own creed, and certainly would not have found an interested audience, if Harris had not been a preacher in the wilderness.

Harris was born of sterling New England stock, and brought up on a Connecticut farm. He began his school career when but little more than four years old. After varied experiences in preparatory institu-

tions he entered Yale. The rigidity of the college course not permitting the cultivation of his own special interests, he withdrew after two and a half years of study, and went out West, setting up in St. Louis, in 1857, as a teacher of shorthand. For ten years he was engaged successively as teacher, principal, and assistant superintendent in the common schools of that city. Next he became superintendent of schools, which position he resigned after thirteen years of service because of what he concluded to be failing health. His life in St. Louis covers nearly a quarter of a century, and includes a most interesting and rather significant part of the story of the intellectual development of our country.

At Yale, Harris had developed a decided taste for Oriental philosophy and literature. Incidentally he had read also Kant's Critique of Pure Reason, and other philosophical books. Cousin was his principal guide until he came in contact with Henry C. Brockmeyer, a most remarkable young German, who changed the whole trend of his philosophic studies. This Brockmeyer died quite recently. It is only just that a few words should be spoken here of his share in the development of the St. Louis movement. The most satisfactory notices concerning him that I have been able to obtain are supplied in an article by William Schuyler, on "German Philosophy in St. Louis," published in "The Bulletin of the Washington University Association" for 1904, which I shall freely draw upon.

Brockmeyer, born in 1828, came to America at the age of sixteen. He found employment in a St. Louis tannery, and saved of the money he earned by the labor of his hands enough to go to college. At Georgetown College, Kentucky, he devoted himself especially to Greek and to logic. He continued his studies at Brown University, Providence, and here he happened upon Hedge's German Prose Writers, which gave him his first introduction to Hegel, whose "Unabridged Logic" appealed deeply to his searching mind. After spending five or six of his post-collegiate years in Warren county, Missouri, where he supported himself by hunting, with a dog as his sole companion, he returned to St. Louis to earn money wherewith to buy himself a farm. He found work in a stove foundry, and, living on almost nothing, began to lay up his earnings. One Sunday in 1858 he happened to drop into a meeting at the old Mercantile Library, and there found several people discussing Oriental theosophy, spiritualism, and similar topics. William T. Harris, then twenty-three years old, was secretary, and Brockmeyer says he seemed to him to be "the one sane person in the gathering." After the meeting he made it a point to talk with him. Harris was astonished to find this iron-moulder so thoroughly grounded in philosophy. Soon he found his own Cousin severely attacked. "That man contradicts himself on

every page," was Brockmeyer's crushing criticism. Harris challenged the statement. Brockmeyer then accompanied him to his room, and convinced him of the utter unreliability of the reasoning of the intellectual guide by whom he then swore. Brockmeyer made clear, furthermore, that, among modern philosophers, Hegel had no equal, and that Harris must read the Unabridged Logic.

Harris now became a devoted disciple of Brockmeyer. With three or four other young men he spent many evenings in Brockmeyer's room to obtain inspiration and instruction. Brockmeyer, tired from his day's labors in the foundry, would lie on a couch and interpret to the young men around him Plato's Dialogue and the development of philosophy in Germany. Speaking of these meetings, in his preface to Hegel's Logic, Harris writes:

Mr. Brockmeyer's deep insights and his poetic power of setting them forth with symbols and imagery furnished me and my friends of those early years all of our outside stimulus in the study of German philosophy. He impressed us with the practicality of philosophy, inasmuch as he could flash into the questions of the moment the highest insights of philosophy, and solve their problems. Even the hunting of wild turkeys or squirrels was the occasion for the use of philosophy. One result was that philosophy came to mean with us the most practical of all species of knowledge. We used it to solve all problems connected with school teaching and school management. We studied the dialectic of politics and political parties and understood how measures and men might be combined by this light. But our chief application of philosophy was to literature and art.

Harris, George Stedman, and James Sumner finally clubbed together to pay for Brockmeyer's support while he should translate for them Hegel's Greater Logic. The outbreak of the Civil War dispersed this little school of philosophy. Brockmeyer married and went back to farming in Warren county. There he organized a regiment of militia and was chosen lieutenant-colonel. His characteristic address to his men is strikingly interesting, as showing the practical workings of his philosophy. This is what he said:

Whoever wants to join the armies in the field — North or South — let him do it. That is a matter for his own conscience. But here, in this out-of-the-way place, acts of violence, robbery, slaughter, will in no way affect the general result, but will only destroy our own homes and families. Hence our business is to make this quarter of Missouri peaceful, and keep it a place where civilized beings can live.

Mr. William Schuyler adds the comment that "By this practical application of 'the dialectic,' backed by an iron will and infinite tact, Brockmeyer kept that section of the distracted State in a condition of comparative quiet until the crisis was over; and then the people of Warren county sent him to the Legislature, 'to help reconstruct the World of

Reality which they had saved.' " Later on Brockmeyer was successively an alderman of St. Louis, State Senator, and Lieutenant-Governor of Missouri. His interest in philosophy continued to the end of his life.

Harris meanwhile rose rapidly in the scale of fame. About 1866 there formed about him a new group of students. At the beginning, art and literature formed the chief subjects of discussion, and an "Art Society" resulted. A little later, the "Philosophic Society" was formed, with Henry C. Brockmeyer as president, Harris as secretary, and Britton A. Hill, G. H. Howison, Denton J. Snider, Dr. J. Z. Hall, and Dr. J. H. Watters as charter members. Among the "auxiliaries" were enrolled most of the famous thinkers of that time, the list beginning with Bronson Alcott and Ralph Waldo Emerson. Exactly one year later there appeared under the auspices of this society the first philosophical periodical published on this side of the Atlantic, the quarterly "Journal of Speculative Philosophy," the most remarkable publication of its kind in the English language. This might never have been issued if it had not been for Harris's intense desire that sane philosophic reasoning should pervade American thought. At that time Spencer's Synthetic Philosophy seemed to sweep everything before it. Harris had studied it carefully and discovered its glaring fallacies, which he exposed in a vigorous article. He submitted this article to some magazine — either the "North American Review" or the "Atlantic," or both — but editorial hesitancy to oppose the trend of the times brought the manuscript back to him. Determined to have a hearing, he sent out his "Journal." Its motto was the declaration by Novalis, "Philosophy can bake no bread; but she can procure for us God, freedom, and immortality." The chief value of this publication, aside from its leadership in speculative thought, was that it popularized in America the philosophic ideas of Germany's great idealists.

Harris did a great work for American education as superintendent of the St. Louis schools. The "practicality" of his philosophy was thoroughly vindicated. He proved himself a consummate politician in the best sense of the word, managing the set of men elected to the Board of Education with astonishing skill, and making them all serve, whatever their motives, the advancement of his own plans. His thirteen annual reports are valuable contributions to pedagogical literature. In their time they surpassed everything to be obtained on pedagogy in the English language. He inaugurated the first public kindergarten and founded the Pedagogical Society of St. Louis, which is a large and useful society at the present time. When the Philosophic Society passed out of existence he organized the Kant Club, in which philosophic discussion of the highest character was carried on. This organization

gave birth to many similar clubs in other cities. The Kant Club of Denver and the Goethe studies at Milwaukee are examples of its fruitfulness.

In 1880, Harris left St. Louis and settled at Concord, Mass. He was one of the founders of the Concord School of Philosophy, which William Schuyler calls "a national extension of the local movement." Harris's lectures upon education, especially his keen criticisms of new theories, soon attracted attention to him as an authority. When President Harrison appointed him Commissioner of Education there was general satisfaction. To the credit of Harrison it should be said that the appointment was not influenced by political considerations, and that in fact he was informed that Harris had not voted for him.

The Bureau at once began to attract attention. Visitors from Europe, Latin America, Polynesia, and the Orient came to America for light. Washington was the first place they visited in search of information. The marvellous scope of the Commissioner's range of interests became talked about as one of the wonders of the American school-world.

Dr. Harris is a most versatile scholar. Latin and Greek are his great joy. He is especially fond of the medieval Latin hymns. "I live by them," he said to the writer, on a recent occasion. It is doubtful if he has an equal in his familiarity with Oriental languages, literature, and customs. A Chinese laundry ticket can open the sluices of his knowledge of the variety of dialects, caligraphical usages, and historical developments of the Middle Kingdom. He is universally considered one of the two greatest living exponents of Hegel. His comprehensive acquaintance with economic theories and statistics has more than once drawn him into the arena to break lances with the advocates of various utopias. When the Spencerian idea struck America, he at once had a laboratory established in the rear of his house, and made a thorough study of biology and related sciences. In mathematics and astronomy he has kept as much in touch with new developments as along other lines of experimentation and pure science. He is at home in architecture, sculpture, and painting. He possesses an unusually intimate knowledge of music; his spiritual interpretation of Beethoven and other classics being a real treat to music-lovers.

His gigantic intellect is always busy. When travelling on the railroad, he is apt to compute the speed of locomotion and the altitude of various points along the road, to note atmospheric conditions, peculiar physical formations of the earth, and botanical phenomena. At one time he greeted the writer, on a car leaving Milwaukee, with the genial question: "What is your opinion of the Logos?" inviting and conducting a discussion which lasted a considerable time beyond our arrival in

Chicago, and had not been fully concluded when his train pulled out of the station on its way to Washington.

With all his seriousness he possesses a delightful humor, coupled with keen Yankee shrewdness. Superintendent Greenwood rightly calls him "the most dangerous man in debate there is to be found in the United States to-day." Everything is clearly classified in his mind and assigned to its proper place in his cyclopedic memory. This, together with his readiness in thinking a point out from beginning to end, enables him to dispose quickly of opposing theories. When Superintendent Maxwell at one time was completely discomfited in debate by Dr. Harris's keen thrusts, some one urged Judge Draper to take the floor; but the latter preferred to keep silence, having, as he said, "a wife and children at home."

His greatness is in the sphere of thought. There is no better diagnostician of the intellect. What is more, he can almost invariably prescribe at once the work, chapter, or passage in a book, which, if carefully taken in accordance with his instructions, will effect a complete cure. His skill in this department has developed to such an extent that he can at any moment recall not only the bookcase and shelf where the book may be found, but also the particular page of the volume specified.

To Dr. Harris, more than to any one else, is due the establishment of the kindergarten in America as part of the common-school system. He devised the first rational plan for the just classification and promotion of pupils at school. He was the first to mark out the distinctive purposes and limits of elementary, secondary, and tertiary schools, and to set forth their proper correlation and articulation.

Never a servile follower of German schools of speculation, he has extracted from all the best and has welded it with his American philosophy. Enthusiastic agitators of new ideas have sometimes called him an arch reactionist, because his calm prevision of the future has often put a damper upon most cherished pretensions. He is one of the very few men who can get solid pleasure out of statistics. He fairly revels in them. Rows of figures carefully collated have unspeakable charms for him. He can invest them with life and make them speak with authority when occasion requires. This is probably the reason why, as an interpreter of history, he has no equal among us. From history he has acquired for himself also the patience to wait for things to take the turn that he is sure some day they must. And, in waiting, he carefully watches his opportunities to advance the cause, ever ready to sacrifice minor points for the gain of greater ones. He stands firmly and uncompromisingly upon a basis of ideas which to him are ethical finalities.

The progress of a human being is in his mind clearly divided into distinct steps. It is very amusing at times to hear him assign theories, movements, public teachers, and literary productions to Classes II, III, or IV. He feels especially sorry for those who have become enveloped in an esthetical fog, regarding an emotional beauty-ideal as the great ultimatum of human aspirations. "Read Goethe's 'Faust' with the comments by X, Y, and especially Z," is his prompt advice.

Great as is his intellect, his sympathies are equally extensive and expansive. A little child in sincere search for help, a young man puzzled as to his human destiny, a student on the quest for truth, can command his interest and time to almost any extent. I have in my possession a copy of a long letter written to a small boy who had asked the Commissioner of Education to tell what stories would be most interesting for boys to read. Dr. Harris speaks of the books he himself enjoyed when he was young, and then points with special fervor to Walter Scott, whose novels, he adds, he still reads with pleasure.

Harris has written much, although comparatively few books bear his name on the title page. Having been constantly drawn into the arena, most of his writings are of a controversial character and bear upon subjects which for the time being were uppermost in the minds of philosophic thinkers. He has kept a watchful eye especially on the field of pedagogy, being firmly convinced of the supreme importance of having the educators of the young think aright. Like a careful husbandman, he was bound upon the extermination of every harmful weed or insect which his keen eye discovered. One has to look in periodicals and reports of the proceedings of educational associations for most of his contributions. His principal essays are, of course, included in the "Journal of Speculative Philosophy," his reports as superintendent of the schools of St. Louis, and the monographs and reports issued by the United States Bureau of Education during his incumbency. He is also the editor of several libraries, notable among them being The International Education Series. In my estimation his greatest literary contributions are his "Psychologic Foundations of Education," and his book on "The Spiritual Sense of Dante's *Divina Commedia*."

He is still in vigorous health, and being relieved from the many irritations and petty affairs connected with the administration of the Bureau of Education, it is not unlikely that a still greater book is yet to come from his pen. He is the giant among American philosophers.

The national Government deserves no credit for the importance now attached to the Bureau. It probably never occurred to any one that this office might be raised to prominence and power. The salary until quite lately was ridiculously small, and even now it is considerably

less than that paid to a number of State and city superintendents of schools. The Government has never treated the office with deserved respect. The disposition of matters that should naturally be in charge of the Bureau is an example in point. Philippine school affairs are managed by the War Office; Indian education is a separate organization; agricultural instruction is carried on without reference to the Bureau. With the right attitude on the part of the Government, the Bureau, with Dr. Harris as its chief, might have been converted, without interference with jealously guarded local prerogatives, into a powerful lever for educational improvement throughout the United States.

However, we have a new Commissioner of Education now, and we must look to him for the fuller development of the Bureau's opportunities. He is in his best years, for Dr. Elmer Ellsworth Brown is about forty-five years old. He is an educator of considerable force, though very quiet and unassuming in his way. For the peculiar work traditionally made incumbent upon the Bureau, probably no more generally satisfactory man could have been selected. He has for many years made a specialty of the study of educational systems, and is considered an authority in matters pertaining to secondary education. His principal book, "The Making of our Middle Schools," is unquestionably the best presentation of the history and organization of secondary schools in the United States. He is a native of New York, but spent his boyhood in northern Illinois. After his graduation from the State Normal University of Illinois, he engaged in teaching, and later entered the University of Michigan. His post-graduate studies at the University of Halle were rewarded by a Ph.D. Next he was principal of a high school, and later assistant professor of education in the University of Michigan. In 1892 he was elected to the newly created chair of education in the University of California. This position he held until President Roosevelt, acting upon the recommendations of President Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia and President Benjamin Ide Wheeler of the University of California, appointed him to succeed Dr. Harris in the Bureau of Education. His first important public utterance since his appointment, in the form of an address at the opening of the New York University School of Pedagogy, is looked forward to with much interest. It will be no easy task to meet the expectations which American educators cherish for the future of the office. It is to be hoped that the Congressional appropriation will be more adequate, and that a deputy will be appointed who will relieve the new Commissioner of the non-productive, purely executive part of his work.

There have been in recent months at least two other notable resignations of important places by men who have given the best part of

their lives to the common schools. One of these is Dr. Thomas Hunter, president of the New York City Normal College; the other Dr. Edward Brooks, for many years superintendent of the schools of Philadelphia. Dr. Hunter holds the record of fifty-six years of continuous service as teacher in the schools of the city of New York. He has been a power in the upbuilding of the great system. The Normal College itself stands as a monument to his memory. Without him the institution would never have been established and maintained as an integral part of the city school organization. The inauguration of an extensive free night-school system is owing largely to his ever-keen interest in the boy who, like himself, left his home soil to carve out for himself a destiny in a new country. To extend a helping hand to the struggling young immigrant was ever his pleasure. He takes pride also in the fact that he was the first teacher in the city's public schools to banish corporal punishment as a disciplinary measure. He enjoys the distinction of having been a most successful and exceedingly popular teacher of boys. His following in New York City is large, and he has always been an important factor in legislation and rulings affecting the schools. His retirement will be regretted by thousands of loyal students who have come under the sway of his strong personality.

The retirement of Dr. Brooks from the superintendency of the Philadelphia schools calls attention to a singularly faithful educator. In his quiet, unassuming way, he has accomplished more good for the schools of Philadelphia than the public is aware of. The effectiveness of his tests of the results of the teaching in the schools has been demonstrated in many ways. Dr. Rice considers that to these more than to any other one thing the Philadelphia schools, as a whole, owe many of their undeniable excellencies. With as wretched a system of organization as the city supported until quite recently, the superintendent was practically prohibited from directive power in the control of the schools. A more self-assertive man would have accomplished less. Dr. Brooks quietly brought things about that were worth while. Philadelphia is better for having had him laboring for her schools. The honors she accords him are to her own credit.

Dr. Brooks is succeeded by Martin G. Brumbaugh (A.M., Harvard; Ph.D., Univ. Penna.) who brings to the office an unusual record of experience and achievement, a strong personality, and sound common sense. He has taught in elementary schools, normal schools, colleges, and the University; he has been president of Juniata college, county superintendent, State conductor of teachers' institutes, United States Commissioner of Education in Porto Rico, and professor of education in the University of Pennsylvania. He is, also, a very popular lecturer. The

present system of organization, which has placed the Philadelphia schools on an entirely new foundation, is largely the result of his work. It was he who practically drew up the bill which the Pennsylvania Legislature passed a year ago. Probably no measure aiming at the betterment of public education in Pennsylvania has come up in that State during the last ten years with which he has not been identified — not obtrusively, but as an influential factor.

The city of Washington, D. C., likewise has a new superintendent of schools. He is Dr. William E. Chancellor, whose record at the head of the schools of Bloomfield and Paterson, N. J., has marked him as a leader of unusual courage and effectiveness. He is scholarly, brilliant, and tactful, and stands for everything that is best in modern pedagogy. His capacity for work is phenomenal. Last year, although he had as difficult a situation as that of Paterson to handle, he held a lectureship on school administration in the New York University School of Pedagogy, and added to his already long list of literary contributions. He is the author of a considerable number of school text-books on history, and of pedagogical and sociological treatises. His book on school administration is especially good. He has also taken an active part in the advancement of the interests of teachers, notably the better remuneration of the latter. His arguments are forcible irritants which usually gain their ends. He is still a young man, being less than forty years old, and much is expected of him.

The situation at Washington is unusually promising. Congress just before adjournment passed a bill which changes the school system of the city in several important particulars. One radical departure is the abolition of the old board and the creation of a new one through appointment by the Judges of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia. The members now serve without compensation, while heretofore they were paid \$500 a year. The salaries of the teachers have been advanced, but they are still much below the point of reasonableness. Before this the pay of the Washington teachers was notoriously poor. At present the minimum per year is \$500. It ought to be at least \$650, which is only \$12.50 a week.

The Washington system is peculiar in that the Federal Government shares with the District in equal proportions the financial support of the schools. The expectation is therefore justified that here is an opportunity for developing a model system of American common schools. If the citizens of the United States are taxed for these schools they have, theoretically at least, a right to derive some tangible benefits from them. The fact is, however, that the city, instead of using the money of the nation to double the efficiency of her schools, merely saves money by

paying only one-half of a very ordinary appropriation, and has practically less funds available for educational purposes than far less prosperous American communities. Judging from the effects of the arrangement upon the civic conscience of the city, Mr. Clark, of Missouri, was quite right when, in addressing the House, he inveighed against it as "an evil system," considering that "it deprives people of their rights or relieves them from their responsibilities as citizens." This is how he presented the case:

The state of affairs that exists in the District of Columbia to-day, right under the shadow of the dome of the Capitol, is the severest condemnation of our entire system of representative government that human ingenuity could devise. If I had my way about it, I would put the people of the District on a flat-footed equality, so far as home rule is concerned, with the rest of the communities of the United States, and they should work out their own salvation with fear and trembling. Give them back the right to vote; compel them to levy and to collect their own taxes and to disburse their own revenues. Then their ideas of economy will be much improved. Let them cease to be wards of the nation. Let them wrestle with the problems which influence their prosperity and happiness. It is not always a pleasant function to participate in public affairs, but it is a health-giving performance, nevertheless. If Congress could be induced to attend to its own business and the people of the District could be induced to attend to theirs, we should all be better off.

An equally strong argument urged against the participation of the federal Government in the local administration is supplied in Mr. Clark's reiterated assertion that "the Congress of the United States is utterly incompetent to conduct the local affairs of the District of Columbia." This incompetency was demonstrated again lately in the re-organization of the school system. There never was a finer opportunity for really great work. In the Capitol, more than anywhere else, visitors to our shores expect to find the best exemplification of our ideals of American education. With this thought in mind an act might have been framed which would have afforded the widest possible scope for the development of a model exemplification of American common-school ideals. The problem was plain and simple. Comparison with other cities would have revealed the few serious defects responsible for the ineffectiveness of the old system. There was a peculiar division of authority in educational affairs which rendered location or exercise of responsibility practically impossible. Petty personal intrigue had the fullest sway. The salaries paid to the teachers were glaringly inadequate, and no inducements whatever were held out to unusually effective workers. Congress missed the mark, though several needed improvements were made. The question was handled as if its chief intent were the creation and fortification of "jobs." The whole machinery of small log-rolling was set in motion.

The families where Senator This or Representative That had been entertained made sure that their particular friends were sufficiently "protected" in their positions. The principle of "protection" for home industries was so rigidly applied that under the new law it is next to impossible to get good teachers into the schools from outside of the city. Newcomers are required to begin with the lowest salary, no matter what their previous experience may have been. By this device the accursed system of inbreeding is continued, under which Washington schools have suffered for many years.

Nevertheless, let us be truly thankful for the gains that have been made. The old Board of Education has been legislated out of existence. The new Board, with Rear Admiral Baird as president and Professor Everman as vice-president, takes an exalted view of its responsibilities. By electing Dr. Chancellor as superintendent it has declared emphatically in favor of a progressive policy. Educational considerations are placed uppermost. Pettifogging politics and petticoat intrigues, which have in the past interfered too much with school affairs, are radically eliminated. Dr. Chancellor is himself a growing man, and stands committed to the continuous improvement of teachers in professional efficiency. The chaotic conditions existing, especially in the high-school organization, will soon be reduced to order.

The hygienic supervision of the schools will have his hearty co-operation. The school gardens and the play-ground movement will have his practical encouragement. Moral and civic training, the study of current events, the manual arts, and industrial instruction have in him an ardent champion. His broad interpretation of the common-school idea will advance at the Federal capital the extension of the schools into social centres. In all this he will have the unqualified backing of the Board and the loyal support of the best teachers. The outlook for the schools of Washington is brighter than it has been for many years. The limitations set to improvements by act of Congress can only retard, but will not hold up, the excellencies the schools might possess.

OSSIAN H. LANG.

APPLIED SCIENCE.

MATERIALS of engineering have been divided into two classes: materials of construction, and materials of consumption, the latter class including such substances as coal or other fuel, incapable of continuous and repeated use. It is beginning to be realized, however, that certain materials of construction, such as iron and steel, are really consumed in their useful applications, partly by oxidation and general disintegration, and also by being embodied in structures in which large masses of material are permanently withdrawn from possibility of future use, at least for long periods of time.

When this view of the matter is coupled with the reports of the continually increasing outputs of the iron furnaces and steel mills of the world, it will be seen that there is ground for the apprehension, recently expressed in various quarters, that the iron-ore supplies of the world are approaching calculable limitations. One naturally expects to hear reports, from time to time, as to the possible exhaustion of available coal fields; but to consider the possibility of no more new iron — or, as one investigator has put it, to realize that iron may some day become a precious metal, is, indeed, a matter for serious thought.

As examples of the rate at which the production of iron and steel is increasing, some of the figures for the United States alone may be given. Thus, in the year 1905 there were made nearly 23,000,000 tons of pig iron, as against 16,500,000 for the preceding year, a gain of nearly forty per cent. The output of steel rose from nearly 14,000,000 tons in 1904 to more than 20,000,000 tons in 1905, or more than forty per cent, and the production of steel rails showed a like proportional increase. When such figures as these are placed before the thoughtful engineer, he cannot but wonder how long such a conversion of raw material into finished products is going to last.

In studying this question the elaborate report made to the Swedish Government by Prof. Törnebohm may be taken as a basis, although the information upon which it is framed is manifestly incomplete. The estimate of Prof. Törnebohm puts the total iron-ore reserve of the world at 10,000,000,000 tons, while the present extraction and consumption is computed at 100,000,000 tons per year. This would indicate that our stock of iron ore will last us only 100 years; but, at the rate at which

the consumption is increasing, this period must be materially shortened, and Prof. Törnebohm estimates the actual future duration of the total iron-ore supply of the world as only about fifty years!

An examination of these figures, however, by experts of other countries shows that while the data for Sweden are probably accurate, the supply in other countries, notably in the United States, has been underestimated. Many large areas of low-grade iron ore have not been included, while extensive deposits in Newfoundland, Canada, Mexico, Cuba, and South America have been omitted. The possibilities in Asia and Africa have likewise been ignored, and altogether it seems as if our reliable sources of information are as yet too limited to permit any very near time to be set when iron shall become a precious metal. Nevertheless, the subject is a most important one for study and investigation, and while the duration of the supply may not yet be definitely predicted, it is altogether possible that there may be some shifting of industrial centres as the several local deposits are exhausted.

I have mentioned in these reviews the investigations which have been made in Great Britain upon the probable duration of her coal resources. One of the points made in the report of the Royal Commission was that its findings were limited to estimates of the deposits not deeper than 4,000 feet. Even this depth is greater than is now commercially worked in the British collieries, and the conditions involved in working coal seams so far below the surface are being seriously discussed. At the rate of increase indicated in the existing workings, the normal temperature of the human body would be reached at a depth of a little more than 3,000 feet, and by the time 4,000 feet is reached the heat would probably exceed 100 degrees Fahrenheit. This means that some artificial means of cooling the workings would have to be employed. A powerful ventilation would be necessary, and with it the use of liquid air or cooled compressed air, to absorb heat by its expansion. Experience in the boring of the Simplon tunnel through highly heated strata has shown what can be done in this direction, and any attempts at deep coal mining must involve similar problems.

The coal-dust problem also becomes more serious, as the temperature increases, and altogether the expense involved in the development of the deeper-lying seams will be distinctly greater than appears from the mere question of increased winding costs. Nevertheless, the coal is there, and the time is approaching when it must be mined and raised, and there can be no doubt that methods and appliances will be forthcoming as they are required.

In these reviews, in the last issue of THE FORUM, reference was made to the fact that modern engineering science was fully competent to meet such conditions as were revealed in the earthquake and fire at San Francisco. This statement may be emphasized in view of the similar disaster which overtook the city of Valparaiso and other towns in Chile on August 16. The sequence of events was about the same in one case as in the other: one or more earth tremors, wrecking the buildings of inferior construction, dislocating water mains, and breaking gas and electric connections in such a manner as to cause numerous fires. In Valparaiso, as at San Francisco, by far the greater portion of the loss was due to the fire, all of which might have been avoided had the gas and electric service been constructed to withstand earthquake action, or at least to be safely interrupted in such case.

The question of the crippling of the water supply also forms an important element of the loss in both cases; and in the light of both events it appears imperative that the protection of gas, water, and electric supply against the action of earth tremors forms one of the duties of the engineer, in certain parts of the world, at least. In the great earthquakes of the past the loss of life and property has been due mainly to the falling of buildings, or, as at Lisbon, to the action of the succeeding tidal wave. It is the effect of the earth tremors upon those appliances of modern civilization, the gas main and the live wire, which has caused earthquake to be so promptly followed by fire, and added a new and greater danger to the subterranean landslip.

As in the case of San Francisco, the rebuilding of the destroyed portions of the cities of Chile should receive the best skill of the ablest engineers, in order that the benefits due to modern scientific equipment may not be overbalanced by the potentiality of disaster introduced into localities where even slight shiftings of the earth are to be expected. Methods of construction which are entirely permissible in other parts of the world may be wholly unsuited to earthquake countries, and with the recent experiences on the Pacific coasts of both North and South America some valuable engineering lessons have been taught.

In connection with the subject of building-construction to resist damage by fire, it is interesting to note that the actual effects of fire upon a number of important varieties of building-stones are being scientifically investigated. The general behavior of different kinds of stone under the action of high temperatures has been stated many times, together with the extent to which the resistance is lowered after exposure to heat; but the results which have been observed of late show that the older data are by no means reliable. Apart from the direct

action of heat, many buildings are merely exposed to fire followed by the application of water, a treatment which weakens the material to a hitherto undetermined extent.

In some experiments recently conducted by Mr. Baldwin-Wiseman, a series of test-pieces of sandstones, limestones, and other building-stones were exposed to accurately measured temperatures in an electric resistance furnace, comparative transverse and crushing tests being made before and after heating, both with and without quenching by water. The results are most instructive, showing that many highly esteemed building-materials lose a very great proportion of their strength by exposure to heat, so that a building which might be considered quite incombustible might also be wholly ruined by exposure to fire. Apparently no general law has been deduced by which a selection of the best building-stones can be governed, but it is most desirable that any stone to be used should be subjected to scientific fire-resistance tests, so that materials inferior in this respect may be avoided, and reliable data for proportions be ascertained.

The successful manner in which the steel-cage system of building-construction resisted the action of earthquake and fire has called renewed attention to the general advantages of buildings designed upon engineering principles. At the present time plans have been made and construction partly begun in New York city alone for nineteen buildings representing a total of 401 stories, and an expenditure of thirty million dollars, or double the cost of the Simplon tunnel. Among these buildings may be mentioned especially the thirty-six story addition to the Singer Building, the twenty-five story building of the City Investing Company, with its thirty-story tower, and the additions to the Trinity Building, this latter involving the removal of Thames street to a new adjacent site.

The business quarters of New York, in spite of the northward movement of certain lines of trade, appear to be so firmly established in the lower part of Manhattan Island that the only way in which additional space can be gained is by increasing the height of the structures, a method which is being applied with skill and effect. The introduction of towers as portions of such buildings solves, to a certain extent, the difficulty otherwise appearing in the tendency of one building to "blanket" another, this form of design permitting access of light and air to the lower stories without imposing a positive limitation to the height of the remainder.

Apart from the extent to which the entire design and construction of the modern tall building constitute an engineering problem, the very existence of such structures depends upon the successful solution of other

scientific questions. Without the high-lift, high-speed elevator, whether hydraulic or electric, the tall building would be but a useless monument, gazed at from without, like the spires of some mediæval cathedral, but altogether inapplicable to the demands of modern business. It is a matter of interest, however, to note that even with the possession of the elevator the tall building, in the present sense of the term, did not come into existence until after the perfection of the telephone and the efficient telephone exchange.

The mere fact that a man may conduct his affairs, not only over his own city, but with other parts of the country, regardless of his physical distance from other men, makes it practicable for him to occupy to advantage, and with especial ease and comfort, offices many stories above the sidewalk, and descend only when it pleases him to do so.

With the tall building naturally comes the otherwise abnormal congestion of the streets of large cities with foot passengers at certain limited portions of the day. I have already discussed this question in these reviews, and called attention to the remedy which appears practicable by the provision of elevated sidewalks for pedestrians only. In certain quarters this expedient may lead to the use also of the travelling platform, but the complete separation of foot passers from vehicular traffic appears essential to any scientific solution of that congestion which must arise when the entire populations of buildings, each containing as many people as a small town, are discharged within the limits of a single hour. Certainly the benefits due to possible increase in speed of mechanically-propelled vehicles, electric cars and the like, should not be foregone because of the possible danger to pedestrians, but the necessity for providing fully and safely for both classes of traffic must be recognized.

The successful launch of the "Lusitania" brings the construction of the new high-speed turbine steamships of the Cunard Line one step further toward realization. I have already noted the great dimensions and high powering planned for this vessel and her sister ship, and it appears quite possible that they may accomplish the transatlantic passage from Queenstown to Sandy Hook within the proposed time of four days and a half. This means the maintenance of an average continuous speed of about twenty-five knots an hour, a feat to be accomplished only with such a proportion of power to displacement as to render the cost of operation too great to be practicable without the aid of a government subsidy.

The real gain either to the travelling public or to the mails by such a

moderate increase of speed at such a cost is open to serious question. Those passengers who find the ocean-crossing a matter of such discomfort as to induce them to demand the shortest possible time at sea might make the trip from land to land in almost, if not quite, as short a time by taking the northern route from Moville to Quebec; while the multiplication of cables permits the immediate transaction of all urgent business.

It seems absurd to spend excessive sums of money in the construction and operation of steamships for the mere purpose of clipping a few hours from the actual time of crossing, when so much time which might readily be saved is so heedlessly wasted at the terminals. I have spoken of this matter before, but it is one which demands interested and scientific attention. At the present time, both in steamship and railway service, nearly all effort to gain time is expended upon the most difficult and costly portion of the trip, without giving a thought to the time-saving possibilities to the passenger at the end of the run. At the present time the great steamship, taking her pilot off Sandy Hook, slackens her speed, stops at Quarantine, slowly proceeds up the river, and is laboriously and leisurely warped into her berth. The passengers are then obliged to wait for all luggage to be brought off, and are further detained until a body of customs inspectors, usually wofully inadequate in number, and absolutely indifferent to the time-limitations of the passengers, proceed to examine the trunks, bags, and bundles. This time-wasting operation over, the impedimenta must be transferred to wagons, while the passenger himself undertakes a walk of a quarter of an hour's duration to reach the place where, after a wait of indefinite length, he may consider himself to be really in the control of his own movements.

Surely we have here as fit a field for the application of scientific methods to the saving of time as exists in the addition of thousands to the horse-power of the engines, and hundreds of tons to the daily coal consumption while in mid-ocean. It ought to be possible to have all the customs inspections made on board the vessel, after which all passengers could be transferred, with a minimum of delay, to swift tugs, classified by destinations, and delivering persons and belongings directly to piers upon which waiting trains of electrically-propelled cars could receive them, leaving the great vessel to reach her pier with all the present exasperating deliberation, free from the presence of a single passenger.

The ease and facility with which this simple programme could be carried out was most clearly shown by the manner in which it was actually accomplished for the daughter of the President of the United States, a few weeks ago. So far as the cost is concerned, it requires only a simple computation to demonstrate that the necessary expenditure would be

but a fraction of that required to save the same amount of time by increasing the speed of the vessel at sea. Similar applications of scientific methods to the systematization of manufacturing and commercial operations have made all the difference between profit and loss, and it would be a simple matter for some one of the existing steamship lines to beat the new Cunarders in the effective landing of passengers in this way without adding at all to the sea speed of its vessels.

A notable example of naval construction is the new battle-ship of the British navy, the much-discussed "Dreadnought." Notwithstanding the official secrecy about the details of this latest fighting machine, the general features of the design are fairly well known. With a displacement of 18,000 tons and a speed of 21 knots, there is included an armor belt of 11 inches in thickness, and an armament of ten 12-inch guns and twenty-seven 12-pounders. The simplicity and uniformity of this armament is expected to permit a material reduction in complement, and in every detail it is believed that the maximum offensive efficiency will be attained. In appearance the "Dreadnought" is altogether different from existing battleships, the general effect being that of a magnified torpedo-boat destroyer. The heavy armament requires a corresponding beam, the dimensions being: length 520 feet; beam, 82 feet; and mean draught $26\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

It is interesting to note that even this powerful embodiment of the very latest efforts of the naval engineer and marine constructor only places Great Britain some eighteen months in advance of other naval powers. It is possible that the emergency may arise for the use of the "Dreadnought" before other and rival nations catch up, but it is again possible that this, the present "latest word" in sea fighters, may meet the tame career of many predecessors, and become obsolete without ever having had opportunity to prove her superiority. At the same time the mere existence of such a vessel and the three additional ones for which provision has been made, may tend to preserve the peace of the world as police of the seas, a service of even greater value than the actual exercise of the latent destructive capabilities of such a floating fortress.

An interesting feature in water transport appears in the completion of the latest and largest addition to the fleet of river steamboats plying on the Hudson. The "Hendrik Hudson," 400 feet in length, 82 feet wide, and yet but 7 feet 6 inches draught, costing \$1,000,000, represents the extreme development of the modern American river steamboat. With ample room for 5,000 passengers, this fine ship forms an interesting

contrast to the tiny "Clermont," Fulton's first steamboat, which, curiously enough, made its first trip between Albany and New York just ninety-nine years before. Still more curious was the fact that there was on board the "Hendrik Hudson," on her trial trip, the veteran naval engineer, Mr. Charles H. Haswell, himself born in the same year in which the "Clermont" was launched, and having more than once seen that pioneer vessel in service.

Turning to a totally different department of applied science, one of the notable events of the past three months appears in the celebration of the jubilee of the industry of the production of dye-stuffs from coal tar. It was in 1856 that Mr. William Henry Perkin first produced mauve from coal tar, and the work of this youth of nineteen has since developed into one of the most varied and important of existing industries, the manufacture of aniline colors. Fortunately Mr. Perkin has survived to receive the rewards and honors accompanying his jubilee, including the bestowal of knighthood, this and other testimonials being most appropriately presented at the British Royal Institution. With the name of Perkin must also be associated those of Hofmann and Nicholson, followed by an army of workers in England and in Germany, extracting from what was an almost worthless by-product a long series of colors, photographic chemicals, and medicinal drugs, all commercially valuable, and many of extended use in the arts and sciences.

Six months ago I referred to the important work of Birkeland and Eyde, in Norway, in the artificial production of nitrate fertilizers by the fixation of atmospheric nitrogen. Since then the works at Notodden, using the Svalgfoss hydraulic power, have been put into active operation, and in a recent address before the Faraday Society in London, Prof. Birkeland gave some positive data as to the commercial success of the process. As already described, the operation consists in the production of a powerful disc flaming electric arc, using water-cooled copper electrodes in a strong magnetic field. Air is delivered into the centre of the disc, and discharged at the periphery, the result being the combination of a portion of the oxygen and nitrogen to form nitric oxide, which, when treated with water, is converted into nitric acid. By a subsequent treatment with milk of lime a calcium nitrate is formed, this being equal, for all practical purposes, to Chile saltpetre.

Since the natural deposits of saltpetre, the essential fertilizer for the wheat crop of the world, are estimated to last for less than fifty years longer, the importance of the development of an artificial process for the manufacture of a satisfactory substitute will be understood. The results

attained at Notodden show that the calcium nitrate can be manufactured at a works cost of £4 per ton, which is about one-half the present market price.

The decision of the Senate of the United States to adopt the minority report of the Board of Consulting Engineers, means the adoption of the lock system for the Panama Canal. While this is in opposition to the views of some of the ablest hydraulic engineers of Europe who served on the Board, it has been approved by others, equally eminent in America, and has been received with general satisfaction by the public, as meaning the completion of the work in the shortest practicable time at a minimum cost. The accepted plan provides for a summit level 85 feet above tide, produced by a dam at Gatun, with three locks in flight, forming a lake of about 110 square miles in area, and ample control for the flood waters of the Chagres River; the descent being made in two stages, with one lock at Pedro Miguel and two near La Boca, with a lake at the 55-foot level between.

In accordance with the requirements of the law that the canal shall be constructed to accommodate vessels "of the largest tonnage and the greatest draught now in use, and such as may be reasonably anticipated," the locks are designed for ships 900 feet in length and 95 feet wide; that is, 100 feet longer, and 7 feet wider, than the new Cunard turbine liners "Mauritania" and "Lusitania." As a matter of fact, vessels of this class are not at all likely to traverse the canal, present commercial requirements indicating maximum lengths of 700 feet and beam of 76 feet.

The selection of the lock plan was undoubtedly due to the acceptance of the dominating influence of the Chagres River. It has been general to assume that the great difficulty of the sea-level plan lay in the immense amount of excavation it would require in the cut at Culebra. Had this been the only difficulty, it is probable that the sea-level project would have been adopted; but when it is understood that the real problem was the holding back of the entire flood waters of the Chagres, a flood of 80,000 cubic feet per second, by a dam at Gamboa, rising to a level of 180 feet above the surface of the canal, and more than a mile in length at the crest, it will be seen that the Culebra cut was a secondary matter. In the sea-level plan the accumulated flood waters of the Chagres were to have been let off gradually through sluices into the canal itself, producing at times a current as high as four feet a second. In the lock project, the waters of the flood river merge into one great lake, with ample spillways, giving unrestricted navigation for vessels of all sizes for one-third of the whole distance across the isthmus. It is believed that the experience with the locks on the Sault Sainte Marie canal, between Lake

Superior and Lake Huron, warrants the belief that the locks at Panama can be operated without material delay to navigation, the tonnage passing through the "Soo" canal now aggregating more than three times as much as that of the Suez canal.

I have mentioned more than once the enormous possibilities for power generation which exist in the waste gases discharged by blast furnaces, coke ovens, and other metallurgical furnaces. This question has been given continual attention in Germany, and much greater progress has there been made in utilizing this by-product than in other countries. In a paper recently presented by Dr. Hoffmann before the Society of German Engineers, some interesting information is given about the recent development in the adaptation of gas engines to be used with waste furnace gases. It is estimated that the so-called lean gases discharged from the blast furnaces of Germany are capable of developing one million horse-power. As a matter of fact, there are now built and under construction in Germany gas engines for this purpose aggregating 400,000 horse-power. These engines are mostly in large units, one firm alone having constructed 140 engines totalling 120,000 horse-power.

The utilization of coke-oven gases has proceeded more slowly, although the gas discharged from such ovens is of a much higher calorific value than the lean blast-furnace gas. The richer gas enables a greater power to be obtained from an engine of a given size than is possible with the poorer furnace gas, but the lean gas permits a higher degree of compression to be used without danger of premature ignition, this giving the somewhat paradoxical result that the poorer gas enables the higher thermal efficiency to be attained.

There is little doubt that the apparent reluctance on the part of iron manufacturers and metallurgists to instal great gas-power plants is largely due to the fact that the manufacture and sale of power is an altogether different business from any of the metallurgical industries, and that in many instances a power plant is dependent upon local industries which have to be built up in the vicinity. Although a portion of the power of Niagara is transmitted to Buffalo, the greater part of the output is taken by the electro-chemical and other works situated near the power house. The same plan is needed to obtain the best results from the utilization of furnace gases, since only a small proportion of the total power available is needed for driving blowing engines and other machinery about the iron works, and a profitable outlet must be provided for the remainder. To develop the million horse-power which it is estimated is now being wasted in the discharge gases of the British metallurgical industries might well be the work of an altogether separate com-

mmercial organization, having as its object the promotion of new industries dependent for their success upon cheap power, and, by thus providing an ample market for the energy saved from waste, enable a double advantage to be gained.

In connection with this subject of gas power it may be noted that the gas turbine still continues to be a question for discussion. Apart from various academic studies as to the efficiency of free expansion in nozzles, such as have been made by Dr. Lucke, there has been some important experimental work carried on. Dr. Lucke himself has conducted a series of experiments upon a De Laval steam turbine driven by compressed air instead of steam, the results tending to confirm his theoretical deductions.

At the same time M. Réné Armengaud and his associates in Paris have made excellent progress with the type of mixed gas and steam turbine to which I have already referred in these pages. By using liquid hydrocarbon fuel burned in a constant-pressure generator fitted with a water jacket, delivering the steam from the jacket with the products of combustion upon the turbine wheel, the working temperatures have been kept within practicable limits, while maintaining a fair efficiency. The great difficulty, that of a rotary pressure blower suitable for use with such a machine, appears to have been overcome by the multicellular blower especially designed by M. Rateau for this work. Since this apparatus is even now undergoing practical tests it is too soon to make any positive statements, but there is no doubt that M. Armengaud and his colleagues have made much greater progress than any other investigators of the gas-turbine problem, and that they have an actual working machine in operation which bids fair to have a commercial as well as a technical future.

The work of the engineer and that of the physicist is becoming more and more closely associated. Thus, the microscopic study of the physical constitution of alloys has led to altogether new ideas concerning the properties of metals. Progress is being made in the direction of knowledge about the wonderful alloy of iron and carbon which we call steel, and the fact that the physical arrangement of the internal structure has as much to do with its properties as its chemical composition is now well understood.

In his recent address before the engineering section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Prof. Ewing carried this relation between the physical constitution of metals and the engineering properties as materials of construction still further. It is well known

that when a material is subjected to a stress within a certain limit no permanent injury is done, and such a stress may be applied repeatedly, as in the case of a train passing over a bridge, with continued safety. When, however, this limit is exceeded, the material is overstrained and does not return to its original condition, but is permanently weakened. Just what actually occurs in such cases has not been fully determined. Engineers are generally content to say that the elastic limit has been passed, and to insist that structures should be so proportioned that this does not occur, without paying much attention to the internal transformation which has taken place.

Prof. Ewing shows that microscopic studies of materials under such action exhibit alterations in crystalline structure. The crystal grains slip on each other and the strain persists when the stress exceeds the limit of elasticity, and the structure of the material is so altered that it can no longer be considered reliable. The question of crystalline polarity appears to enter into this action, explaining the manner in which particles rearrange themselves with rest. There are many things to be learned by the engineer about his materials, by applying the methods of the physicist, and the use of such methods is daily extending.

In determining the elastic limit of a metal, that point at which the yield ceases to be proportional to the load, there has been a lack of precise and yet practical methods. The observation of the load in the testing machine at the moment of the drop of the beam is often employed in the shop, but it is recognized as being only an approximation. A later method recently applied in France, really takes into account the fact that the crystalline structure is altered by excessive stress, this method depending upon the change in the electrical resistance of a metal when strain occurs. If a test piece is insulated in the testing machine and so arranged that a current of electricity flows through it, the flow of current will change as the load is applied. A recording galvanometer will show a curve corresponding to the stress which is applied to the piece in the testing machine. At the moment when the elastic limit is passed there is formed a sharp jog in the curve, which then rapidly changes its curvature, and the elastic limit is thus indicated with a degree of precision not otherwise attainable.

Such methods as these, applied to the study of every-day materials of construction, may be accepted as indications of the extent to which the most refined processes of the physical laboratory are being used by the engineer to give him fuller control over his appliances.

As indicated in the last preceding of these reviews, the passage of the bill relieving alcohol from revenue taxation when so denatured as

to render impossible its use as an intoxicating beverage is attracting much attention to the possibilities of the new fuel in the United States. The precise working of the new law cannot be predicted until the rules under which it is to be enforced are made public, but it is only proper to correct some misapprehensions upon the subject. Some engineers have made careful computations as to the relative costs of gasoline and of alcohol, based upon the theoretical heating values of the two fuels and their corresponding market prices. This is a rather difficult matter to calculate, because the actual cost of manufacturing alcohol under the new conditions cannot be safely predicted. It appears, however, that upon the assumption that the efficiencies of the two fuels is proportional to their calorific power, ninety-per-cent alcohol must be sold at twelve cents per gallon to give the same power-cost as gasoline at fifteen cents. It must be remembered, however, that the demand for a suitable liquid fuel for motors is continually increasing, so that there is every reason to believe that the price of gasoline will rise.

It is well known that ordinary automobile engines can be run on alcohol without any change whatever, and a machine may be brought home with alcohol if gasoline is not to be had. At the same time, the best results are obtained when the engine is especially arranged for the new fuel, and this may readily be done. Alcohol will stand a much higher degree of compression without pre-ignition than gasoline, and this higher compression, as is well known, gives a better efficiency of performance and a cleaner combustion. By reducing the proportion of clearance space the compression may be correspondingly increased, and the engine thus adapted for alcohol vapor.

Since alcohol is less volatile than gasoline, a modification is desirable in the construction of the carburetter or vaporizer in which the liquid is converted into gaseous fuel for the engine. The best results are obtained by arranging the carburetter so that the hot exhaust gases from the engine pass around the vaporizer, this heat readily making up for the less volatile nature of the fuel.

The United States Department of Agriculture has already started an investigation into the best conditions for the use of alcohol fuel in small engines, and by the first of the coming year, when the new law goes into effect, there will doubtless be ample data available for practical use.

At the time of the first commercial production of liquid air, several years ago, a number of untenable claims were made as to its practical applications. As I have already noted, one of the most valuable uses to which the liquefaction of air has been put is that of the subsequent

separation of the oxygen and nitrogen by fractional distillation and rectification. The possession of such a substance as liquid air, however, has proved of much value in the study of the behavior of various materials at low temperatures. It is generally assumed, for instance, that at very low temperatures metals become brittle and even fragile, and in numerous cases the breaking of steel rails in winter weather has been attributed to this cause. By the use of a bath of liquid air it has been found practicable to test various metals and alloys at temperatures as low as -180° C.; and this has led to the discovery that while many steels have their tensile strength increased, their ductility lowered, and their brittleness raised at low temperatures, this is not always the case.

Mr. Hadfield has shown that a nickel-manganese steel can be made which will be as tough, if not tougher, at 180° C. below zero than it is at ordinary atmospheric temperatures, and this too without material change in the tensile strength. Liquid air has also been used for quenching specimens after tempering, and some instructive information has been obtained about the processes of hardening in this way. The much-heralded liquid is thus becoming useful in ways not considered by its original exploiters, and will doubtless find increasing applications of similar nature.

Some time ago reference was made to the fact that little progress could be expected in aeronautics by ordinary experimenting with dirigible balloons, the gas bag necessarily exposing so much more surface to the wind than the propellers as to render the control of the machine a doubtful matter, except in light weather. The suggestion was made, however, that much valuable information might be obtained by using a dirigible balloon as a supporter for an aeroplane, this enabling practical experience in balancing and control to be acquired with safety, after which the support could be gradually relieved until the new machine should be able to go it alone.

It is interesting to note that this plan has been adopted by M. Santos-Dumont in his latest apparatus, the gas bag having been abandoned in favor of the aeroplane, except that a small gas bag is used as a supporter in the preliminary experiments. The aeroplane has a supporting area of 861 square feet, and, with the occupant, weighs 463 pounds, this being the total weight to be supported. The 24 horse-power engine weighs only 2.64 pounds per horse-power.

HENRY HARRISON SUPLEE.

THE RELATION OF EDUCATION TO GOOD GOVERNMENT.

THE increase in the number of men of university training in the United States and in Germany during the last thirty years has been pointed out as one of the most remarkable facts of our epoch. Higher education has adjusted itself to the needs of our modern life, and the demand for university education is more earnest in both these countries than anywhere else, and has become far more general. Our people at large have awakened to the one thing needful for national success—the growth of a truly scientific spirit in the conduct of affairs, from the smallest industry to the administration of the State itself. Take as an example the planning of the structure of a business. We recognize this as the task of an expert, and we entrust it to a scientific specialist whose duty it is to coördinate all the departments and guard against any waste of energy or leakage of power in the great organism, which differs as widely from the old empirical type as the modern turbine steamship from the ancient sailing-vessel. Economy is the key to success in sharp, merciless modern trade competition. The cheapest and best producer is bound to take the lead.

In Germany, the scientific spirit has penetrated into every branch of business, into every factory. Empirical systems which have not adapted themselves to the changes have one by one gone to the wall. It has become a frequent saying that the German university professor is the father of modern German industry. This is true to the word. He has harnessed science to industry and has brought Teuton energy, enterprise, and perseverance to its fullest development. Compare the statistics of German industry and trade before and after the university professor devoted his brains to the solution of practical problems. They speak more clearly than words. The modern business man himself has become a scientist, because he discovered that neither energy nor perseverance nor push can ever replace science and thus allow the continuation of more or less empirical methods.

In visiting American plants and factories and studying American industrial enterprises in other countries, I have been struck by the rôle college men are now playing in this field. The provision made by leading manufacturing concerns for receiving college graduates as "student apprentices" is the clearest indication of the change of feeling. The

more science progresses, the more will the college man be needed in all engineering industries, and especially in railway engineering. We are approaching the time when no railway repair or locomotive shop can work without university men. Still one hears from time to time ridicule expressed that the modern university claims to teach boys how to build dynamos or make typewriting machines or pianos. No universities ever advanced such a claim, because this has nothing to do with their functions. Their aims are higher. Such institutions as the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the École Polytechnique of Paris, the University of Tokio, and the technical high schools of Germany are not manual training schools. They are founded to educate the professional engineers, the officers of the vast industrial armies. These, like their comrades in the fighting armies, who must know how to groom or shoe a horse or to clean a rifle and pack a saddle, must become familiar with the materials and processes of their profession. Hence they are put through a certain amount of shopwork in the engineering schools. The fact that a graduate of one of these schools is able to go to work in a locomotive shop or in a foundry is merely an incident of his training. He is not trained to work there, but to use his brains constantly to improve on the work.

Another great step forward in our modern education is the establishment of systematic university courses in commerce and finance, like those in the universities of Illinois and Wisconsin, and like Germany possesses in her High School of Commerce (*Handelshochschule*) at Leipzig. The new degree, "Bachelor of Commerce," shows the honor commerce to-day bestows upon science, and that the technique of commerce has been placed on a par with the old classical education.

On the face of it, it may perhaps appear to the student that he has been acquiring knowledge which has a definite and realizable value, because it will help him to make a career for himself, and gain sustenance for family and belongings. But the ultimate justification of the educational system, culminating as it does in the degrees of the American universities, is that the character of the individual student shall thereby be moulded into a higher moral and intellectual type. If this ideal be reached, the student becomes not only a better pleader, doctor, journalist, or public official, or whatever his future career may be, but he becomes also a finer specimen of man and a truer citizen, exercising a healthy influence on his environment. He inspires others with his example. He elevates and purifies the tone of the society to which he belongs, thus upholding and strengthening the great American ideal and the cornerstone of liberty: the Government of the people, by the people, for the people. "A square deal for every man, no less, no more."

The most scientific life of our present day demands its fulfilment in the inspiration of idealism. There is no conflict between knowledge and duty, between university scholarship and devoted belief in the higher obligations of our life. Whatever we may learn may be useful for the comfort of our life; but the highest fact we can learn is the most certain and most important fact that our life is not for comfort's sake, that our life has its meanings and above all its duties to others.

Last winter a movement was initiated by some high-minded college men which may have consequences of world-wide benefit. The object of this movement was to bring American college men closer together and to inspire them to greater activity in developing a better national life. Never before has not only America but every nation been confronted with such vast and intricate social problems as at this time. Never before was offered to the college man a grander opportunity to discharge his obligations to his country. This movement ought to arouse him to a realization of his larger responsibilities on account of his superior possessions. The days have passed when college men could, without much apparent harm, neglect this duty toward their Government. Now the opportunity is offered to them to consider not only their relationship to the Government, but methods of education as well, of which in a certain sense they are trustees.

It has frequently struck me in listening to impressions received in America by foreign travellers that the American in his deepest nature is a realist who strives for power and wealth and outer comfort; that the object of his life is to pile up the mighty dollar. People who speak thus seem to me blind to everything which lies below the surface. They seem to have studied the mills and factories of the industrial centres and to have neglected to read or understand the character of the American man or woman. They seem to have been bewildered by those outer symptoms which necessarily accompany the opening of a new land with great material resources, and to have been unable to fathom the real meaning and purpose of those energies which are active in the American people. Since my first arrival in America I have held that the real spirit is idealistic and that the average individual American is controlled by idealistic impulses. Those who may contradict me cannot have sounded the depths of the philosophy of Ralph Waldo Emerson, or studied the life and read the speeches of Abraham Lincoln, and considered their far-reaching effect on the American people. In Lincoln's great character nothing can be more striking than the way in which he combined reality and the loftiest ideal, with a thoroughly practical capacity to achieve that ideal by practical methods. This faculty seemed to give him a far-sighted, almost superhuman vision, which enabled him to pierce the

clouds obscuring the sight of the keenest statesmen and thinkers of his age.

How could it be otherwise that a people who have produced such men as Emerson and Lincoln should not be unselfish, helpful, and enthusiastic for ideal values; that they should not be followers in the religious paths of their forefathers, and be conservative? Such a people will always be moved to action more easily by feelings than by calculations, by emotional inspiration than by selfish practical expectations. Ask any outsider to name the two most sincere representatives of true Americanism. If he knows the American people he will tell you Lincoln and Emerson. Emerson made the heart of the New World beat in Concord, and its impulses have penetrated into every limb of the body of this vast republic. Idealism has done and is doing more for the happiness of the people than cold logic could ever have hoped to accomplish. In every true American the idealistic tendencies of these two great souls are active.

The aim of all men and women whose philosophy amounts to anything has been and will be the same: the helpful, uplifting idea. One of the greatest gifts man has received from God is the opportunity to help his brethren. The best of them at times will need a helping hand. But in helping or in asking for help each man must work for himself, and unless he so works no outside help can avail him. To be permanently effective, aid must always take the form of helping a man to help himself. Whoever submits to be carried does not deserve any help. Since the human race has existed, the happiness resulting from helping one's neighbors, strange to say, rarely has been discovered, and generations have come and gone who have searched for happiness in riches, pleasures, and hollow social success.

Goéthe tells us of this in his tragedy, "Faust." The scholar Faust, tired with the narrowness of his life, meets the Devil, who seeks an opportunity to gain Faust's soul for hell. The Devil offers to give Faust every beautiful thing on earth which he may desire, promising him thus the fullest satisfaction and happiness. If the Devil succeeds the soul of Faust is to be his reward. The bargain is struck. The first act of the Devil is to take Faust to a wine cellar where students waste their nights in drinking. But this disgusts Faust, and Mephisto has to try another temptation. He chooses love. Faust adores Gretchen. Though he enjoys the charms of his days of love, he fails to find with her that achievement of all desires which was promised to him. Hence he leaves Gretchen, and the tempter brings him to the Court of a mighty emperor in the hope that Faust then will realize his ambitions. He experiences excitement and emotion, but these and the splendor of the Court do not satisfy him and he longs for another change. He plunges into the

study of classic art, and the beauty of the antique life fascinates him for awhile. But this merely æsthetical enjoyment cannot hold his mind. He asks Mephisto to help him to great wealth and power. Assisted by his tempter he becomes a famous general, aids an emperor to victories in war, and receives vast territories as reward. But even these possessions cannot make him happy. Wealth and power alone cannot satisfy him. The more land he has the more he wants, and it is that which he does not possess that he longs for the most. One day Faust passes the humble but happy hut of a poor farmer and desires it. To satisfy him the Devil kills the poor farmer and burns his property. This, however, only renders Faust still more unhappy. In the mean time he has become an old, care-worn man with waning eyesight.

His mind is suddenly opened. He learns that through all his life he has sought merely enjoyment in the riches and the pleasures of this world. He now resolves to help others before death carries him away, and to do something not for personal enjoyment, but for that which his feeling of duty demands. In his domain there is a wide swampy morass, generating fever and disease and destroying hundreds of lives every year.

He resolves to devote all his energy to clearing the swamp and to turn it into a healthy abode for the poor. He finds in this work the thrill of true happiness and he lies down to die. The Devil claims Faust's soul because Faust had found real happiness and satisfaction. But God's angels descend from heaven, and while the Devil is trying to grasp Faust's soul, the angels ascend with it to God. The Devil lost because the contract had not been fulfilled. Faust did not find true happiness by any gift from Mephisto, but by his own unselfish efforts in helping others.

Nothing has been proved to the world more emphatically than the fact that it is only by idealistic action and by the will to do our duty that we can ever expect to gain real satisfaction and happiness. This truth is as old as the human race, and we find it embodied in all the teachings of the great leaders and thinkers of Asia: Buddha, Confucius, Mencius, Laotze, and Kang-Hi, China's most renowned ruler. The great leaders of the middle ages and of modern days, who have elevated humanity, closely followed the paths of the ancients.

During the time of Kang-Hi there ruled, in the West, Frederick the Great, the Hohenzollern soldier, teacher, thinker, and philosopher, who laid the foundation of Germany. It is highly interesting to notice how these two powerful leaders of men, having not the slightest spiritual contact, separated by thousands of miles of at that time mostly unknown lands, preached the same doctrines and laid down the same maxims of Government which can be summed up in the principle: Help the people.

During those days it had become almost a law for rulers to maintain their sovereignty by crooked means, by treachery, and by violence. Machiavelli was the chief originator and promoter of this policy, and the advice he gave to the diplomat was on the same lines. In America, George Washington developed the new school of diplomacy which put an end to those crooked dealings between foreign representatives and the government they were accredited to. In our days of enlightenment, this immoral system in every case is bound to fail and to dishonor the man who is shortsighted enough to practise it.

In Germany, it was Frederick the Great who attacked and wiped out this pernicious school as far as his country was concerned. When Crown Prince of Prussia, shortly before he ascended the throne, Frederick wrote his famous treatise entitled "Anti-Machiavelli." He condemned the books of Machiavelli not only as immoral, but as absolutely wrong, selfish, and dangerous. He expressed his own view that the ruler of a country could only maintain himself by serving the people with ability and absolute honesty. Government all countries need, Frederick points out, "and so long as a ruler will do his duty, his people will need him and will be grateful for the service he gives." A striking contrast with the Latin notion, "*L'État c'est moi*," Frederick's maxim was that a ruler is, and should consider himself, "the first servant of his people."

At that time the statesmen of Europe smiled at the ingenuousness of the "fantastic idealist," as they called Frederick; but this mighty man soon proved to them by deeds that his maxims were vastly superior to the crooked means and intricate evils of the old diplomacy. On Frederick's maxims rests the strength of modern Germany, and before them crumbled the great armies of Europe led against the dauntless young Hohenzollern.

BARON SPECK VON STERNBURG.

THE UNIVERSITY PRESIDENT.

IF one is disposed to make comparison between captains of commerce and industry and those to whom is entrusted the charge of our great universities, it may be well to consider the work imposed on the presidents of a dozen or more of our leading institutions. Bring together a plant whose value vies with that of the largest department store or of a great manufactory, a faculty sufficient to people a village, a student body equal to the population of a small city — people of varying tastes and strong convictions, their likes and dislikes made more emphatic by their training, each seeing in his views and aspirations the salvation of all, and each assured of the correctness of his views — and a problem is created to tax the most astute mind.

The modern university president is a recent figure. The multiplying of interests diverse in character, the increasing number of officers and students, the peculiar and intensely individualized type of present-day academic life, and the claims, often conflicting, of patrons and benefactors call for the largest tact and wisdom.

Higher education is making wonderful provision these days in all branches of learning. The engineer complained that he was overlooked and technical schools sprang up in every city. The artist found himself neglected, and immediately art institutes were planned and erected. The agriculturist is provided for; of schools of commerce there are now many in this country. Civil service has made special preparation essential to the holding of public office.

But for the university presidency there can be no apprenticeship; and if there could be, how many would be selected in this way? A favorite professor, a public man who has given some evidence of leadership, a clergyman who has raised a church debt or been a favorite pulpit orator, or, last, but not least, someone who has a friend at court — such are a few of the elements that determine a choice. Capable as such men may be they must learn, and while other institutions are advancing, here is one that must be to a greater or less degree acephalous while the new head is committing his lines. Occasionally, it is true, a man is chosen to a responsible position in the administration of the affairs of a corporation not because of special preparation for that particular line of work, but for the reason that his reputation, already established,

brings to his new field added dignity and credit. But, as a rule, a church seeking a pastor, a manufactory seeking a head, school boards, and business firms generally, ask for experience and for ability already tested and approved. Experience is the better part of preparation, to-day, in profession and in trade. The university or college president, however, must serve his apprenticeship after the burden has begun to weigh down — anxious experiment is the price of skill.

As in everything else a prime requisite is finance. The day is rapidly passing when basket collections are adequate to the building up of a strong university or even of a college. The savings of poor men may be hallowed by heroic sacrifice, as when a few clergymen met to give of their scant store to found what was to be Harvard University, or again when small gifts but biting sacrifice prepared the way for Yale. To-day Harvard's endowment amounts to \$18,000,000, that of Chicago \$20,000,-000, and that of Leland Stanford is possibly twice as much. The annual budgets of at least four of our American universities have passed the million-dollar mark, and the annual expenditure of a dozen others amounts to half that sum. Such figures tell more graphically than words of the grave responsibilities that devolve upon a university head. Money is a prime essential: sinews of war must be had. Hence, whether persuading individuals or legislatures, the financial end of the enterprise must ever be one for a successful president to meet and grapple with.

Fifteen years ago a band of men decided to found a university in the open fields on the south side of Chicago. Behind them was failure, honorable, but humiliating. Some may say that the millions of a benefactor made success easy; but it required the genius of leadership to interest the donor, and the first million had to be raised before other friends could be secured. The great metropolis had much civic pride, but it required more than a "Go to, let us build," to move it. President Harper was a dreamer who amazed by the vastness of his plans, but he could conjure brains to his side and money to his aid — he achieved the impossible. When he first mentioned \$50,000,000 as the endowment to be secured, educators East and West quietly smiled, and cartoonists made merry. But while men mused the fire burned, and ere a quarter of a century had passed the vision was proven a reality.

It requires master skill to bring cool, calculating business men to see the overwhelming needs of education. Enlarging a store or factory and adding to barns and stock are all good enough — the results can be computed in coin of the realm. But to see the wisdom of enlarging educational plants is quite apart. Brains cannot be weighed or computed in terms of cash. Hence the enlargement of brain power is too often looked upon as a desirable luxury. But the most practical thing in the

world is brains; and the successful president must burn this fact into the minds of his clients, and work up such an enthusiasm among his constituency as shall become a lust for giving.

Another quality of the successful administrative officer is the power to organize. Given certain elements, he must so combine them as to produce the most potent results. Committees must be so appointed as to bring together men harmonious but of varied powers. One man is wise to plan, another is a better executive. The forte of one is finance; of another, system; of still another, publicity. Organization must ever be planned for the largest development and realization of resources.

The president, to be successful, must be aggressive. Where he bivouacs to-day the world must tent to-morrow. Again, he must not become a worshipper of his own methods. When a plan has wrought its purpose, it must give way to something else, and the change must be so accomplished that the departure of the old and the incoming of the new may not be noticed. If one plan fail, another must be at hand to take its place. The executive must be resourceful — must foresee the remedy before the difficulty occurs. Plans must be tested ere the public is aware. Publicity must follow approval, lest the head of the institution come to be regarded as a vain dreamer. Furthermore, he must know how to bring men together in conference and how to sift out the practical element in each suggestion offered; and he must be able to combine these gleanings and round them out into a system.

The president must be alert, able to discern, ready to realize, and capable to create, if need be, an opportunity. With the shrewdness of a business man, he must not only have the power to recognize an opening when it occurs, but he must have things so in hand that he may launch into that opening the solid phalanx of the entire institution before some other man shall see and precede him. This is one secret of the phenomenal success of several of our American universities. Claims are to be seized as soon as opened, and worked to their utmost limits.

But, withal, the president must be preëminently sane. Possessed of a judicial mind, he must be able to weigh conflicting interests, to prove novelties, to detect dross, and to sift out that which is worthy. It is human to err, but it is also too often fatal. Especially must the executive guard his utterance, so that even the searching pen of the critic or caricaturist may not have just occasion for bringing reproach on the institution he represents. The chief executive of a great university plays a large part in shaping public opinion. The pronouncements of such men as Eliot, Gilman, Angell, James, Jordan, and others of their class are eagerly looked for on important issues, even by those who are

readiest to criticise them. On the eve of a great event, the press will spare no expense to secure a consensus of presidential judgments.

The president must be a man of scholarly tastes. He must detect the charlatan and pick out the scholar, and this not only in his own line of study, but in others as well. He must be able to weigh up and estimate his man. True, he will have advisers; but here again he must beware that he give not his ear to Ahitophel. Many-sided, the ideal president will know how to sympathize with men in every department; yet he must deprive himself of apparent intimacies, lest there seem to be ground for charges of biased judgment. He must, however, be a mixer. The world is a social conglomerate. The wishes of all must be in a measure regarded; men of varying tastes and beliefs must be persuaded to fall into line; obstructions must be removed, and those who hinder must be induced to help.

There is need of poise. It is most natural to be human, and it is human to have preferences and prejudices. The president's ear is constantly dinned by importunate voices. Unless one is on guard, the heart comes to lean in one direction or another; a coterie of favorites grows up; a ring is formed; and the university becomes a machine. The president must not permit personal friendships to enter into the regulation of the institution, nor should anything but personal worth suggest or dictate appointment to any office or station.

The men under the direction of the head of the institution are to be gradually sorted into place, so that their several talents may have fullest play. It takes time and skill to secure orientation for each member of an academic community. Furthermore, in the best of communities arise bickerings and jealousies, misunderstandings and fears. To rise above these, to keep the mind free and unbiassed, to cultivate among his colleagues the spirit that sinks personal feelings in the common good,—this is a herculean, ever-present, often thankless task for a chief executive. The university president must absolutely refuse to be lined up by any clique or party.

The president must be a prophet. With the eye of a seer, he must divine the needs and aspirations of the future and make provision therefor. Often a president comes to his office with an injunction to "shake things up." Even the schools fall into ruts,—and of all ruts the academic are the deepest and most fatal. To blaze a way for the many departments of the modern school calls for the fullest exercise of the most cosmopolitan mind.

The supreme test of presidential fitness is personality. Many minds in council may frame an institution's policy; the executive head must carry it through. For the time it is his policy, and he is its spokesman.

A weakling here must fail, while the man of force so inspires the academic world with his will and purpose that an "ipse dixit" removes occasion for doubt or hesitation. A college knows its master. With all variance and boasted independence, the university body lends itself to control; and the strong, virile personality at the head can so impress his co-workers that all will follow, unconscious of the fact that they are doing another's will. A policy once framed must be carried out; advisers again become subordinates. Such men as Adams, Pepper, Gregory, McCosh, Finney, and others stamped themselves on the institutions they served — not as despots, but as mighty men born to preside over the destinies of their fellows.

WALLACE N. STEARNS.

THE BIRTH OF THE NEW NIPPON.

IN those latter days of the sword and the Shoguns, in the classic quiet of the Kioto palaces, his Majesty the Emperor of Nippon was as charming as he was futile, and as useless as a poet.

In name, and in name alone, the Shogun was his military chieftain. Master of all the three hundred clans of the feudal Nippon, the Shogun was in fact at the head of the administration. The army was his; and into his treasury flowed the revenues of the entire empire. In foreign affairs, also, his was the master sceptre. Naturally, you would ask: If the actual powers of the state, both military and civil, were in the hands of the Shogun, for what fanciful and amiable reason should he take the trouble of maintaining the fiction of the Imperial Court at Kioto? What unheard-of modesty prevented him from ascending himself the throne of the Emperor? The reason of it all was this: His Majesty the Emperor having turned over the power of temporal government into the hands of the Shogun, his regent, he continued, nevertheless, to be the sovereign of our imagination, of our traditional rites, and of our devotion. Ancient chronicles told us that he was the Son of Heaven: in the heart of his people he was sacred. If, indeed, he was somewhat of an abstraction, his Majesty was not a whit less substantial than another great viewless sovereign called Ideal. In fine, our Emperor was our national ideal in flesh and blood; he was the state. And the chief distinction between the genius of the Eastern civilization and that of the West lies in this: With you, the individual is the hub of the universe — even charity begins at home with you; while with us of the East, it is the whole, the state, not the individual, that we emphasize. An individual is nothing; the state, the whole, is everything. We sacrifice thousands of individuals, we sacrifice our children and our wives upon the altar of national honor, without hesitation, without regret.

It is this conception of the whole, the state, as sacred to us as God, that his Majesty the Emperor incarnates. Hence his transcendent power and worth, his almost limitless sway over our hearts. The Shogunate did not dare, even in all the madness and folly which marked the black days of half a century ago, to lift its mailed hands against the sacred dignity of the Kioto Court. All that the Shogunate wished,

therefore, was to overwhelm the Imperial Court with the weight of its own sense of dignity, to keep its thoughts completely occupied with the entertainment of the gods, with flowers and poetry, and to repeat, forever and a day, the threadbare protestation that the affairs of the "floating world" of human vanity and worries were utterly below the dignity of his Sacred Majesty and his Court! It came to pass, in truth, that the choicest of the diplomatic talents of the Shogun's court at Yedo were devoted, through the sheer eloquence of politeness, to the annihilation of the Kioto Court in regard to the realm of practical politics. All this was in the days of Old Nippon. And in the downfall of the Shogunate, and the restoration of the administrative functions to his Majesty the Emperor, you can find the cradle of the New.

That we may the better understand the story of the birth of the New Nippon, let us steal a glance at the Nippon of the middle of the nineteenth century. Feudalism had called into flower in Nippon a race of strong men called "Samurai." It would be a careless rendering, indeed, to call these men a soldier class, a class of the military caste; for not only the sword, but the brains of the nation as well, were with this race of men. Like the middle class of England, they were the backbone of the land. And out from among them came the prophets, the martyrs, and the authors of the New Nippon. As in all critical hours of a people — 'tis the same old story, East and West — a comparatively small number of men stand at the helm. Not many shine with the distinction of being the brains of the time. Nevertheless, at their backs stand the mass of the people. What the Samurai read, thought, dreamed, and talked about filtered naturally and with ease down to the people. The Samurai led, but the people responded to their appeals, and lost no time in reading the signs of the times after them.

Of the many causes which wove the cradle for the New Nippon, and brought about the downfall of the Shogunate as well as the restoration of the Imperial House to power, there were four more important than the rest: (1) The activities of the pro-Imperialistic party, under the leadership of two great clans of the south, called Satsuma and Choshu, and of Mito in the north; (2) the revival of the study of the ancient Chinese classics and the classics of our own land; (3) the publication of two great histories, called *Dai-Nihon-Shi* and *Nihon Gaishi*; and (4) the Treaty of Shimoda. And, then, there were two men who shone like two suns, around whom the men and events of the dawn hour of the new day for Nippon revolved. One was Rekko, Prince of Mito, and the other was Shimazu Nariakira, Prince of Satsuma.

Satsuma and Choshu, champions of the Imperial cause. In the opening years of the seventeenth century was fought the battle of Sekigahara:

it was the Waterloo of the feudal Nippon. The victor, Tokugawa Ieyasu, unified the hostile clans under a central military court at Yedo and founded the Shogunate. Among the many lords of clans whom he defeated on the historic field of Sekigahara were those of Choshu and of Satsuma. Defeat did not sit upon the clansmen of Satsuma and Choshu like a silken garment. Very sensitive, always, of honor, they could not for a moment forget their dishonor. They knew how to wait. Two centuries and a half of piping peace followed the battle of Sekigahara. Adversity, which makes the weak strong, made stronger the two great clans of the south. Their faith in the coming of the sweet hour of revenge was not a house built upon the sands. At Yedo, the men of the Shogunate, the children of the sturdy victors of Sekigahara, permitted silk, sake, and women to moth-eat the fibre that was within their marrow. Their swords, now merely objects of art, mere articles of toilet and of ornament, slept, if not rusted in their gold and lacquered scabbards. The same conqueror who had years and years before wiped out Athens and the might of Rome came and made his home in the Shogun's castle city of Yedo. This was unfortunate; for the Shogunate, it was a catastrophe. The Shogun ruled not through love, but through the sword only. As you see, then, the two formidable clans of Satsuma and of Choshu were not, after all, the most formidable foes of the Shogun; the enemy was within. The rich brocade in the Yedo Castle of the days of the Genroku period, its songs and its books, its banquets, the star-sparkles which lighted the fading hours of night in the eyes of its fair and soulless women, its artists, and its tellers of tales — these were the prophets in the padded wilderness crying of the fall of Yedo and of the Shogun.

The study of the native and the Chinese classics. Peace, which had put a fool's cap of brocade upon the children of the victors of the battle of Sekigahara, and translated them into so many bearded old maids, ushered into the centre of the world's stage the scholar. Even as swords rusted in silken cases, the gentler graces of life came to flower. The revival of the study of the ancient classics of China, especially in the books of Confucius and Mencius, marked the goodly days. The influence of the teachings of Confucius upon the men and the time was greater than one can fancy. And this is the reason: Confucius was much more than a mere philosopher. He was even a greater statesman than he was a philosopher or a teacher of ethics. He did not dream, but was wont to philosophize upon the facts of history. His books were the text-books for kings to read in. The great teacher came into the world in the declining days of the famous period of China called Chau. His country was in the black sway of ever-warring swords. Naturally,

the all-dominating note of his political gospel was loyalty to the one Sovereign. He preached the unity of states under one central government. The old Nippon under the Shogun was nothing more or less than a second edition of the China of the days of Confucius. Now, the pharisees, upon whose devoted heads he heaped the live coals of his at once withering and lightning-like anathemas, were the military chieftains who had usurped the actual power of government from the rightful ruler.

And, pray, between the military usurpers of the days of Confucius and the Shogun, was there a difference? If so, one had to use a powerful magnifying glass to discern it. It came to pass, therefore, that the words of the Great Teacher of China, spoken twenty centuries ago, fell upon the ears of the young Samurai of the middle of the last century as the words of a living prophet, eloquent as those of a living Isaiah. Indeed, it was as if the sainted shadow of the sage had suddenly risen in front of those young Samurai in the closing days of the Shogunate and had said to them:

You have raised many a shrine to my memory, as they on the other side of the Yellow Sea have done. In your halls of learning, the learned among you open my books often enough. But look at the state of things in your midst. Behold the magnificent insolence of the Shogun toward his Imperial master—and it is to his Majesty, and to him alone, that your homage is due. Like so many other people, and as in other ages, you are willing to see the wisdom of my teachings. You do not dislike to read my pages in your schools, but never do you translate my words into your daily life.

That was the pentecostal day of the New Nippon, and upon the young Samurai of Nippon fell the baptism of cloven tongues like as of fire.

Besides the Chinese school, there was in the country in those days another camp of scholarship. It was opposed to the Chinese school. It emphasized the study of the native classics of Nippon, and not those of China. And these two camps of scholarship, which were always at war one against the other, did, nevertheless, work together for one and the same end, namely, the restoration of the Emperor to actual power. And it was brought about after the following manner:

The only books in which one could study the native classics of Nippon were the scriptures of the Shinto cult—the only cult native to the soil of Nippon. And the revival in the study of the native classics very naturally blossomed into the revival of Shintoism. Now, Shintoism is a Hellenic mythology in the charming garb of the Far Eastern poetry, with this striking difference, however, that the gods in our mythology called Shintoism are largely the ancestors of the Imperial family. The revival of Shintoism drove into the imagination of the men and the time

a strong conviction of the divine origin of the Imperial House, of its god-given right of sovereignty over the land. This conviction gave a bright, flame-like background against which was etched the black and overshadowing nightmare of the usurping Shogun. So it came to pass that these two camps of scholarship, in spite of their constant "courtesy of the sword," labored to bring about the identical result, namely, to crown as the cardinal virtue devotion to the Imperial House—a devotion so absolute and all-commanding that it would not tolerate even the existence of a Shogun.

The publication of two histories. "Dai-Nihon-Shi" is a history quite as great as its title—the "Great History of Nippon." Mitsukuni, Prince of Mito, was its first author. Ieyasu, the founder of the Shogunate, gave the clan of Mito, with its annual revenue of 350,000 koku of rice, to his youngest son, Prince Yorifusa. And the princely family of Mito became one of the August Three Families—all the blood branches of the Tokugawa—out of which the heir to the reigning Shogun was elected whenever the latter was without issue. Since the day of Prince Mitsukuni of Mito, the first author of the great history, the work had been amplified and edited. It was handed down in manuscript to Rekko, Prince of Mito, who was the seventh lord of the Mito clan. And this Rekko, whom we shall call simply the Prince of Mito from now on, was one of the two greatest figures in the cradle days of the New Nippon. Himself a scholar of preëminent distinction, at the age of five he read with ease one of the most difficult of the Chinese classics, and composed the classic couplet in his own language without hesitation. He took pleasure in gathering into the clan of Mito scholars from every corner of Nippon, and engaged their services as his retainers. It was not long before the great historical work begun by his fore-father, the second lord of Mito, claimed his first thoughts; and the completion and publication of the work became a passion with the prince. In time, his patient work and that of many hundreds of scholars whom he had gathered under him brought forth the desired fruit. The editing, the copying, and the cutting of the printing blocks were completed; and this was no small task, before the days of movable type. One hundred volumes housed this great history. The Prince of Mito established a special paper-mill for its publication, and everywhere, throughout the three hundred clans, the Samurai sat up nights to read the work.

It was out of this stupendous work of the Prince of Mito, out of its hundred volumes, that a thunderbolt fell. Written by a grandson of the founder of the Shogunate, and finished by the Prince of Mito, the distinguished representative of one of the August Three Houses,

it had no better name for the Shogun than "usurper"! The Shogun a "usurper"—usurping the sovereign power from the rightful ruler, the Emperor! And who, pray, dares so to blaspheme the Shogun? The Prince of Mito! No wonder the people could hardly believe their own eyes. Ah, but great as the Prince of Mito unquestionably was, it was not given even to him to persuade history to change its views. In their absurd and very rude ignorance, facts do not know a prince from a peasant. And the Prince of Mito was not a man who would beg history to be a little more polite to his own kinsman upon the dais of the Shogun. And even if he should, what good would it have done?

The other history was called "Nihon Gaishi"—the external, or, more correctly, the "Outline History of Nippon." It was written by the famous historian called Rai Sanyo. He, too, well understood that the sword was not the only home of Samurai courage, but that the pen could also be used for the purpose. In his history, he called the Shogun by the identical name used by the princely editor of the "Dai-Nihon-Shi"—"a usurper."

A few years passed after the publication of the two histories. Then, on a fine morning, all of a sudden, the entire "land of the gods" woke up with a strange shout in its ears. It arose from a thousand different and distant corners of the empire; and, like the groan with which Mount Fuji was born, it shook the country from end to end. And the people, over-religious, like the Greeks of the apostolic days, said: "In such a language do the gods speak." When one stood still and listened with steady nerve, the all-drowning voice spoke two words: "KIN NO." (To translate the expression, "Revere the Emperor," is to see Vesuvius upon a canvas.) In all sooth, those two words, spoken straight from the hearts of the people, were a volcano whose fires were the white-heat conviction of the entire nation of thinkers—of dreamers who acted.

The Treaty of Shimoda. Then something happened—the Americans came. Even while the country was a veritable volcano within, the Shogun and his ministers did not trouble themselves with the slightest of misgivings. They thought they were so very strong that the mere idea of questioning their power appealed only to their sense of humor—that is to say, so far as the men of Nippon were concerned. But the American! Eight million gods! Of him they had never heard. They had never even dreamed of his existence. It was, therefore, with no little amazement that, on July 8, 1853, they saw suddenly loom up the shadows of the black ships upon the waters of Yedo Bay. The black muzzles of the alien guns were trained upon the historic Yedo castle of the Shogun. The devil take it all! The splendid blades of the Mikawa Samurai, blue and full of sheens as autumn streams, and the

mighty arrows of the Kwanto archers — one can at least measure something of their power. But who can measure the destructive effect of the barbarian guns? Incredibly immodest in size, they were beyond the comprehension of the masters of flint muskets. Those grave and brave ministers of the Shogun who, at any time, would have faced an army of demons with sprays of cherry blossoms in their quivers and classic couplets upon their lips, turned pale, haggard, panic-stricken.

Nevertheless, none had the right to laugh at them. As a matter of history, none did laugh. The women had quite enough to do in packing their willow baskets, bamboo chests, or wooden cases. As for the young men, they shouldered their aged mothers, and all made for the hills and far away. At Uraga, two American frigates, two sloops of war, and two supply ships were riding at anchor. Aboard the men-of-war were sixty-one guns, all told, and the report of them travelled to Yedo. Distance, which always adds enchantment, often translates facts into fiction. And fear is an even greater magician than distance. When the report of the American ships entered the ears of the Yedo people, it spoke of sixty ships of war and six hundred guns. By the time the report made southward to the city of Nagasaki, the number of the American ships swelled into six hundred and that of their guns into six thousand. What was there to be done? Something! . . . But none knew what, least of all the officers of the Shogun. Confusion reigned as supreme as an ancient Mikado.

The ministers of the Shogun begged to say to the Americans that Uraga was no place for diplomatic pourparlers—that, under the unalterable laws of the Land of the Gods, Nagasaki was the only place which could claim, with justice or injustice, the honor. For all the good that it did, the Shogun's officers might just as well have spoken into the ears of a horse. Did the ponderous and polite periods of the Shogun's diplomats entertain the sense of humor for which the Americans are famous? I do not know. I know that the Americans did not move an inch. And always the black muzzles of their guns — like the index finger of a threatening father upon a naughty boy — pointed Yedo-ward. It really seemed as if the situation called for something more than the polished sentences of the Shogun's servants. The Shogunate turned to the Prince of Mito. The weak governments have always had, then as now, the convenient way of turning to the one strong man in the hour of need. It was then that the people all along the thirty *ri* from Mito to Yedo saw an extraordinary sight. Seventy-four cannon made their toilsome way into the capital of the Shogun, all drawn by men. Those cannon had been cast in the crucibles established long since by the far-seeing Prince of Mito. That was the answer of the Prince of

Mito to the Shogunate. But, after all, those bronze cannon from Mito were more picturesque than powerful. They did not succeed in solving the question with quite as much success as they entertained the curious people of the country-side. Years before this the autocratic government of the Shogun had imprisoned a number of scholars. Their only crime was the study of foreign languages, which certainly was criminal; for what good reason had these scholars to devote themselves to the study of barbarian books, as if they did not think that the culture and attainments of the Land of the Gods were all-sufficient? This was the crime of treason — implied and indirect, to be sure, but, nevertheless, a crime. Now, in the black hour of despair, the Shogun's government went the length of setting at liberty these prisoners, who were largely Dutch scholars. Through their familiarity with the language of the West, they might prove of service in meeting the Americans on their own ground. Some of the young men, liberated from their cells, went about solemnly robbing Buddhist temples of their bells, and trying to recast them into cannon, according to the directions given in some of the Dutch text-books they had studied. They were like the hapless man who tried to manufacture a rope at the very time when he had a captured thief struggling under him.

Meanwhile, and always, the Shogunate issued and reissued, on splendid rolls of paper, command after command to the Americans at Uraga to depart in peace. And, impossible as it may seem, the barbarian Americans laughed at the august Shogun and his officers — preposterous, monstrous! the Shogunate which had, for about two centuries and a half, awed the three hundred clans into enforced peace, a laughing-stock of the Red Beards! Was that a sort of thing one could think of? The country was paralyzed with amazement. Nothing brought out in such a clear light the helplessness of the Tokugawa régime as the insolence of the American commodore. The Shogun a laughing-stock of the Red Beard! It tolled the knell of departing prestige. Only through the might of the sword could the dais of the Shogun, or, for that matter, that of any despot's sceptre, be maintained. The entire land, moreover, was ripe for the parting of an era. The country, as I have said, was a volcano, and the coming of the Americans opened the crater — that was all.

It was then that the younger blades throughout the empire rose under the oriflamme, across the scarlet fire of which you could read four words. To the "Kin No" (Serve the Emperor) were added "Jo-i," which is as if one had said, "Away with the Barbarian!" And the cradle was ready for the birth of the New Nippon.

In the clear summer light of the fourteenth of July, 1853, in a newly constructed reception hall, Toda, Prince of Izu, representing his master, the Shogun, received Commodore Matthew C. Perry, representing the Government of the United States, who handed the former a letter. It was addressed "To His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Japan." It was signed, "Your good friend, Millard Fillmore." It was the historic letter which was drafted by Daniel Webster in the month of May, 1851, and which was fished out of the pigeonholes and recast by his successor, Edward Everett, in November, 1852. It was encased in a rosewood box which had about it a great deal of gold, but none of that republican simplicity which, we have been told, was the chief glory and distinction of America. The Shogun's government received this letter, not because it particularly wished to do so: most certainly it had not the slightest right to receive it. It was addressed to the Emperor, not to the Shogun. The American went away, saying that he would come back with the coming of the next spring, either in April or in May, for the reply which his Japanese Majesty might see fit to make to the friendly letter from the President of the Republic. And he was better than his word. In the afternoon of the thirteenth of February, 1854, the shore guard of the Shogun's naval forces saw with dismay a stately squadron of six ships, in line ahead, make their steady way up the Bay of Yedo, sweep past the old anchorage of the previous year, and proceed some twelve miles farther, ever Yedo-ward.

The American would not be denied. Encouraged in his conviction that insolence was the only virtue which impressed the Asiatic mind, the American commodore outraged the sensitive patriotism of the Nippon people far beyond words. From the way he handled his ships and the guns upon them, you would have said that a dignified officer of the great nation had come all those thousands of miles over the seas that he might treat a childish people to a country show in which the guns and rifles played the star rôles of monsters and monkeys. As for the Shogun, the American pressed him with an amazing lack of courtesy and with extraordinary persistence. He was pitiless. Of the internal troubles of the Shogun and his government, the stranger knew nothing. In fact, such was the appalling innocence of this great "Commander-in-Chief of the United States Naval Forces in the East India, China, and Japan Seas," as to his knowledge of Far Eastern affairs, that he did not even know that he was not dealing with the Emperor of Nippon! However, that mattered little. Nothing succeeds, after all, quite so well as success. And it was not long before what my people know as the Treaty of Kanagawa passed into history. With its twelve articles, glittering with beautiful generalities, the treaty seemed innocent enough.

It called for the opening of two additional ports—Shimoda and Hakodate—to international commerce; and in it Nippon agreed to be good to any Americans to whom the sea might be unkind. In the eleventh article, however, there was a clause—an innocent-looking clause, to a careless eye. Evidently, neither the Americans nor the officers of the Shogun who signed the treaty dreamed of its significance. It read: "There shall be appointed by the Government of the United States consuls or agents to reside in Shimoda . . . provided either of the two governments deem such arrangements necessary." That was the death sentence of the Shogunate. For in compliance with it, in a summer month of 1856, came the first American envoy, Townsend Harris.

Let it be stated here—and it would be well for the world not to forget it—that it was to the superb ability of this remarkable man, so unlike the American commodore in modesty and in gold-braided vanity, that America in particular and the world in general owe whatever has come to them from the opening of Nippon. In the month of October, 1857, Mr. Harris was received in personal audience by the Shogun. Such a thing had never been done before; and after the audience he dined with Hotta, Lord of Bitchu, at his yashiki, or the official residence of the Premier. Not a dish of that magnificent dinner could the American eat. Because he could not taste of the choice "delicacies of mountain and sea," as we say, he did something better than ministering to his palate: he talked to the Prime Elder and to his colleagues. He spoke for three hours on a stretch. The eloquence of his clear-cut logic drove into the brains of the Premier and his friends a new understanding. His was the conquest of brains, and not of arms. In that famous interview, Townsend Harris baptized the ministers of the Shogun into a new faith. Thenceforth the exclusive policy of the Tokugawa Shogunate was a chapter of ancient history.

Immediately following the interview, the ministers of the Shogun were willing to enter into the discussion of a new and revised treaty. By December of that year they came to an agreement with Mr. Harris. Together they drew up a treaty: it was called the "Treaty of Shimoda." It was a remarkable performance. Remember, not a single gun was in sight; not a single black ship stained the sunlit mirror of the Bay of Shimoda! And this unarmed citizen of America faced the entire might and ability of the statesmen of Yedo and won their assent. Moreover, he gained their admiration. And that was not all; for he ended by making them read the great world events as he himself would read them. He mastered them as the gods conquer the hearts of men. It was this treaty, which he discussed as early as 1857, that remained as the basis of all the treaties which our government entered into with the Western

Powers, and so was in force until after the China-Nippon war, which at last succeeded in persuading the Western Powers to consent to the revision of treaties.

The Treaty of Shimoda was ready. The Shogunate was ready and willing to sign it. It did not sign it, however. Why? Simply because the Yedo Government did not dare. But again why? The reason is plain enough. Of all the things which the Shogunate could do, nothing would have outraged so gravely the sentiment of the people everywhere as the ratification of the treaty with America without the consent and command of his Majesty the Emperor and his Kioto Court. And they knew well, both the Shogunate and the people generally, that the Imperial Court of Kioto would never consent to such a flagrant humiliation of the "Land of the Gods" at the hand of the foreigner. For, as the Kioto Court looked at it, the treaty was a monstrous abortion given birth under the threat of foreign arms.

Every day that came and went saw the anti-foreign sentiment become more and more violent — the volcano more and more furious in its eruption. Everywhere the shout of the "Kin-No! Jo-i!" literally deafened the ear. At last the Shogunate lost its head. Like any ordinary weak woman caught in a sudden fire at night, it was panic-stricken. The Shogunate did many things of which it had never dreamed itself capable of being guilty. One of the extraordinary things it did was to ask the opinion of the lords of the three hundred clans as to the best method of dealing with the foreign Powers. The all-wise, all-powerful Shogunate consulting the pleasures and wisdom of the minor lords of clans — that indeed was a novel sight in the eyes of the Elder Nippon, almost as eloquent as the helplessness of the Yedo government at the sight of the black muzzles of the roguish and laughing American guns. That was an appalling confession of weakness on the part of the Shogunate. When an autocratic régime, such as the Shogunate had certainly been, becomes nervous and tries to look about itself to see what the people are thinking of it, it is high time for some one to present it with a coffin and a decent burial. The Shogunate did another thing, equally significant. It sent two officials, Hayashi and Tsuda, to Kioto that they might humbly beg for the sanction and consent of his Majesty for the signing of the Shimoda treaty. It was, in the eyes of the people at large, who were quite feverish and all a-quiver with the fire for the restoration of the Imperial House to power, more than significant — it was absurd.

It was actually pitiful, this humiliation of the Shogunate: to such a depth had the prestige of Yedo fallen! But what a choice opportunity for the Kioto Court to pay back in its own coin the Shogunate, which

had insulted and humiliated it for many a century! And the Court of Kioto, it cannot be denied, crowned high its cup with the sweet wine of revenge. A great catastrophe to the Land of the Gods — a grave matter affecting the peace of the Empire. As for this “provisional treaty” — for as such the Shogunate presented it to Kioto, not daring to call it what it was, the permanent treaty of friendship and commerce — it was augustly considered (by his Majesty) to be utterly incompatible with the dignity of the nation, etc. Such were some of the phrases with which the Imperial Court at Kioto turned upon the representatives of the Shogunate. As for the Shogunate, it was powerless. The national sentiment, headed by the distinguished Prince of Mito in the North, and by the powerful princes of Satsuma and of Choshu in the South, was, as the days went by, heaving to the boiling point. The “Kin-No” was the one cry that drowned all others. Above all else, the consent and sanction of the Imperial Court were imperative.

And in this travail was the new year of 1858 born. With the opening of the very first month, Hotta, the Elder of the Shoguns, made haste to Kioto. From January until the flower month of April he stayed in the ancient capital city. Like the Shogunate, whose cause he served, the eminent Elder was also powerless. He could do nothing. Once upon a time, poetry-drunk, silk-wrapped, it was the Mikado who had been powerless: now it was the turn of the premier of the all-powerful Shogunate to become a companion of flowers, of the purple mists of the idle, slow-pacing hours. But the date which had long since been set for the signing of the treaty did not accommodate the leisurely ways of the Kioto Court. Time, indifferent alike to the pleasures of a peasant or the conveniences of the most powerful of the ministers of the Shogunate, went its wonted way. The date for the signing of the treaty, at first set for the fifth of March, 1858, was, through the solicitation of the Shogun’s orders, postponed to the second of May. The month of May came, and with it Mr. Harris received a solemn communication from the Shogun’s ministers which was at once a prayer and a promise: the treaty would, without another delay, be signed, without fail, on the second day of September.

But on the twenty-second of April, 1858, there came to the head-seat of the purple chamber of the Yedo Castle a great man. Our history knows him under the name of “Ii Kamonnokami Naosuke.” Into the storm centre he came, shouldering the great and historic title of the “Great Elder.” Since the classic days of the fourth and the fifth Shogun, when the great and famous ministers who are known to our history by the names of “Sakai” and “Hotta” had been honored with the distinction of the title of the “Great Elder,” there had never been

found a mortal worthy of it. And it was with this ancient distinction that his master, the Shogun, clothed Ii, thereby outranking all the other elders and ministers of the Shogun. In the calmer light of critical history, half a century after the troublous days of which he was at once the author and the victim, the villain and the hero, it cannot be gainsaid that Ii was worthy of the distinction. The greatness of his ability as a statesman merited it; the strength of his character justified it; and even more than these, the lofty height of heroic devotion to the cause of his master, the Shogun, to which he rose, has, in the eyes of history, made his claim to it almost sacred.

Many sober students do not hesitate for a moment to say that Ii was greater than the great office. He came from a historic house—the *daimyo* (as the lord of a clan was called) of the charming principality on the world-famous lake of Biwa—the annual revenue of which was nominally placed at 350,000 koku (one koku is about five bushels) of rice, as we used to say in those days when the measure of rice was the standard of rating. Ieyasu, the founder of the Tokugawa Shogunate, had been always delighted to place the head of the house of Ii in command of the vanguard of his forces whenever he took to the field; and from that day it became the special distinction of the house of Ii to lead the Tokugawa forces in all battles. And the Great Elder, whatever his shortcomings, was not false to the brave traditions of his house. In body, as in mind, he was a total stranger to the lily liver. For years before Ii was clothed with the majesty and robe of the Great Elder, his had been no modest voice in the halls of state of the Yedo Castle. Always one could hear the ministers and Elders of the Shogun say among themselves: "Ii said this; such and such are the views of Ii; so-and-so has asked Ii to instruct him in this matter; and what would Ii have to say to this?" And at the first visit of the American, when the Shogunate called for the expressions of views from the lords of all the clans, the memorial of Ii commanded the attention of all. It was indeed remarkable, this memorial of his; and if I pause a moment to recall a few of the sentences it contained, it is because nothing could portray better than they the nature of this great man, whose only crime was to live more than half a century ahead of his time. Among other things, he said:

It is true that international trade has been forbidden by the laws of the land from the days of old. Nevertheless, it is well for us to remember that *now* is not *then*. Time changes. Moreover, at all times the logic of the march and order of things must needs be respected. To what end of time are we asked to close our eyes and observe like a slave the letters of a dead law? Is there any necessity for it? An extraordinary age calls for extraordinary deeds and decisions. Now the

Americans come and beg for trade. In truth, a happy and goodly opportunity. Let us on our part send our ships and seek the trade extensively.

The Americans had come; and the Imperial Court at Kioto refused, point blank, the request of the Yedo Government for his Majesty's sanction for the signing and ratification of the American treaty. Once, in those dark and woe-begone days, the reigning Shogun, who was called Iesada, summoned Ii into his presence. The Shogun was weak by nature, and in body very ill. With the keen appreciation of the weak, he saw how great and strong was Ii. Seated face to face with Ii, in the quiet of an elegant private room in the Yedo Castle, the Shogun ordered his attendants to depart, so that he might talk at ease with his minister, and he spoke thus to him:

"The prestige of the Tokugawa (Shogunate) is falling to dust," said the master to the minister; "and I pray you to read into my heart. You are strong. More than once the devotion of you and your house to the Shogunate has been proved. I have summoned you this day that I may place into your hands the guardianship of something much more precious than my life — the honor of the House of Tokugawa."

Upon the matted floor, Ii was prostrated in the presence of his master. No response came from the minister; but silently the tears streamed down his cheeks. And when the minister left the presence of his master, the Shogun, he had accepted the grave responsibility. No longer one of the many lords of the clans, he was the Great Elder outranking them all. Returning home, Ii purified himself, and, in his robe of ceremony, stepped into the family shrine. Prostrating himself before the mortuary tablets which spoke of the spirit-presence of many a great ancestor of the House of Ii, the minister said:

My August Master honors me with the post of the highest responsibility. Help me, therefore, to be worthy of his confidence and his gracious goodness. The humble one prays you to witness that he enters the Yedo Castle with his life in his hands. For this is a black day for the House of Tokugawa.

Ii received his portfolio with his eyes wide open. He entered the storm with "the hilt-rivet of his sword moistened," as we say. He was a man of foresight; and he knew that the duties of the Great Elder would cost him his life. But he did not hesitate; for the joy of the martyr was within his heart.

Many, indeed, were the grave duties which awaited the entry of the Great Elder into the Yedo Castle. First of all, Ii fished a copy of the Shimoda treaty from out of the bewildering pile of state documents. Every one of them was pregnant with the fate of the Shogunate. It was the twentieth of June, 1858 — two months and twelve days before

the date appointed by the last note of the Elders to Harris for the signing and ratification of the Shimoda treaty. Ii took up the treaty and read it carefully. His eyes were steady, and no tremors were in the fingers that held the American document. His pale and strong features were as composed as usual. Quietly he took up his writing brush. A few vigorous strokes, and his signature was affixed. In signing the treaty, he was also signing his own death sentence; and he knew it. And in the signing he was calm, well poised, and pleased as a man who turns his face homeward at the end of a day of good work happily performed. Then the minister added to the treaty the seal of his master, the Shogun.

Had he the right to ratify the treaty to which the American demanded the sanction of the Emperor? None whatever. Had he ever received permission from the Imperial Court of Kioto for the signing? He did not even take the trouble to ask for it. Why? Because he knew well enough that the Kioto Court would refuse it as it had done many times before. Moreover, he knew that he had none too much time to lose. Already the reports of the overwhelming victories of the allied forces of the European Powers over China were filling his ears. And China was the only great country he and his countrymen knew at the time. If he waited, hesitated a moment too long, who could say that the Yedo Castle of the Shogun would not be a heap of ashes under the gun-fire of the foreign men-of-war? He knew well with what a diabolical exaltation, with what a smile without pity, the anti-Shogun or pro-Imperialistic party would look upon the humiliation of the historic Castle of Yedo: for the fall of Yedo at the hand of foreign Powers would have spelled the death of the Shogunate. Moreover, international commerce was not an evil in his eyes.

I have said that Ii knew the deadly significance of the signing of the treaty. He knew quite well with what fierce and fiery passion the men of powerful clans opposed the opening of the country; and he knew also that the Shogunate of the day was a tower upon a volcano which was already breaking into a flood of lava. Ah, but he evidently must have said to himself that the might of the Shogunate was more than enough to meet and master at leisure all the discordant elements within the empire. Only let the foreigner depart in peace! That was the one great mistake of the Great Elder. The treaty was signed without the imperial consent, and, as he and every one else so confidently expected, the storm burst.

Four days after the signing of the treaty — on the twenty-fourth day of June, 1858 — the Prince of Mito, his son Keiki, and the Prince of Owari rode into the Yedo Castle. In those days, the day and the hour

for the presentation of the great personages were fixed and scheduled quite as regularly as a festal day. The sight of the official palanquins of the three dignitaries at so unexpected an hour amazed the guardian of the gate of Yedo Castle. The keeper of the gate lost no time in informing the ministers of the Shogun's cabinet of it. Ii, the Great Elder, was then in the council chamber with his colleagues. Without a moment's hesitation he asked to see the three. As he rose, apparently without thought, to greet the three visitors, Manabe, one of the cabinet elders, caught Ii by the sleeve and said to him:

The temper of the princes is high at this hour. If your excellency were to meet them now, I fear that matters might turn out very seriously. I pray you be prudent. Permit me to receive the princes in the name of the Great Elder. Let me explain matters to them.

To this, the Great Elder, declining the kindly offer of his colleague, replied:

This very day may see a great event. None can say how seriously the affairs may become tangled. I do not wish it. Nevertheless, they wish to see me; and if I do not go out and meet them at this time it may seem to betray a cowardly misgiving. If it were simply Naosuke (Ii) who should acquire the reputation of a coward, that would not be very difficult to bear; but to disgrace the office of the Great Elder, that is quite impossible. I cannot permit it.

Accompanied by his colleagues, Ii went out into the hall of state to receive Prince Mito and his friends. And the Prince said to him:

On the twentieth day the temporary treaty was signed. This was done solely through the decision and pleasure of the Great Elder. The action ignores the wishes of his Majesty the Emperor, and consigns the lords of clans into contempt. That is my opinion. Is there any explanation from the Great Elder?

To this, Ii replied in a voice quite as composed as that of the Prince of Mito:

May I be permitted to beg your highness to see that the signing of the treaty was very far from doing violence to the heart and substance of the imperial rescript? As for the ratification by us of the treaty consigning the lords of clans into contempt, there is not a shadow of ground for it. Many days ago the American envoy came for the final answer promised him. Having been delayed too long, there was need for immediate action. We called for the expression of opinion among the lords of clans; and the majority wished that the government of the Shogun should favor such measures as would make for peace. In their opinion, hostile action against the foreigner was unprofitable; and with no modest emphasis they gave utterance to this effect. Moreover, the Shogun had already spoken for the opening of ports. And the Great Elder acted. It was done, therefore, by no arbitrary action of any one man. Permit me also to say that since the days of old the prime burden of all the imperial rescripts issued for our guidance has always been for the maintenance and fostering of the peace of the state. As for the full

power to act on all the serious and important measures of state, his Majesty the Emperor had long since intrusted it, unreservedly and in full confidence, into the safekeeping and judgment of the Shogun. The responsibility of administration is altogether upon the shoulders of the Shogunate—not upon the Imperial Court at Kioto. By his imperial decrees his Majesty has more than once commanded the Shogun and his ministers to act in his imperial name. And we have acted. And now are we called upon to hear of the violation of the imperial rescripts, of treating with contempt the commands of the Emperor, simply because we obeyed the oft-repeated orders of his Majesty according to the best light of our conviction? Once, at first, before entering upon the final course of action, the Shogun's government did pray for imperial instructions. It was done simply to assure the unity of national opinion. Not always are we, however, the masters of circumstances; for they at times get the mastery over us. And the present situation did not permit us to wait for the final instructions from his Majesty's Court.

On the fifth day of July, eleven days after this stormy discussion at the Yedo Castle, Ii, the Great Elder, served the sentence of confinement upon the Prince of Mito, and forbade his presence and that of his son Keiki at the Yedo Castle. And the sentence was served in the name of the Shogun.

On the eighth of August, 1858, a secret message from the Imperial Court at Kioto "descended upon Mito." It was a secret, a very open secret, that his Majesty wrote a letter to the Prince of Mito over his imperial signature. In it the Emperor intrusted into the hands of the famous Prince of Mito the interests of the imperial house.

And if the world failed to see whose iron hand was at the helm of the Shogunate, it certainly was none of the fault of Ii, the Great Elder. This descent of the secret mission upon Mito was the occasion which called forth a reign of terror. To the closing pages of the Tokugawa régime the Great Elder added a chapter writ literally in blood, and gave it the historic title of "The Great Imprisonment of the Ansei Period." High and low, to the right and to the left, the Great Elder stretched out his mailed fists, and raked into the dungeons and the torture cells all, young and old, who so much as dared to breathe a word against the Shogunate.

A short time before the beginning of the famous "imprisonment of the period of Ansei"—on the eighth of August, 1858, to be precise—that is to say, on the very day when the "secret message descended upon the Prince of Mito," the death of the weak and troubled Shogun was made public. His death, however, occurred either on the fifth or sixth of July—perhaps on the selfsame day on which the Great Elder, Ii, served the sentence of confinement upon the Prince of Mito, in the name of his master the Shogun. One might say that the age was already afflicted with sufficient troubles. But now, overshadowing them all, came the crown of thorns: it was the election of the heir to the dais of

the Shogun who was no more. It had always been large, this question of choosing the heir to the dais. In the eyes of those torturous days it was black as well as big.

Upon the horizon of probable and possible heirs to the dais there towered one figure. Like the Fuji, the noble proportions of the one man gathered unto him all eyes: the world refused to see anyone else. His name was Keiki. He was the favored son of the Prince of Mito. Upon him, and upon him alone, the hope of the people turned as upon an idol. Keiki was in the prime of life. Although he had a great and famous father, he was never mentioned merely as "the son of the Prince of Mito"; and this fact alone spoke eloquently of the ability with which the gracious heavens had blessed him. But was ability the only thing that the empty dais of the Shogun asked of him who should fill it? One is forced to admit, though with much regret, that such was far from being the case. In the first place, a man of preëminent power and endowment, untempered with the softer graces of life, was none too pleasing to the ladies of the Court of Yedo. And those were the days when even so powerful a voice as that of Matsudaira Nobusada carried no farther than a gentle whisper behind a fan. Moreover, there was that Great Elder; and, whatever were his faults, blindness in such matters was not one of them. The Great Elder knew that to the Prince of Mito, the editor and author of the "Dai Nihon Shi," loyalty to the Emperor was more than food or raiment, more than life itself. Ii knew that Keiki, in his attitude toward the Imperial Court at Kioto, was the son of his father. Like none else, perhaps, the Great Elder was able to appreciate in full the rich gifts of the gods which were Keiki's. If Keiki was able and strong, Ii saw so much the more reason to keep him from the dais of the Shogun. In the clear vision of Ii, all was simple. All this tangled problem of discovering a right heir to the dais was indeed as simple as killing a viper in the backyard where your babies play. Keiki was quite and utterly impossible as the heir to the dais — that was all. Without another thought, without further ado or hesitation, Ii went down to the House of Kii — one of the August Three Houses — and found what he wished, a boy scarce twelve years of age. Did not the Great Elder know that the rod was much more becoming to the child than the sceptre of the Shogun in those black days of the Period of Ansei? Most certainly. Nevertheless, he knew also that Ii was to be found rather close to the dais.

When the spoiled child of so tender an age made his entry in state into the Castle of Yedo, to grace the historic dais of the Shogun with his innocent airs, the storm of criticism, more savage than ever, let loose its fury, and, more heartless than ever before the "great imprison-

ment of the Period of Ansei" laid its terrific hands upon court nobles by the hundreds and upon patriots throughout the lands by the thousands. "Blood ran more freely than the waters of the rivers"—so runs a line of a native historian of the day. So much slaughter of noble sons of the country had its effect; and at last the day came when the famous Great Elder could sit in his purple hall of state and say with that grim, sad smile of his: "All the world trembles at the very name of the Shogunate."

The vision of this strong and devoted minister was nevertheless unable to read the handwriting across the sky. The days of the Shogunate were numbered. No one man, however mighty, however wise, can ever, with a pair of arms, roll back a flood. Ii believed that the armed might of the Shogunate was quite equal to subdue all the disobedience and insolence of the recreant clans; and he believed with all his soul that the Shogunate could, with ease, weather all the storms which might come from within the country. All he feared was the guns of the foreigner. That was his mistake. That was his only crime.

The clan of Mito had a temper of its own — had always had it. The repeated outrages of Ii, now against the Emperor and the Imperial Court at Kioto, and then against the Prince of Mito whom they served, had thoroughly aroused it; and the young blood of the clan was on fire. Even the mature wisdom of their own prince — the Prince of Mito — found itself powerless to restrain the storm of indignation of the young men of Mito. The blood of the innocent, so the ancients said, cries to the gods; and the heads of scholars and patriots which Ii had felled so carelessly cried out to the young blades of Mito. Their imagination on fire, their eyes somewhat bloodshot, impatient, the young men saw that both the ways of the gods and the course of justice took too many days in the coming. They would take the job of the gods into their own hands. They were eager to do it; in all conscience they thought themselves equal to it. The clan of Mito saw an increase in the number of ronin which was quite alarming. And what is a ronin? A ronin is a Samurai who has renounced his allegiance to the lord of his clan, for whose actions no prince is held responsible by the Yedo Government. He is without a master, without annuity, without a settled residence, and therefore enjoys perfect freedom of action. And the Mito Samurai took this delicate care to shield their beloved Prince of Mito from the consequences of whatever they might do.

As the days went by, the Mito ronin found their way into the streets of the castle city of Yedo. Indeed, their number swelled rapidly like locusts on a summer's field. Their presence under the very shadow of the Castle of Yedo alarmed the friends of Ii, the Great Elder.

Matsudaira Nobushige, the lord of the Yata clan in the province of Kozuke, called upon the Great Elder, at his official mansion in Saku-rada. The lord of the Yata clan was one of the few who, in those black days of envy, turmoil, and storm, read clearly into the character of Ii. He enjoyed the distinction of an intimate friendship with the Great Elder. With his eyes riveted upon those of Ii he began; and the tone of his voice spoke more seriously than his words:

You know well the sentiment of the clan of Mito. We see, both you and I, a great number of Mito ronin crowding into the shadier corners of Yedo. How, pray, do you read the meaning of it? Your zeal for the state only leaves you absent-minded over your own affairs and interests. You cannot be so blind, can you, as to mistake where the eyes of the Mito men gather? Upon you, and upon you alone, are they centred. Will you permit a question? An unnecessary danger, is it profitable? What charms has this mistress that you should, in the courting of her, fling your life lightheartedly upon her altar, and, what is more, forget the sacrifice as one would a flower that has withered? Your friend is speaking; and, because he is a friend, he is not always obliged to be an enemy to wisdom. Betake yourself from an unprofitable storm for a short time. Opportunities of serving the state are many: the number of lives at your command is only one. You wish to place the reign of the Shogun upon a lofty rock. A broken reed in a storm contributes but little to that great end. Take my advice, and accomplish your work along the safest lines.

Spoken in all sincerity, the words of the Lord of Yata Castle touched the Great Elder. Ii fell upon his face, and with his forehead upon the mat, he thus thanked his friend:

That dangers are gathering about my person, I am well aware; and I also know that the safest thing for me to do to-day would be to lay down my portfolio, and take myself far away from its responsibilities. I know as well that one life is but little, and that the state is all-important. To steal the ease and safety of one's life in the critical hour of danger to the state — that is not the act of a man. Moreover, humble and powerless as I am, I have had the honor of being selected by the late Shogun to fill the difficult post. I have dared to worshipfully accept the grave office of Great Elder. Long since I have come to look upon my life as a sacrifice upon the altar of state. It is impossible for me, therefore, to give my mind to the fear of death and forget the danger of the state.

Steel and adamant seemed soft compared to the words of Ii. His friend saw that he could not be moved.

"Be it so, then," said the lord of Yata Castle. "Let me beg you to increase your bodyguard. For the sake of the state, pray value your own life. Both life and death are in the hands of Heaven. What can be avoided I shall certainly avoid. Dangers that cannot be avoided I shall face. As for the bodyguard, from the days of old established rites have prescribed the number; and I am not hungering too strongly for the name of a coward."

His friend had somewhat more to say. A retainer came, and, pros-

trating himself, announced: "The retinue and the palanquin of the August Lord stand ready at the gate."

It was the morning of the third of March, 1860. It was snowing heavily, and outside of the Sakurada Gate a stately procession was passing. A little distance away Ii, Kamon no Kami, the Great Elder, was braving his way through the blinding snow into the Yedo Castle. The "Down! down! down!" of the herald calling upon those passing by to fall upon their knees before the retinue of the Great Elder was choked, muffled, and almost lost in the rising wind. The men of the House of Ii in the procession had taken good care to wrap themselves in heavy coats. Their heads and faces were thickly covered, and scarcely more than their eyes were exposed.

Suddenly a few dark shadows flitted out of nowhere. They made straight toward the palanquin of state wherein was seated the Great Elder. The procession halted. The men who stayed the stately palanquin with so little ceremony presented a petition and said: "This is our petition; let us place it into the hands of the Great Elder with our own hands." Such a thing was not to be permitted. The men who presented it knew this as well as the retainers of Ii. Words passed between them. Meanwhile, the procession in front of the palanquin, which formed by far the greater part of the retinue, neither heard a word nor saw the scene about the palanquin of their lord. In all the peace of their innocence, they went their way through the thickening snow, their herald at the head chanting the monotone, "Down, down, down!" Far behind, about the palanquin, the masked men pressed their prayers for an interview with the Great Elder. "Monstrous!" was the ever persistent reply of the retinue: "Clear the way and down with you."

Suddenly there was the report of a rifle-shot. The first half of Ii's retinue had gone too far to hear it. Instantly — for that was the signal — the petitioners took to their swords. No longer humble, they laid low the men of Ii all about the palanquin. It must be admitted that they were a company of superb swordsmen. Not that there were no master blades among the bodyguard of the Great Elder. Only, and so unhappily, the thick costumes of the men of Ii embarrassed them a great deal. The shot pierced into the palanquin, and struck the Great Elder on the hip, the ball lodging in the pelvic bone. Ii was not slow to realize the meaning of it all. Soon the shrill dispute of steel outside of his palanquin confirmed what he had already known. Second to none in the handling of the weapon, Ii was content to leave his life to the arbitrament of the sword. He tried to rise and step out of the palanquin; but his limbs did not obey him. If only he could draw his sword! If

only his legs would support him! Indeed, had he been free to let his sword say a few words in defence of his life, history might have had — who knows? — another story for us of that stormy morning before the Sakurada Gate. Before the retainers came to themselves, however, half of their number had already taken a sudden flight to Buddha. Seeing himself completely helpless, his leg paralyzed, Ii called out to his retainers from within the palanquin: "Do not leave the palanquin! Stand close!" But few remained to hear his command. A second later, the door of the palanquin was broken open. Wounded, and robbed of motion, caged in the narrow walls of the palanquin, Ii nevertheless taught his enemies to approach him with respect. Three men cut in upon him: still he held his own. His palanquin was literally cut to pieces. At last, from forty-eight wounds he had received, the life of Ii ebbed out and away from his heroic stature. Seeing him almost lifeless, his enemies dragged him out of the palanquin. One of the ronins, Arimura by name, flashed aloft his sword, exclaiming at the top of his voice: "We have struck down the enemy of the State, Ii Kamonno-kami!" And the head of the Great Elder left the shoulders which, Atlas-like, had supported the tottering weight of the Shogunate.

After Ii, the deluge. Now it was the world for the Prince of Mito and his son Keiki. Henceforth, in the very Yedo camp of the Shogun, there was no voice strong enough to dispute the day with the Mito men and their lord. And, as I have previously stated, none more ardent than they could be found among the Imperialists of the day.

Outside the Sakurada Gate, there beside the historic moat of the Yedo Castle, a few ruddy streams wandered into the March snow, marking the spot where passed from life the last great champion of the Shogunate. On the eleventh of April, 1868 — so say the school histories — fell the Shogunate. That was the historic day on which Yedo Castle surrendered and was turned over into the hands of the commander-in-chief of the Imperial forces. The school histories are mistaken. The Tokugawa Shogunate died on the third of March, 1860; and the blood of the Great Elder wrote in crimson hieroglyphics its final epitaph — there beside the historic moat, outside the Sakurada Gate.

ADACHI KINNOSUKE.

THE NEW MANCHURIA.

Now that Russia and Japan as well as China are busy seeking to adjust their respective policies and positions to the radically altered condition of Manchuria consequent upon the late war, it seems opportune to set forth clearly the real status of that country as it is, and as possibly it will be in the near future. In doing this, it may be appropriate to lay particular stress upon Japan's attitude toward China, inasmuch as the insular Empire has risen to a commanding position in the Far East. In the following pages, the writer will endeavor to present the consensus of opinion expressed by the press and publicists of his country, rather than voice his own views.

It is needless to say that the main contention pertaining to Manchuria was disposed of by the peace treaty of Portsmouth; but there were no less important details which that monumental instrument left unsettled. Although the Peking treaty recently concluded between Yuan Shi-kai and Baron Komura goes a long way toward the ultimate settlement of these important issues, there still exists many a factor that furnishes cause for uneasiness. The resourceful Russian Minister, M. Pokotiloff, is now active, plotting and cajoling at the *yamen* and the court at Peking; and the Muscovite bugles have already rung out clearly enough for such as have ears to hear, heralding, as it were, that the Slav, despite a hundred disasters overtaking him both at home and in the Far East, is not to withdraw his grasping hands once fixed upon the dominions of the Celestial Empire. Who knows that the Northern Colossus may not once again set the terrific snowball rolling down from the frozen shores of Baikal on to the borders of the Flowery Kingdom?

The Muscovite diplomats embrace no moral code but that of the dying patriarch who offered this advice to his first-born: "My son, get money — honestly, if you can, but get money." Far from sharing the view of the uncompromising Russophobe, who finds in Russian character nothing but duplicity and treachery, we are none the less forced to admit, unless we fly in the face of facts, that the diplomatic policy of Russia is invariably opportunist, regarding a treaty as an instrument to be adhered to only so long as it is convenient for her to do so. The Muscovite is careful to make pledges as sparingly as circumstances will allow; and when driven to make one as a last resource, he often does so without

the least intention of abiding by it. Unscrupulous and audacious, he does not hesitate to sacrifice the principle of justice or of diplomatic morality upon the altar of his territorial ambition. The question of time does not trouble him any more than the consideration of right or wrong. When he is confronted by an obstacle which seems insurmountable for the time being, he changes his front, and waits and watches events, preparing the while to seize the first opportunity which may come his way. He is too shrewd to brave a war when he can possibly avoid it. He has learned it to be the least expensive method of attaining his desires to act as opportunity serves, falling upon his antagonists when they have their hands full or are looking the other way. His strength of purpose has survived defeat in battle; and, the signs of the times not failing, it will survive even the disastrous effects entailed by the late war.

In face of this knowledge, it is alike difficult and delicate to predict the ultimate fate of Manchuria. Without, however, venturing into the field of conjecture, let us consider what the status of the country in question will be in the immediate future.

Recent advices from the Orient apprise us that the Russian representative at Peking is concocting new designs upon the Manchu Dynasty, trying to extort fresh concessions and immunities not only in Northern Manchuria, but in Mongolia and Sin-kiang. This information should surprise nobody who has the slightest acquaintance with Russian diplomacy. Count Witte sounded a fundamental keynote of the traditional policy of Russia when he declined, at the Portsmouth conference, Baron Komura's proposal that Russia promise not to hold or obtain thenceforth such immunities or privileges as would prejudice the integrity of Manchuria. Indeed, the senior peace envoy of Russia made it clearly understood that he could not enter into any agreement restricting Russia's future activities in Manchuria, which is recorded in the proceedings of the conference recently made public by the Government at Tokio. And yet many a person, by no means non-observant, has been led to interpret the last clause of Article III of the Treaty of Peace as expressing a pledge for the future on the part of Russia. In fact, a distinguished contributor to a recent issue of an eminent American magazine goes so far as to regard it as an outcome of clever "tricks" played by the Japanese representatives who "considered it wise to put Russia on record." Had such really been the case, it would have been more fortunate for both China and Japan, even though Russia might have disregarded her pledge the moment she deemed it to her advantage. As it stands, however, the treaty has, even on paper, no power to prevent the Muscovite Government from wresting from the Manchu ruler such privileges and immunities as would imperil the *status quo* of Manchuria, and it is reasonably

apprehended that the former will soon play the same game in Northern Manchuria as she did in Southern Manchuria previous to the war.

It appears to be Russia's tactics to dodge the negotiation with China as long as possible, expecting in the mean time to solidify her position in the northern part of the Eastern Three Provinces. Whatever may be the final outcome of the *pourparlers* between the Muscovite representative and the Mandarinate, one thing seems certain, that Russia will retain the same advantageous position in the province of Hei-lung-kiang and Northern Kirin as that obtained by Japan in Sing-kiang and Southern Kirin, thus splitting Manchuria into two spheres of influence. Small wonder, then, that the Czar's Government is already reported to have thrust before the Peking Court a number of preferential privileges, including the lumbering concession in the Sungari regions and the mining and railway concessions in Kirin and Hei-lung-kiang. That Russia is eager to secure such concessions, not from a harmless commercial motive, but as a means of satisfying her political ambition, there is little room to doubt.

Ominous news has already circulated pointing to Russia's unwillingness to conform to the stipulations of the evacuation agreement. So long as Russia does not withdraw her troops, the *casus belli* which provoked the late war remains intact, and the Japanese would be fully justified in assuming such precautionary measures as would counteract Muscovite duplicity, if it be incumbent upon them to be faithful to a cause they have espoused in behalf of China. Indeed, Japan will never tolerate the violation on the part of the Russians of the spirit and letter of the peace treaty; and it is consoling to think that her soldiers to be quartered in Southern Manchuria as railway guards will as such serve as a barrier in the way of Muscovite advance. Moreover, lessons taught by the late war would have been sufficient to force the military *Tchino-viks* and the warlike *entourages* of the Czar to recognize that the "dwarfish islanders" are no weaklings to be trifled with.

Besides, the opening of Manchuria as a place of international trade and residence will prove a powerful auxiliary to Japan's efforts to check the Russian encroachment upon that country. It has always been St. Petersburg's policy to exclude the foreigners from its newly acquired territory or its sphere of influence in the Far East, it being the intention to conceal from the world her military operations. By the treaty of Aigun, the Russians obtained the exclusive right to navigate the Amur, the Sungari, and the Ussuri, forbidding vessels of any other country except China to utilize these waterways. At Vladivostock it has long been the rule not to permit more than two foreign vessels to enter the harbor

at a time. At Newchang and Port Arthur, the Russian administration issued numerous notifications practically nullifying the advantages of a treaty port; and on April 18, 1903, the Czar demanded of the Peking Court to agree not to open any new treaty ports in Manchuria, or permit new consuls without previous consent of St. Petersburg, or employ any foreigners, except Russians, in any administrative capacity in said country as well as Mongolia. By dint of this exclusive policy, the Muscovite was enabled to absorb his weaker and backward neighbors before the world suspected it. But now that nearly all the most important places in the Eastern Three Provinces, including several strategical posts on the Russo-Manchurian frontier, are thrown open to the commerce of the world and as places of residence for all nations, the Russian policy of exclusion is, let us hope, for the most part superseded, which will in turn seriously handicap the Czar's favorite *modus operandi* in the Far East. And the "open door" will no longer remain merely recorded on paper, but will be practically enforced under the vigilant surveillance of the Japanese.

The treaty of Portsmouth, supplemented, as it were, by the Chino-Japanese treaty, would have placed Japan in much the same position as that of Russia prior to the late war, but for the fact that the former stands for the "open door" and the principle of equal opportunity. In the first place, Japan has secured the lease of Port Arthur, Ta-lien, and the adjacent territory and territorial waters. To the average mind, however, the extent of the lease is anything but clear. Indeed, the popular misconception on this point has been such that even the author of the brilliant book "The New Far East" is worried not a little, because in the Russo-Japanese treaty of peace the term "Liao-tung peninsula" instead of "Kuan-tung peninsula" is used in describing the territory covered by the leasehold which Russia has transferred to her victor.

As a matter of fact, the word "Kuan-tung" is no less ambiguous a term than "Liao-tung," and needs to be so defined as to admit of no misconstruction. Consequently, Article V of the Russo-Japanese treaty, wherein the territory in question is defined, deliberately avoids referring to either the one or the other of these terms, but unmistakably indicates that Japan's acquisition in this respect is neither greater nor less than what Russia held in the peninsula before the war.

In order, however, to ascertain the exact alignment of the leased territory, it behooves us to go back to the Russo-Chinese treaty of March 27, 1898, as well as to the convention concluded a little later between Hsu-ta-jen, the Chinese minister at St. Petersburg, and the Russian Government. According to these documents, the leased territory covers the whole of that portion of the Liao-tung peninsula lying to the south

of an imaginary line drawn from Pu-la-tien, at the head of an inlet on the west coast, to Pi-tsuo-wo, a village on the east coast of the peninsula. To the north of the territory thus leased there is a "neutral zone" stretching to a line drawn from the mouth of the Kai-chou River to the south of the district city of Kaiping on the west coast, to a point on the Tayang River and down its right bank to the sea, and including the village of Ta-ku-shan on the east coast. In the neutral zone, China retains her jurisdiction, but relinquishes the right to quarter troops except with the previous consent of the power in behalf of which the lease is established.

Such are the exact limits of the territory affected by the Russian leasehold. The duration of the lease is fixed at twenty-five years, out of which some seven years have already elapsed under Russian rule. Inasmuch as Japan, in the new treaty with China, is pledged to adhere to the stipulations of the Russo-Chinese treaty of lease, she must withdraw from the Liao-tung peninsula at the expiration of the succeeding eighteen years unless the term be extended by the mutual consent of the high contracting parties.

Next in importance is the acquisition by Japan of the railway between Chang-chun-fu (or Kuan-cheng-tsuo), on the north and Port Arthur on the south, covering some 456 miles, as well as the following three branch lines: Ta-shih-chiao to Yinkow, 13 miles; Ta-ho-shin to Ta-lien, 4 miles; Nan-kuan-lig to Dalny, 11 miles. All told, the railways ceded by Russia to Japan amount to some 484 miles, for the building of which the former expended some 76,222,000 roubles. In virtue of the Russo-Chinese agreement of September, 1896, the *concessionnaire* country for these lines must hand over to the Peking Government these railways and their appurtenances without compensation on the expiration of eighty years from the day of the opening of traffic along the main line of the Eastern Chinese Railway, *i.e.*, 1903. Besides, the Chinese Government has the right, on the expiration of thirty-six years from the time of completion of the main line and its opening for traffic, to take over the lines entire, on refunding to the *concessionnaire* country all the outlays made on them. In addition to the railways ceded by Russia, the new Chino-Japanese treaty allows Japan the right to reconstruct the military railway between Autung and Mukden, amounting to 184 miles, into a permanent line to be utilized for commercial purposes, the duration of the concession being fifteen years from the day of the completion of the reconstruction work.

According to an additional clause of the above-mentioned railway agreement between the Peking and the St. Petersburg Court, the Eastern Chinese Railway enjoys the right to police a strip of territory extending for fifteen versts on either side of the railway line, as well as the exclusive

right to exploit any mineral deposits within this strategic area. This latter privilege leads us to the consideration of the much talked-of coal mines of Yentai, Fushun, and Wa-fang-tien. The Yentai coal mines, which had been worked by Chinese until the Eastern Chinese Railway acquired them by purchase, lie north of Liao-Yang and in the centre of an enormous coal basin reputed to cover several thousand square miles of territory and to be sufficient to supply the country with fuel for centuries. The coal mine in the Fushun district and the Wa-fang-tien mine in Southern Liao-tung were also opened up by Chinese many years before the coming of the Russians. Since the Russians had taken possession of these mines, their poor management of business was responsible for so little improvement that the coal raised was insufficient to supply even the southern section of the Central Manchurian Railway. Besides these three mines, the Eastern Chinese Railway worked several seams, but in an aimless and shiftless fashion, abandoning them after a short experience. Under the efficient management of the Japanese, this deplorably nebulous state of things will be promptly readjusted and the coal mines will soon yield an enormous output, without utilizing which the Chan-chun-Port Arthur railway will never be turned into a commercial success, notwithstanding the formidable competition offered by the famous junk-traffic on the Liao River and the Chinese railway on the other side of that waterway.

Now we come to the question of lumbering concessions, which furnished the world a topic of startling stories immediately preceding the Russo-Japanese war. The semi-official corporation, the Yalu Lumber Company, having an imposing head-office in Port Arthur, was concerned with the lumbering on the Manchurian as well as Korean side of the Yalu. This enterprise, political rather than commercial in its aim and nature, did not hit upon a working plan, and was already on the verge of dissolution, having some 4,000,000 roubles to the Company's debit, and being embroiled in directorial troubles over the question of the division of spoils. In consequence of the new agreement between the Tokio and the Peking Governments, the lumbering industry on the right side of the Yalu River shall be undertaken by a joint-stock company to be organized by the high contracting parties, dividing the shares equally between Chinese and Japanese subscribers. The corporation thus inaugurated shall be a semi-official one, directly supervised by the Manchu Government, although the shareholders may appoint representatives to look after their own interests and to insure that a fair share of profits accrue to them. At present, the natives, felling the Yalu timber in a very primitive fashion, are said to derive an annual income amounting to some \$2,500,000; and it is quite safe to assume that this

industry, when carried out by modern methods and on sound business principles, will prove the source of no insignificant income.

Important as is Japan's acquisition of the rights and properties above described, it sinks into comparative insignificance when we come to consider the attainment by her of an end which is the *sine qua non* of the Chinese policy of Japan—the realization of the "Open Door."

Faithful to her Manchurian policy, Japan has persuaded the Tsin dynasty to open the following sixteen cities and towns "as places of international residence and trade":

NAME OF PORT	PROVINCE	POPULATION
Feng-huang-cheng	Feng-tien (or Sheng-king)	50,000
Liao-yang	"	100,000
Hsin-min-tun	"	80,000
Tieh-ling	"	100,000
Tung-Kiag-tsū	"	Unknown
Fa-ku-men	"	Unknown
Chang-chun (Kuan-cheng-tsū)	Kirin	250,000
Kirin	"	250,000
Harbin	"	250,000
Nin-Gu-ta	"	40,000
Hun-chun	"	30,000
San-sing	"	50,000
Tsi-tsi-har	Hei-lung-kiang	100,000
Khai-lar	"	Unknown
Ai-gun	"	30,000
Man-chu-li	"	Unknown

This list has to be enlarged by five additional ports, of which Newchang and Talien have practically been marts of international commerce for a number of years, whilst the remaining three, Antung, Tatun-kow, and Mukden, though nominally opened in October, 1903, as a consequence of the joint agitation of the United States and Japan, have remained unutilized owing to the contingency of the late war. All in all, twenty-one cities and towns in Manchuria will soon be thrown open to the commerce of the world. A glance at the map of Northern China reveals how carefully these places are selected. Taking the newly opened sixteen ports, we perceive that their opening is of the utmost importance for the benefit not only of China and Japan, but of all nations standing for the maintenance of the integrity and the promotion of the economic prosperity of the Celestial Empire. Viewed from a strategical point, the five frontiers or semi-frontier posts, Manchuli, Aigun, Khailar, Hunchun, and Ninguta, when converted into marts of international trade, will prove a serious obstacle to Russian aggression upon Manchuria, for through them, the frontier armaments and military activi-

ties of the Muscovite in the Far East will be readily exposed to the world at large.

The remaining eleven towns include most of the important trade *entrepots* in the maritime province and interior of Manchuria. Liao-yang, probably the oldest town in the Eastern Three Provinces, lies astride of the railway commanding the fertile Liao valley, which, famous with giant crops of *kao-liang*, or the tall millet, veritably flows with milk and honey. Tieling, Hsin-min-tun, Fakumen, and Tung-kiang-tsü are also situated more or less closely to the Liao River, the greatest trade artery in Manchuria, down which the produce of the far interior of that country and Eastern Mongolia are carried to the port of Newchang. About half way between Tieling and Harbin is the prosperous city of Chang-chun (Kuan-cheng-tsü), which is aptly called the clearing-house of inland Manchuria, being the distributing centre for trade to and from Kirin, Hei-lung-kiang, and Eastern Mongolia. Eighty-four miles from this trade depot is the old city of Kirin, the capital of the province of the same name, which, situated in the heart of a splendid timbered country, is so famous for the building of boats and junks that it is well styled the "dockyard." Finally, we come to the famous railway city of Harbin, which is the key of the Eastern Chinese railway, and its brains, ordering the coming and going of every truck and car.

The opening of these towns will be effected as soon as possible after the withdrawal of the armies of the Mikado and the Czar, which is to be completed before April 14, 1907, in conformity with the evacuation agreement concluded between the commanders of the formerly belligerent forces in Manchuria. No sooner will the colors be removed from Manchuria, than a Japanese civilian population will flow into these treaty ports. Even under exceedingly adverse circumstances prior to the war, there were some 2,500 Japanese in Manchuria engaged in various lines of mercantile pursuits; and it is quite certain that with the removal of the Russian exclusive policy these figures will be heavily augmented. Quick to seize every opportunity, the Japanese merchants and traders are already planning to open, in the coming autumn, industrial and agricultural expositions in Mukden and Tieling.

Thus, the substitution of the Japanese "open door" for the exclusive policy of Russia will prove a strong stimulus for *bona-fide* commercial enterprises which have been kept in abeyance under the influence of the perverted business principles of the Muscovite. Apart from the bribery and graft that prevailed in Manchuria under Russian rule, the Muscovite policy was in direct contravention of the rights of trading nations. In 1901 the "Times" correspondent in the Far East wrote that the Russian administration at Dalny had refused to permit Americans to build go-downs

for the storage of American kerosene, announcing the intention to exclude American oil altogether from Manchuria. The Americans were looked upon with keen suspicion if they ventured further than a couple of miles from Newchang. The Russians refused to recognize British passports in Manchuria, and insisted that all British subjects travelling in that country must possess Russian passes which could be procured from Port Arthur only, with great difficulty and considerable delay. With the inauguration of the "open-door" policy, however, the *entrepreneurs* and traders of all countries will equally enjoy the privilege of exploiting the wonderful country of Manchuria, whose three hundred thousand square miles contain enormous natural resources, and whose buying capacity can be developed almost without limit.

The evacuation clause of the Treaty of Peace does not affect the railway guards in Manchuria, which the high contracting parties reserve the right to maintain to a number not exceeding fifteen per kilometre. As a consequence of the publication at Tokio of the proceedings of the peace conference, it has recently transpired that Count Witte objected to Baron Komura's proposal to fix the maximum number of such guards, which is very significant in view of the fact that it has always been Russia's policy to utilize the railway as the forerunner of her conquering army. The Russo-Manchurian railway is a military strategical railway guarded as no other railway in the world is guarded, with blockhouses every three or four miles, and with garrisons at every important point adequate to quarter large numbers of troops.

Viewed in this light, the restriction of the number of railway guards is of no small importance. Had not Baron Komura's insistence prevailed upon Count Witte, it is highly probable that Russia might have indefinitely stationed in Manchuria a formidable army on the plea of protecting her railway lines. At the recent Peking conference, the Chinese plenipotentiaries expressed the desire to have the Japanese and Russian railway guards withdrawn as soon as possible, in response to which Japan consented to withdraw her guards in the event of Russia agreeing to take a similar step. It seems, however, very unlikely that Russia will listen to China's request; and Japan, in order to cope with what odds the Russian railway guards may bring about against her, will have to station her troops along her railway lines until China shall have become capable of protecting herself as well as the lives and property of foreigners.

We have already noted that Japan has secured some 669 miles of railway, including the southern portion of the Eastern Chinese Railway and the Autung-Mukden line. At fifteen men to a kilometre, she can station some 16,032 soldiers along these lines. Russia, on her part,

still retains some 967 miles, which will give her the right to keep about 23,208 men. Thus we see that the maximum of fifteen soldiers per kilometre totals no meagre figure, and it might reasonably be apprehended that the maintenance of such large forces could not fail to prove prejudicial to the sovereignty of China, were it not for the fact that Japan, adhering to her promise, will utilize her railway guards, in case of necessity, for the purpose of checking Russian encroachment upon the integrity of Manchuria. It has been persistently rumored that Japan and China have entered into a clandestine understanding which is of no smaller importance than the treaty made public by the respective Governments. But this so-called "secret agreement," as we learn from an authoritative source, is simply an arrangement relative to the building of the Kirin-Chang-chun and the Mukden-Hsin-min-tun railways.

It will be remembered that at the Portsmouth conference Japan originally demanded the whole of the Port Arthur-Harbin section of the Eastern Chinese railway, and that Witte's refusal of this demand resulted in a compromise by which Russia retained to herself the Harbin-Chang-chun section of said line, recognizing in lieu thereof Japan's right to build the proposed line between Kirin and Chan-chun. At the Peking conference, however, the Chinese plenipotentiaries declined to endorse this agreement made between the formerly belligerent nations, and the Mikado's representatives were forced to yield to another compromise, agreeing to construct the Kirin-Chang-chun line in conjunction with the Manchu Government. This line, though only eighty-four miles long, was sought by Japan, because its connection with the Port Arthur-Chang-chun road will greatly enhance the value of the latter. When the Russian Government contemplated the construction of that road in 1902, the semi-official *Novoe Vremya* said as follows:

This branch is important both for commercial and strategical reasons; for if our railway did not touch Kirin it would miss the great trading centre of that part of Manchuria. More trading routes pass through Kirin than through any other town in the province. It is a kind of junction for all the commerce of China with northern Manchuria, Korea, and the Amur regions, and through it pass the main roads leading to Mukden and Peking, to Korea and the Russian frontier.

Another arrangement made by the so-called secret agreement relates to the military railway connecting Mukden and Hsin-min-tun, built by the Russians during the war and afterward occupied by the Japanese. As this road does not belong to the Eastern Chinese Railway, Japan cannot convert it into a permanent line to be maintained for commercial purposes without first securing the consent of the Chinese Government. Having failed to secure such consent, Japan has made a conciliation in virtue of which China is to build said line with funds to be supplied by the Tokio Government.

The third and last settlement contained in the secret agreement is to the effect that the Peking administration shall not build a competitive line to the Port Arthur-Chang-chun road. Such being the only substance of the unpublished agreement, which rather testifies to the modesty of Japan's demands, there is no reason why it should give rise to such intense anxiety as has been entertained in certain quarters in Europe.

I have stated that at the Peking conference Japan made several important concessions in favor of China. She had fought China's battle as much as she had fought her own, sacrificing thousands of lives and spending hundreds of millions of dollars, and yet the Manchu Government did not hesitate to deny her a few railway concessions which she was fully justified in claiming. But Baron Komura, adroit and foresighted, tolerated China's ungrateful attitude and conceded many points, thus hoping to convince the Chinese Government and people of Japan's sincere wish for the welfare of their country. Outside of the conference rooms, he spared no pains to be friendly with the Empress Dowager and the high officials of the Yamen. He was aware that China was too large a country to be controlled by Japan, or, indeed, by any one country. Should Japan play Russia's game and try to make the most of her opportunities, resorting to bullying and bluster in her dealings with the Manchus, her Chinese policy could only result in failure.

Although China's attitude toward Japan has become distinctly friendly in the past few years, "it will require," as Mr. Weale says in his brilliant work, "*The Re-Shaping of the Far East*," "the greatest delicacy, the most firm but magnanimous policy, and the most far-seeing and liberal treatment on the part of Japan to exact the full value which these remarkable years should give."

In spite of M. Alexandre Uler's rose-colored description of the "Russification" of Manchuria, we are forced to believe that this Russification has been something of a myth, made possible by gigantic bluff. Garnering in all Russia's gold, twenty million Manchurians look at the Muscovites none the less with distrust and disdain, and the Russian military commissaires and their lieutenants have never made headway with the provincial officials of Manchuria. Display of force and employment of threats and outrages will never convince the Chinese, and Japan must not repeat Russia's history extorting privileges and concessions from the Manchu dynasty. It is highly gratifying to note that recent events all conspire to solidify the friendly relationship existing between Japan and China. The nine thousand Chinese students pursuing various lines of study in Japan, and the hundreds of Japanese employed by the central and local governments of China, will greatly help the

two nations to pave the way to the ultimate establishment of an *entente cordiale*, destined to play a conspicuous rôle in the future developments of the political situation in the Far East.

In the mean time, the fact should not be lost sight of that the war and the consequent settlements have immensely increased Japan's responsibilities in China. It cannot be expected that Russia, submitting to her recent misfortunes, should abandon all her hopes of territorial aggrandizement in the East. On the contrary, the Empire of Muscovy will ever strive to expand eastward at the expense of the dominions of the "Son of Heaven." As a *quid pro quo* for the loss of southern Manchuria, Russia will surely lay her covetous hands upon Mongolia and Sinkiang, besides preparing to seize every opportunity to recover her shattered influence in northern Manchuria, thus making the question of the Russo-Chinese land-frontier infinitely more complicated.

Would Japan defend the integrity of Mongolia and Sinkiang with vigor and determination as she did in the case of Manchuria? This is a most perplexing question. Should Japan, in the event of Russia encroaching upon Chinese territory in the direction of Central Asia or Mongolia, answer China's request for help with a diplomatic *non possumus*, the result could be naught but that the pendulum of the Mandarinate would again swing toward the Muscovite bureaucrats in the impairment of the most dearly-bought *rapprochement* between the Tokio and the Peking Courts; and the islanders of Nippon may wake up one morning only to find the flames of war once again lighting the hills and plains of Manchuria. Single-handed, Japan might find it difficult to cope with such a grave situation, and what she would do would largely depend upon the attitude of Downing Street.

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AMERICAN POLITICS.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT's message to Congress, presented at the opening of the session, is not only the latest deliverance in matters political, but is also the most important. It places the President far ahead of his party. Whether the latter will move up to the advanced place which the President occupies is another question. At any rate, he has blazed the way, to speak in the vernacular of the West, and, confident in the logic of his position, will calmly await developments.

It is, indeed, a remarkable thing to see the head of the Republican party, for instance, demanding the enactment of a law imposing a graduated income tax. For many years this has been a distinctly Democratic proposition. The last income-tax law upon the statute books was enacted in 1894, when the Democrats controlled both branches of the National Legislature, and during the incumbency of President Cleveland. This law was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States; but, as President Roosevelt points out, the decision was reached by the narrow majority of one, and he thinks that this fact ought to be taken into consideration. He admits that it will be difficult to draft a law which shall be held to be constitutional, but he will not concede that it is absolutely impossible.

Without regard to this phase of the question, however, the interesting fact is that President Roosevelt takes the stand that "the man of great wealth owes a peculiar obligation to the state, because he derives special advantages from the mere existence of government." The weight and influence of the President will go far toward making this idea a popular one; and it is not unlikely that he will create such a follow-

ing for the proposition as to secure the incorporation of an income-tax plank in the next national Republican platform. If he can do this, he will have achieved a great victory; for certainly the advocacy of an income tax has never yet been regarded as a tenet of the Republican faith.

The President goes further. He recommends a law prohibiting all corporations from contributing to the campaigns of any party. This is another long step forward, and it is thoroughly in line with the trend of modern opinion. The corporations would, of course, be glad to experience relief from the appeals of the campaign collector; but the public would also be benefited by the enactment of such a law, inasmuch as the party in power, having been freed from obligation to the corporations, would be enabled to enact hostile legislation without a qualm of conscience.

If such a law as the President suggests could be passed, the result would certainly be purer elections. Under the present system, a very large percentage of the money used in political campaigns comes from the corporations. In many instances these corporations contribute impartially to both parties, naturally desiring to be *en rapport* with the organization successful at the polls. They are certain to be on the winning side, no matter which party wins. If these contributions of the corporations are eliminated, the campaign committees will not have as much money to expend. There will be fewer special trains carrying partisan orators; there will be less literature disseminated; there will be little or no money for use on election day.

Suppose, however, that all these things should result? Does any one contend that the country would be injured thereby? On the contrary, the people would have an opportunity to act more generally upon their own volition. The daily newspapers supply enough political pabulum, and, with all temptation to pervert the news removed, will discuss impartially and fairly the questions at issue. In periods of ordinary political activity, when there is nothing more at stake than the possession of the offices, the people will act without being unduly influenced. If, on the other hand, it should become necessary to check a dangerous popular movement, there would be no trouble in raising all the funds that might be needed to arouse the great mass of the voters to a realization of the impending crisis. In other words, the money necessary to meet the legitimate expenses of a campaign will always be forthcoming; and the country will agree with the President that it ought not to come out of the treasuries of corporations that are benefited by legislative enactment.

No one ought to object, either, to the proposition to compel pub-

licity in the matter of campaign contributions and expenses. The New York law has operated to the benefit of the people. The public ought to be informed as to the amounts which are received and spent by the respective candidates for their suffrages; and, in fact, all the items ought to be presented in detailed form. If the expenditure is right, no harm can result from submitting it to the broadest scrutiny; if it is wrong, there is all the more reason why it should receive general condemnation. It will be interesting to observe whether Congress will enact into law the measures now before it seeking to enforce this wise publicity.

From indications at the present writing, the session of Congress will be mainly confined to the enactment of the appropriation bills. These budgets are growing larger and larger with each succeeding year; but inasmuch as the revenues are keeping pace with the expenditures, no burden falls upon the country. There is no widespread criticism of Federal appropriations, there being a very general realization of the fact that the nation is like a large business corporation, requiring a larger outlay as it expands. The fact is, too, that during the past few years the estimates submitted by the various departments of the Government have been carefully revised, and the number of questionable items in the budgets have been reduced to a minimum.

An effort will be made in the House to enact the so-called ship-subsidy bill, which has already passed the Senate. Speaker Cannon is quoted as being in opposition to this measure; and his antagonism, while not necessarily fatal, certainly places the bill in a doubtful position. Much has been said for and against this measure, its advocates insisting that its enactment will restore the prestige of the American merchant marine, while its opponents claim that there is no more reason for subsidizing ship-owners than farmers or other producers. If the measure is reported to the House, a lengthy debate is certain to result. In the Senate, awaiting consideration, is the bill which passed the House during the last session, after much excitement, reducing the tariffs on Philippine sugar, tobacco, and rice to twenty-five per cent of the Dingley rates, and admitting free all other products of the Philippine Islands. The enactment of this measure has been earnestly urged by the President. It is probable that the bill making more stringent regulations governing the admission of aliens into this country will become a law.

There is no likelihood that the present Congress will undertake to pass any measure relating to the currency, although there will be no lack of suggestion as to the best methods of giving elasticity to our circulation. The anti-injunction measure so earnestly desired by organized labor is also apparently doomed, the President having declared himself in opposition to its objectionable provisions and suggested less drastic

legislation, while the leaders of the House are lukewarm as to the wisdom of its enactment. It is also certain that the tariff question will not be seriously discussed. There is a disposition to allow the railroad-rate law and the pure-food law further time for practical operation before undertaking to amend their provisions. The outlook, therefore, is for a session barren of important legislation, except in the one or two instances already referred to.

Three months, however, will allow sufficient time for indulging in talk, and many subjects will, therefore, be thoroughly threshed in debate. One of these will be the mustering out of the companies of the Twenty-fifth infantry, colored, on account of the troubles in Brownsville, Texas.

The details of this incident, which has already given rise to an unusual amount of comment, are too recent to require rehearsal here, beyond the fact that, a fatal riot having been inaugurated by the troops, and it having been found impossible to identify the guilty men, the President punished both the participants and the men who shielded them. The discussion is certain to assume a political phase, because the President's action affects the negro vote, which, in some States, is a valuable asset of the Republican party.

It would be well if this political controversy could be avoided, and the case tried upon its merits. It is the well-grounded opinion of many thoughtful men in our country that the so-called race problem would lose its importance if the negro were removed from the field of politics. The inception of the agitation of the negro question, so-called, was due to the fact that the negro had been intrusted with the ballot. In the North, his vote was needed; in the South, it was not only undesired, but resented. The situation was one that necessarily led to friction.

We cannot take away this suffrage at this late day, nor would it be fair and just to the many educated and intelligent negroes who have equipped themselves for the fullest exercise of the duties of citizenship to suggest such a deprivation. It is proper, however, to assert that the continued agitation of the negro question for political purposes is doing incalculable harm, not alone to the negro race, but to the entire country. Both white men and black men are to blame for this unfortunate situation. They are, in the main, selfish and designing men, who seek only their own advantage and have no regard either for national or racial good. The solution of the problem would be obtained if the negroes would act more independently. As the case now stands, they are a Republican contingent and are not taken into consideration by the Democratic leaders. If, however, they should divide their votes, so as to be an uncertain quantity, it seems as though they would find themselves treated with a greater degree of consideration.

The defeat of Mr. Hearst in the gubernatorial campaign in New York was, of course, the principal feature of the recent election. It is not necessary at this late day to recite the incidents of his remarkable contest, other than to say that the two episodes which contributed most largely to his defeat were the antagonistic cablegram to Mr. McCarren from Mr. Croker, and the speech delivered by Secretary Root, the latter being one of the most severe arraignments known in American political history.

In view of the fact, however, that Mr. Hearst was the only defeated candidate upon his ticket, and that Mr. Hughes, his successful competitor, was not elected by a phenomenal majority, it is evident that if the Democrats had nominated any one except Mr. Hearst they would have swept the State. The result showed that Mr. Hearst was not defeated because of the views which he entertained on matters of public policy, but rather because his personality was, to many voters, objectionable. Indeed, it was the very fact that he believed in opposition to the trusts, so-called, and posed as the friend of the masses, that gave him the vote he obtained.

If Mr. Hearst is, therefore, beyond the pale of consideration as a candidate, the principles represented by him are by no means in the same category. The great mass of voters who are discontented and restless, who view with jealousy and envy the mammoth fortunes which have been accumulated by the few, and who are determined, if possible, to bring about a more equal condition of affairs through the agency of the ballot, will not be discouraged by their failure to elect Mr. Hearst. On the contrary, they will seek another candidate, not more conservative, perhaps, but less vulnerable, and endeavor triumphantly to elect him. These forces of discontent must be reckoned with.

It was remarked during the recent campaign that there was a decadence of party spirit. This has been the tendency for some years past. More than this, the time is now at hand when party ties must set more loosely than ever if we are to continue, as a nation, in the path of conservative government. Parties may assemble in national convention, frame their platforms, and nominate their candidates; but, after all, the voters of the future must disregard party labels. The divorce from political ties must be complete. The character of the candidates and the principles which they represent must be the determining factors at the polls. The forces of conservatism and of right must be massed together without regard to the previous political predilection of the voter. There must be an appeal to conscience, not to party spirit. Unless there is this independence on the part of the voter, we are liable to see the country plunged into serious difficulty.

President Roosevelt has seen the drift of affairs with his usual clear foresight. He has endeavored to keep the Republican party in the position where it would be commended for a rigid execution of all the laws, even though the offenders were among the rich and powerful. He has not gone beyond the laws, but he has infused new vitality into statutes that were covered with the dust of oblivion. He has endeavored to demonstrate that there are laws enough to reach the evils which arouse such universal complaint, provided some one has the courage to enforce them. He has neutralized the criticism that formerly obtained against the Republican party, that it was the friend of the rich and the powerful rather than of the unprotected, and has demonstrated that reforms can be secured without recourse to radical men and measures.

It is almost impossible to estimate the political value to the Republican party of the course which President Roosevelt has pursued; and, as a matter of fact, the future nominee of that party cannot hope for election unless he gives evidence that he will pursue the same fearless and impartial policy. The people of the United States realize that they cannot stop the accumulation of wealth; but they do know that there can be, and that there ought to be, some interposition against the exercise of unfair discrimination on the part of monopolistic corporations, whereby advantages are given to some which are not enjoyed by all. Corporations are well enough in their place; but if they deal with necessities of life, they occupy a quasi-public position and must be made amenable to public considerations. President Roosevelt has given an earnest of what may be done along proper lines; and unless the signs of the times are strangely misleading, the people will be satisfied with nothing less.

It would seem as if the great mass of intelligent and conservative people would rather choose an honest and courageous executive, who administers the laws with fidelity and impartiality, than a radical and ambitious man, who would absolutely disregard all vested rights in his effort to regulate apparent evils. Rather than have nothing done, the voters will elect a President of the latter type; and it is this absolutely certain outcome that President Roosevelt has been endeavoring to prevent.

We have reached a point, too, in the history of the country where something more than a President of the Roosevelt mould is necessary. The Supreme Court of the United States is face to face with one of the most important periods in its history. The great prosperity of the country, with its consequent accumulation of individual and corporate wealth, has brought new problems. Any one who has read the discussions which preceded the adoption of the Federal Constitution must have

been struck by the fact that the framers of that document had no conception of the conditions which now confront us. The fundamental principles of government were considered by them with much detail. The jealousy which the smaller States might manifest toward the larger ones; the necessity for equalizing in some legislative body the differences in area and population; the adjustment of the delicate relations between the legislative, executive, and judicial branches — all these and more did the fathers of the republic anticipate and attempt to regulate.

They did not even appreciate, however, the aggregation of capital and its menace. Great financial wealth was almost unknown in those days, and even the few who possessed fortunes did not combine together to increase those fortunes at the expense of their fellow-men. In the hundred or more years which have elapsed since the adoption of the Constitution, our civilization has become more and more complex, and it is now necessary to restrict and control the vast corporations which, in some instances, monopolize avenues of trade. The exercise of this power must, necessarily, be within the limits of the Constitution; and it may be that the courts will be compelled to make some very liberal constructions of that document in order to fully protect public interests.

To my mind, the position is analogous to the time when the republic was evolving out of its experimental stage. In those days it was the broad and masterly interpretation of the Constitution by John Marshall and his colleagues which settled the United States upon a sure foundation. It will require equally wise and courageous minds to guide us safely through the maze of litigation which now threatens. Measures which are of vital import to the American people will be attacked upon the ground that they are unconstitutional. The attempt to overthrow the railroad-rate law is already outlined, while the statute guaranteeing pure food is to be subjected to powerful opposition.

The Constitution has always proved elastic enough for any emergency; and it is likely, therefore, that if necessary there will be read into it provisions which, if not expressed, are in harmony with its spirit. At any rate, very sagacious must be the minds that will not mar the wonderful symmetry of that immortal document and yet will find in it a protecting ægis for the whole people.

In this connection, it is worth while to quote the words of a writer in a current publication concerning the proposed Constitution of the new State of Oklahoma. He says:

Watch Oklahoma. She has a chance to work out the corporation problem in words of one syllable. The Oklahoma Constitutional Convention may develop into one of the significant events of the present political-industrial crisis, for that State will be the first to construct and organize law, since the supremely im-

portant question of corporation regulation and control has been recognized in its true aspect. Oklahoma has no encumbrances of the past. She can view every difficulty in the light of the latest developments. Her people are of a type accustomed to think for themselves and to act independently upon their own judgment. Capital she must have for the development of her resources. Will she take it on her own terms, regulating and restricting it for the best advantage of all the people, and yet rendering it the fair return to which it is entitled? Or will she give it free rein to corrupt her Legislature, strangle her independent industries, and exploit her many for the benefit of an alien few? What Wisconsin and Iowa have, by a vital struggle, gained in part is hers in whole. She may form where others must reform. If she can give capital that free play which it must have for normal development and still guard herself against the common encroachments of avarice, making corporate interests her servant instead of her master, the newest of the States may well become the model for her elder sisters.

There is no doubt that a remarkable opportunity is afforded the members of the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention to frame a document which shall be, in every respect, a model. The country has moved rapidly since 1896, when Utah was admitted into the Union. Many new problems have arisen, especially in relation to corporate combination, and it will devolve upon the statesmen of the new commonwealth to embody into their charter the latest expressions of wisdom resulting from experience. The outcome of their labors will be observed with interest. The opportunity for the production of a model constitution, which shall contain all the best and omit all the defects of similar documents, is certainly presented to Oklahoma.

The Presidential situation remains practically unchanged. The probability of the nomination of Mr. Bryan is increased by the defeat of Mr. Hearst, although since the former's Madison Square speech it has become evident that the Southern States do not like his advocacy of government ownership of railroads. Representative John Sharp Williams, of Mississippi, the Democratic leader in the House of Representatives, recently declared in unequivocal language that the South would not support this policy. This is not, however, important, inasmuch as the South will, as usual, vote solidly for the Democratic nominee, no matter what principles he may espouse. The Southern States supported Greeley in 1872 with the same devotion that they displayed toward Cleveland in 1892, although both nominees were bitter pills to swallow.

The fact is that governmental ownership of railroads appeals to the Western section of the country and certainly meets with the approval of the voters who cast their ballots for Mr. Hearst in New York. It does not appear, therefore, that Bryan has largely decreased his chances of the Presidential nomination by his public espousal of the government

ownership idea. It has hurt him among the conservatives in his party, who are now endeavoring to unite upon some one who can wrest the nomination from him.

Their present choice is Woodrow Wilson, president of Princeton University, and a conference was recently held in New York to organize a concerted movement in his behalf. No one can question Dr. Wilson's ability or his high character. He has, moreover, considerable theoretical knowledge of political affairs, as evidenced by his volume on Congressional government and his study of the elements of historical and practical politics under the title "The State." As a general rule, however, the scholar in politics does not present an inspiring spectacle, besides which it will take considerable effort to bring Dr. Wilson prominently before the men who will control the election of delegates to the national convention. Dr. Wilson seems to be a passive instrument in the hands of friends who are determined to urge his fitness and availability. There are no indications, up to the present time, of any universal public sentiment in his behalf.

On the Republican side, no one candidate has made any marked advance during the past quarter toward the Presidential goal. A few leading members of the party, including Representative Grosvenor, of Ohio, and Senator Elkins, of West Virginia, are intimating that President Roosevelt will be forced, in spite of himself, into the Presidential race, their prediction being that the popular demand for him as a candidate will be too strong to be withheld. Notwithstanding the opinion of these two eminent gentlemen — and both are skilled politicians — the opinion is here ventured that Mr. Roosevelt will not be a candidate for the Presidency in 1908, even though the Republican party should unanimously, in national convention assembled, select him as its leader.

No one who knows President Roosevelt believes for a moment that he would be inconsistent or untrue to himself; and he has burned his bridges behind him in the matter of the Presidential nomination. He has even gone so far as to assert that he is now serving his second term as President. This point is open to discussion, inasmuch as he has only been once elected to the Presidency; but the very fact that he regards this term as his second would give to his political opponents the opportunity to charge him with seeking a third term, a charge which, in itself, would defeat the most popular President who ever served in the White House. There is no doubt that Mr. Roosevelt is not only sincere in his declaration, but that he has deliberately barred himself from consideration. The race to succeed him is still open. There are any number of available candidates, with no one so preëminently the logical candidate as to make prediction even worth while.

The effort of the leaders of organized labor to adversely affect the political future of certain candidates for Congress did not meet with much success. The campaign of President Gompers, of the Federation of Labor, against Representative Littlefield, of Maine, resulted, as indicated in the last issue of THE FORUM, in a defeat of the former; and when the returns from all the Congressional districts were received after the 7th of November, it was even more apparent that the working-men of the country had declined to recognize the political factorship with which Mr. Gompers had endeavored to invest them.

Speaker Cannon, in particular, had been marked for defeat. It was directly charged, for instance, that it had been impossible for labor to receive a square deal at his hands. His alleged antagonistic position was made the subject of several formal statements which were widely circulated through his district. Mr. Cannon made one speech in answer to his critics, and then spent nearly the entire anteelection period in campaigning through a score of States. He was returned to Congress by a majority above the usual figures. Representative Sidney Mudd, of Maryland, who was also an especial object of attack, was reelected by an increased majority. In some districts the opposition of organized labor reduced the favorable vote for Representatives; but, upon the whole, the labor campaign was not a success.

It is difficult to understand why this should have been the result. The workingmen of the United States, if they should stand together at the ballot-box, would be a tremendous factor in deciding results. They have numbers and organization. In many States and Congressional districts they would undoubtedly hold the balance of power if they voted *en masse*. The fact that never have they thus undertaken to use their great strength is one of the curious features in American politics. It may be that they are too independent. It may be that they mistrust their leaders, or perhaps they resent the insinuation that they can be led like dumb cattle to the polls. Whatever the reason, the fact remains that no effort to vote the American workingmen as a political unit has yet succeeded.

It seems to me that the real explanation lies in the fact that, up to the present time, the national legislators have not displayed opposition to the reasonable propositions of American labor. Everything has not been done that radical labor leaders have demanded; but, upon the whole, consideration for the workingmen has not been lacking. If the time should come when labor should be turned away from the door of Congress without a hearing, meeting nothing but absolute indifference and scorn, it is probable that it would be driven by the force of such circumstance into effective solidity. This time has not, however, yet arrived, nor is it likely to occur. There is too much political sagacity in Congress to

warrant the prediction that organized labor will be antagonized to the extent of totally ignoring all its claims.

One of the most remarkable suggestions which have been made as the result of the agitation for a revision of the tariff is that Republican revisionists in the Sixtieth Congress should unite with the Democrats and elect a low-tariff speaker in opposition to Mr. Cannon.

The scheme sounds so plausible that it is not surprising that it has received considerable editorial attention throughout the country and that it is especially favored by those who are sincerely interested in securing a change of schedules. A moment's consideration of the logical outcome of such a combination will demonstrate, however, its utter impracticability. In the first place, a speaker thus elected would occupy the impossible position of being compelled to serve two masters. He would be compelled to recognize the fact that he owed his elevation to Democratic voters, and, in the appointment of his committees, and especially of the Committee on Ways and Means, would be forced, unless a political ingrate, to listen to Democratic counsel.

Even if this first abnormal condition could be successfully encountered, the tariff bill which the committee would report would be of necessity a mongrel affair, unsatisfactory alike to Republicans and Democrats. Its enactment by the House of Representatives, if accomplished, would be a matter of grave difficulty and after much criticism and an undesirable exhibition of party feeling. Finally, should the bill go to the Senate, it would be received there as the product of an ill-assorted union and would either be pigeon-holed or returned to the House so amended as to preclude the possibility of agreement between the two branches.

Thus analyzed, the proposal to elect a speaker in favor of tariff revision by a Republican-Democratic combination does not appeal to common-sense. Not only does it present insuperable difficulties, but it supposes that the Republicans will go before the country presenting the spectacle of a house divided against itself. The history of the Republican majority in previous Congresses does not warrant the belief that this supposition rests upon a sure foundation. Time and time again we have heard rumors of great results to be accomplished by the alliance of Republican "insurgents" with the Democratic minority; and each time the vote has shown that the alleged widespread defection was confined to an insignificant few. It is not to be imagined that any large number of Republicans, no matter how anxious they may be to secure a revision of the tariff, will align themselves with the Democratic minority to obtain that result.

The reassembling of Congress for a brief session invites attention to

a curious anomaly in the operation of our government. Among those who have returned to Washington to participate in proceedings of the closing months are many men upon whom the seal of political death has already been set. Their fate was settled in November and they linger superfluous on the stage.

Some time in the future, when Congress is run upon business principles even at the expense of some traditional ideas, the new session will begin immediately after an election. As the case now stands, a Representative chosen last November will not be sworn in and take his seat until the first Monday in December, 1907, thirteen months after he has been elected. In the mean time the issues which were uppermost at the time of his election may have faded away, and conditions are almost certain to have been changed.

It borders upon absurdity to have Congress assemble thirteen months after its members have been elected; and yet this continually occurs, unless an extraordinary session is convened. A new Congress should begin on the first Monday in December, when its personnel is fresh from the people, and then its final adjournment would very properly come just before the campaign opens for the next election. Suppose, for instance, that the first session of the present Congress had aroused popular antagonism by unwise action. Nearly two years would elapse before the successor could undertake to correct its evil work. It would be much better if each Congress could appeal to the people at the conclusion of its session, and its successor promptly organized almost immediately after the ballots have been cast.

More than once the last three months of a session have witnessed the assembling of a House of Representatives in which more than a majority of its members have had no vital interest in the proceedings, their political careers having been ended ere they returned to Washington. Quite frequently, the members who have thus been defeated do not even take the trouble to resume their seats, an indifference perhaps unpardonable, but none the less natural. Even those who are conscientious enough to endeavor to earn their salaries cannot be expected to be over-zealous. The system is entirely wrong, and ought to be corrected. The new Congress should come into existence as soon as possible after an election has taken place, and not thirteen months later, as is now the case.

The method whereby this change can be effected ought to be easily evolved. The Federal Constitution provides that "the Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they by law appoint a different day." Congress could enact a law assembling the new Congress on the 4th of March. The work of the session could then be commenced and con-

siderable progress made before adjournment for the summer in June or July. After a brief recess, Congress could reassemble in October, and before the two-years' term had elapsed its programme could have been thoroughly executed. Under this arrangement the sessions of Congress could be more equitably divided.

At present a Representative chosen for two years very rarely spends even half that time in the halls of Congress. His term begins on the 4th of March, but he does not take his seat until December. He then serves until May or June, a period of six or seven months, after which he returns home, to remain until December, when he again takes his seat for a three-months' session. If he is not reëlected, his effective service may possibly be confined to the few months of the first session.

It does not require argument to prove that this is not an ideal situation. Indeed, one is almost tempted to endorse the English system, whereby the popular branch of the national legislature remains in power as long as it renders satisfactory service to the country. If a Parliament fails to sustain the Government, there is an immediate appeal to the people, who vote upon the issue presented, and whose decision is instantly reflected in the new Parliament which convenes. There is much to be commended in this system. It is in line with business practice, which retains efficient directors or managers as long as they prove their capacity and integrity. If such a system were in vogue in this country, we would have fewer elections, and they would depend upon vital issues rather than upon the recurrence of an arbitrary date.

With our conservatism and reverence for tradition, we are not likely to see the English custom adopted here; but we ought to have something better than an arrangement which insures only ten or twelve months' service in Congress out of a two-years' term, with three months of that time occurring after the possible political decapitation of the Representative.

HENRY LITCHFIELD WEST.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THERE has been a dramatic sequel to the rehabilitation of Captain Dreyfus. It will be recalled that in the last number of this Review the story was told of the arrest, trial, and conviction of Captain Alfred Dreyfus for betraying French military secrets to Germany; his degradation and banishment to the Island of the Devil; his return to France to stand a new trial, evidence having been discovered to show that he was the victim of a plot; and his complete exoneration and restoration to his former rank in the army. Dreyfus mainly owed his rehabilitation to General Picquart, who, as chief of one of the divisions of the General Staff, was clearly convinced of the innocence of Dreyfus. Picquart was the one man among all the officers connected with that infamous affair who was determined to see justice done, who had the courage of his convictions, and who, for the sake of truth and justice, proved incorruptible and paid a heavy price for his devotion. When his chiefs found that they could not use him as a tool he was retired from the army, and the career of one of the best soldiers in France was brought to an abrupt close.

The Sarrien Cabinet fell in October, and Clémenceau formed a new government, the portfolio of the Minister of War being offered to Picquart. Nothing perhaps illustrates that marvellous change in the French character of recent years, to which reference has more than once been made in these pages, than the fact that this offer should have been made and that it should have been received by the French people without that display of emotion which would have characterized its announcement a decade ago.

When the appointment was gazetted there was at first a slight feeling of apprehension, a feeling quite natural that Picquart's accession to the War Office meant the reopening of the Dreyfus affair, and that Picquart would avail himself of his power to punish his enemies. Ten years ago the Boulevards would have rung with excited and gesticulating mobs denouncing Clémenceau and Picquart, and the yellow press of Paris would have deluged those unfortunates with their choicest Billingsgate. The whole world would have been nervous fearing for the outcome. But the appointment was discussed with little, if any, more vehemence than a similar appointment would have been discussed in the United

States or in England, and in both countries members of the cabinet are freely criticised.

To the great mass of the French people, I believe, the appointment has given satisfaction. It indicates progression, moderation, efficient administration. It is a rebuke to those persons who were wilfully blind during the Dreyfus affair and attempted to use it for narrow party advantage. Instead of reopening old wounds it closes them forever; it is an announcement that the past is forgotten and will not be revived. Picquart has not begun his administration by avenging himself on the men who were the means of his humiliation. A man of high character, strong convictions, and fine abilities, he is content to go forward, and not backward. And France no longer trembles.

Clémenceau, the most interesting figure in modern French politics, who has destroyed more cabinets than he has made, at last comes into his own. The sobering influence of power and responsibility exercises its restraint in France as it does in the United States. We have seen in this country men very violent and radical in opposition become moderate and conservative when clothed with office. When last March Clémenceau entered the Sarrien Cabinet as Minister of the Interior, the Radicals and Socialists claimed it as a great triumph for their cause, for Clémenceau had always sat on the Extreme Left, and, in the eyes of the French conservatives and moderates, was as extreme as was Tom Watson in those days when the Populists were a political power and controlled the destinies of more than one State. Clémenceau as minister was to carry out the policies that Clémenceau as journalist and deputy had so long preached; the time was come when "equality" was no longer to be a theoretic aspiration, but a practical fact established by law.

Clémenceau as a minister was a disappointment — to the party of the Left. He had been in office only a short time when France was convulsed with labor difficulties that threatened serious consequences if not promptly dealt with. It was a rare opportunity for a weak and timid man to palter and temporize and bring the country almost to the verge of anarchy; for a man of strength and courage it was an even greater opportunity to crush anarchy at the outset and compel respect for the law. Clémenceau's friends measured the man and made a mistake. He would not dare, they said, to turn on his old supporters and deal with the Socialists as he would with any other insignificant violators of the law; for politically there was too much at stake, and politically Clémenceau was ambitious and would not destroy himself at the very beginning of his administration.

But he quickly showed them their mistake. Under his direction

troops were drafted to Paris until the capital was a great armed camp and there was force enough to suppress any attempt to subvert the lawful authority. But the use of force was not necessary; its mere display was sufficient to inspire respect. There was no riot, and no disorder; not a single shot was fired. The Socialists considered that they had been betrayed by Clémenceau, but the country recognized in him a man of courage and gave him its trust.

The new Premier came into office with a clear mandate from the country. France, it has been made quite clear by repeated parliamentary elections, desires the complete separation of Church and State, but at the same time it does not desire that the law shall be executed with harshness or vindictively or that a religious conflict shall be provoked. Permitted to have their own way, the Socialists, the party of the Extreme Left, would enforce the law with the utmost vigor, showing to the church no consideration and rejoicing if force had to be employed to compel obedience to the law.

Clémenceau has now become a "conservative radical," to whom compromise and conciliation are as attractive as unyielding adherence to a fixed principle was when he first entered public life, more than thirty years ago. He is placed in a position that requires the exercise of great tact and firmness; and while he may wisely ignore the non-essentials, the principle involved must be rigidly maintained. In many respects, his position is not unlike that of Count Witte when he was called by the Czar to the head of affairs and endeavored to bring about constitutional government in Russia. Witte lost the support of the Liberals because he counselled conciliation and moderation and discouraged those extreme methods which the opponents of autocracy deemed the only proper methods to employ.

Clémenceau can expect no support from the Socialists — who are always a party of opposition and always against whoever may be for the time in power — any more than he can look for encouragement to the Clericals; and yet I believe he may count upon the great mass of the French people if he pursues a moderate course and executes the law without unnecessary harshness or displaying petty tyranny. What France wants more than anything else is peace and order. The spirit of the people is opposed to religious strife.

At the same time, the French Catholic hierarchy would be fatuously blind if it could not see that moderation was one thing, and failure to enforce the law another. The Church has believed that fear of consequences would stay the hands of the authorities, but now they must know how empty is that hope. In a speech in the Senate recently, the Prime Minister said that in giving orders for inventories of church property to be

taken in compliance with the law, the insinuation had been made that he was inviting civil war. To this Clémenceau replied with much spirit that he had given the same orders and for the same objects when, as Minister of the Interior, he suppressed the miners' strikes, namely, to be patient to the end, but with the positive determination that force must remain on the side of the law. His use of the army was objected to, but he significantly replied:

I must employ the army to enforce respect for the law, and I will have the law respected as well by Catholics as by strikers. We do not wish the Catholics to profit by our patience to put themselves in revolt. I have taken the necessary measures.

This great question of separation of Church and State in France is really so little understood in this country that the concise declaration made by M. Briand, the Minister of Public Worship, who is charged with the execution of the law, will no doubt be read with interest. He said:

What is it that we have desired? What is it that this republican country has decreed? It has decreed four great things. It has decreed in the first place the absolute neutrality of the state among all existing forms of belief, to the extent of forever abolishing all pretence of a state church. It has decreed, in the second place, the abrogation of the Concordat, which means the rupture once and for all of the tie which has connected it with Rome. It has decreed in the third place to abolish public support of public worship, and subsidizing by the public of the priests of any religion. It has decreed in the fourth place to abolish the privilege which, in virtue of the Concordat, certain Frenchmen have possessed in their character of priests. This means that all French citizens are equal before the law, having the same rights and the same duties.

In the Chamber of Deputies M. Briand made this declaration:

The Catholic Church having simply declined to take advantage of its privilege under the Separation Law, as other religions have done, will on December 11 forfeit its 400,000,000 francs of property and thereafter come under the common law. No martyrdoms or persecutions will be possible. The churches, as state and communal property, will remain open for Catholic worship. The state will no longer support any religion; priests will no longer enjoy special privileges. They will be on an equality with other citizens. The state will have established its absolute neutrality toward all religions. That is all.

I am very firmly of the opinion that the Catholic Church will establish a *modus vivendi* with the French Government and that the friction so much feared will not manifest itself. That both parties to the agreement will profit by it, that the cause of religion as well as the cause of good government will gain by the complete divorce of spiritual and temporal authority, is little open to question. For proof we need only to look to the United States to see how the Catholic Church has

widened its power and increased its usefulness without state aid or attempting to exercise political influence.

The foreign policy of the Clémenceau Ministry will not differ from that of his predecessors of recent years. The Anglo-French *entente* is now so firmly established and gives so much satisfaction to both countries that there will be no weakening of the bonds of political friendship, which may at any time become even more closely knit by a formal treaty of alliance. With or without treaties France will continue to be the friend of both England and Italy as she is now the ally and banker of Russia; and while endeavoring not to provoke Germany to hostilities, she will continue to mistrust and watch her as the menace to her peace. So long as the neutrality of England, Italy, and Russia is assured, France need not fear that Germany will provoke her.

The break between the Liberal Government in England and the Labor party in the House of Commons grows wider, and it may not be long before labor is as openly and defiantly the enemy of the Government as are its acknowledged opponents, the Conservatives. It is the old fable over again of the camel and the herder's hut. At the last general election, the Liberals were glad to support Labor candidates in many constituencies to defeat the Conservative candidates, and the Labor candidates, like the camel, merely wanted to get their head through the door. But now that they are once in the house they are crowding the Liberal majority pretty hard until the Government sees that it must either surrender to the Labor party or assert its independence and defy it.

Meanwhile the Government has found encouragement in the internal differences of the Labor party. The extreme Socialism of Keir Hardie and his wing has disgusted the more conservative men, the leader of whom is Richard Bell, the secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, one of the most powerful trade-unions in the country. Mr. Bell has been a member of Parliament for several years, and both in Parliament and as the executive of his union has shown great sanity in the discussion of all questions affecting the cause of labor.

The attempt on the part of the Socialists to commit the Labor party to an avowed Socialistic programme is repugnant to Bell and his followers, who believe that it will do the cause incalculable harm. It is not at all improbable that within a year or two there will be two labor groups in British politics, one, to borrow the French term, the "party of the Extreme Left," led by Keir Hardie; the other, the "party of the Moderate Centre," with such men as Bell and John Burns, when he retires from the Cabinet, as its leaders.

The action of the House of Lords in amending the Education bill so

as to force the Commons to refuse to accept it in its amended form is not quite so bitterly resented by Prime Minister Bannerman as some of his supporters try to represent. A great deal of nonsense has been written in the American press about the House of Lords defying public opinion, as if the House of Lords held the same place in the British Parliamentary system that the Senate does in the American and could prevent legislation enacted by the Commons. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman has the remedy in his own hands if he has the courage to use it. If he really believes that the country approves the Education bill, all he has to do is to dissolve Parliament; and if he should be returned to power with a strong majority again pass the bill, and send it to the Lords, that body would be bound to accept it.

But the truth is, Sir Henry does not dare to test public sentiment in this way. He has a phenomenal majority in the Commons and does not propose to take any chances of having that majority cut down, which it most assuredly would be, as every party is weaker after having been in office than it is on the crest of opposition. It is not within the limits of probability that the Conservatives would carry the country if an election were to be held within the next few months, as the English Conservatives are disorganized and without a strong fighting leader; but they would unquestionably make gains. Prime Minister Bannerman is playing much better politics than to make an immediate test of strength.

The Lords have not only objected to the Education bill, but they also are expected to throw out other measures sent to them by the Lower House, especially measures in which labor is vitally interested and which were passed by the Liberals to keep the Labor party from going over to the opposition. By piling up grievances against the Lords, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman is accumulating most excellent campaign material when the time comes to appeal to the country, which will not be for at least five years, unless by a series of incredible blunders the Prime Minister should forfeit the confidence of the House.

If Socialism increases in England — and many careful observers of British politics believe it will — nothing could be better for the Liberals in the next campaign than an attack on the House of Lords for trying to defeat the popular will; and even if there is no increase of Socialism, as the Liberal party appeals more directly to the democracy than to the aristocracy, to make the House of Lords an issue is in line with the prevailing sentiment of the party.

For the present at least, possibly for the next year or two, there is not likely to be any marked change in the relations between Liberals and Laborites, except that the breach will widen and from time to time things will happen to increase the friction. The London borough elec-

tions held in November were a smashing defeat for the Liberals, and the unexpected Unionist success encouraged them to believe that the tide is running as strongly in their favor as only a few years ago it ran against them. Probably that sanguine opinion is not justified, but these local elections are not without significance. In many London boroughs a combination was effected between Unionists and Liberals to defeat Labor candidates, not so much on political grounds, but to bring about a reform in municipal administration and greater economy in management.

For some years past the citizens of London have complained of the heavy taxes levied upon them and the reckless extravagance of the county and borough councils. Municipal enterprises that no city in this country would dare to undertake have been carried out in England; and as the lower and middle classes are the beneficiaries, while the upper classes have to pay the cost, there has naturally been a revolt.

In many respects London is the best governed city in the world; but it is also the most expensively governed city, and it is not surprising that the law-makers can afford to be generous when their generosity costs them nothing. Municipal street-car lines and municipal steamboats on the Thames run at a heavy loss; and other conveniences of the same kind are very satisfactory to the people who use them, but decidedly exasperating to the people who never use them but are taxed for their support.

In Parliament the boot is on the other leg. There the workingmen's representatives pose as the watch-dogs of the treasury and oppose great expenditures for imperial purposes, while the men who belong to and are representative of the great landed and property interests willingly vote whatever sums may be needed for the proper support and defence of the Empire. As a rule, Liberal governments have always gone in for retrenchment and reform, while Conservative administrations have increased the budget to meet the always increasing demands of imperialism.

Not since the German Emperor dismissed Prince Bismarck from the chancellorship of the Empire has such a profound sensation been created in European politics as the publication of Prince Hohenlohe's memoirs giving the reason for that dismissal. They add nothing to the character or reputation of that modern Machiavelli, but they increase the admiration one must have for William II.

It has long been believed, although there has never been any official authority for the belief, that the Kaiser "dropped the pilot" shortly after his accession to the throne because he was convinced that Bismarck intended to be the real ruler of Germany, and the Kaiser was equally

determined that so long as he sat on the throne he would not only reign, but govern. Prince Hohenlohe, whose memoirs, perhaps, are a "blazing indiscretion," but at the same time a most valuable contribution to contemporary history, removes all doubt as to the motives which controlled the Kaiser.

Driving to the imperial shooting-box, the Kaiser unburdened himself to Prince Hohenlohe and told him of the causes leading to the break.

"The last three weeks of Bismarck's chancellorship," the Prince writes, "were full of disagreeable discussions between the Emperor and the Prince. It was, as the Emperor himself put it, 'a beastly time,' and as the Emperor further remarked, the question had been whether the Hohenzollern dynasty or the Bismarck dynasty was going to govern. As to foreign policy the Emperor asserts that Bismarck went his own way and kept a great deal from his knowledge. Indeed, he says that Bismarck sent word to St. Petersburg that the Emperor wanted to pursue an anti-Russian policy. 'I have no proof of this, however,' added the Emperor."

Other questions equally as important caused friction between the King and his first minister. One of the first things the Chancellor wanted the Emperor to do after he came to the throne was to give his sanction to the enactment of repressive labor measures aimed at the Socialists, and if the Reichstag should refuse to sanction Bismarck's programme he threatened to dissolve the legislature, "and if disturbances ensued to deal with them energetically," which meant turning the army loose on the people. To this the Emperor would not consent. He opposed this policy, Prince Hohenlohe writes, "because," he said, "if his grandfather after a long and glorious reign had been compelled to take action against rioters no one would have taken it amiss. But with himself, who had not yet achieved anything, the case was different. He would be taunted with having begun his reign by shooting down his subjects. He was quite ready to act, but he wanted to be able to do it with a good conscience after trying his best to remedy the legitimate grievances of the working classes."

This puts the Emperor in rather a different light from that in which he has generally stood before the world. He has been accused of being rash, impetuous, heartless, filled with his self-importance, and caring nothing for the welfare of his subjects so long as he might magnify himself. Rather, we see him here as a man to whom his people were very dear, who was strong enough and courageous enough to defy the creator of United Germany, and to whom the thought of inaugurating his reign by a massacre of his subjects was abhorrent. To Bismarck this was mere sentiment, and Bismarck was always a man of blood and iron.

Prince Hohenlohe relates how Prince Radolin took Prince Bismarck to see Emperor Frederick just before his death. At the moment, Bis-

march appeared to be moved, but when he returned afterward to his room Prince Radolin remarked, "It has been very affecting," to which Bismarck rejoined, "I cannot follow sentimental policy now." This remark is the key-note to the man's character. He had no time for sentiment and no inclination to follow a sentimental policy. He had a certain definite purpose to accomplish, and he would permit nothing, no consideration of sentiment or humanity, to stand in his way.

In matters of foreign policy also the Kaiser and Bismarck clashed. Bismarck wanted to ignore Germany's treaty relations with Austria, and form an alliance with Russia, which was believed at that time to have designs on Bulgaria. The Emperor opposed this and pointed out that a military occupation of Bulgaria by Russia would mean war with Austria, and the Emperor was determined to support Austria even if it involved Germany in war with Russia and France. There is reason to believe that Bismarck, who always encouraged the idea of a close understanding between Russia and Germany because of the geographical position of the two countries, later decided that it was not wise to risk a break with Austria, and it was these peculiar tactics of his Chancellor that caused the Emperor so much uneasiness. The Emperor charged that Bismarck was trying to keep him in ignorance of what was being done and that he frequently acted without authority.

That Prince Bismarck was in some ways a genius no one will deny, but in his make-up ethics played no part. He was a man with one fixed idea — that idea being the greatness of Germany and her dominance in the world's affairs; and to accomplish that end he would stop at nothing. If war was more effectual than diplomacy, let it be war; if after making an alliance he betrayed his ally, well, that might be embarrassing for the ally, but so long as Germany gained by the arrangement Bismarck had no scruples. The game of statecraft as he viewed it was a game that admitted of no sentiment, no strict regard for morality, no consideration, of the effect on others. It was the bold, unscrupulous, audacious, brutally selfish player who won.

Bismarck disliked both England and the United States, but from different motives. In England he recognized a rival; of the might of England he was afraid; there was the fear that England might checkmate his ambitious schemes. The moral weight of the United States was always disturbing to his calculations. The Bismarckian policy could only be successful in an autocracy, in a country where one man had supreme power and need pay little deference to public opinion. The Germans settled in the United States learned, and through them their countrymen at home, the real meaning of political liberty and the power of self-government. America stood as an example of all that was

good in political democracy, in marked contrast to the exercise of arbitrary power centred in the hands of one man in Germany. Bismarck was clear-headed enough to perceive that the influence of the United States would continue to increase and would injuriously affect, from his standpoint, the German mind; and his dislike of the United States he more than once made manifest.

Some of the Continental journals point out that although the Kaiser broke with Bismarck in 1890, Bismarckian traditions have since been revived under Prince Bülow, and that the diplomacy of Emperor William in these days is little if any different from what it was at the time when Bismarck was at the height of his power. This does the Emperor an injustice. That he is ambitious to make Germany one of the great ruling forces of the world, if not the greatest, is of course admitted, and the ambitions of a nation, like those of an individual, are bound to arouse the envy of rivals, especially of those rivals who see in the gratification of ambitions a menace to themselves or who are jealous of success.

The position of Germany at the close of the Franco-Prussian war was an extremely delicate one. France, of course, was bitterly hostile; England, at heart, was more sympathetically inclined toward the vanquished than the victor; Sadowa was still too fresh in the Austrian mind; the creation of a great military power on her flank could not be viewed by Russia without concern. Germany at once turned her attention to commerce, and made giant strides, always carefully watching France, of whom she was suspicious, as she feared France waited only the fitting time to revenge her humiliation.

England at that time pursued the policy of "splendid isolation." It was the glory of her people and the boast of her statesmen that she neither sought nor granted alliances; that behind the bulwarks of the silvery sea she need seek no ally to help her resist invasion or repel aggression. When the secret diplomatic history of Europe of the last quarter of the nineteenth century shall come to be written, it will doubtless be found that Germany more than once during the decade following the close of the war with France sued England for an alliance, and that England rejected her offers. This perhaps explains the intense bitterness that has grown up in Germany against England, the envy of the governing class of Germany for England, and perhaps justifies the statement of an English writer that "the whole official class and all who come under its influence — that is in Germany the whole upper class and five-sixths of the other classes — were systematically educated into hatred and contempt of England."

Germany believed that her safety and her future as a world power demanded that she should have the material and moral support of

England, and England refused to give it, a refusal that must have intensely humiliated and angered a man so proud and so self-centred as the German Emperor. What more natural than that the German Emperor should have longed for the day to revenge the blow to his pride, when he could show England that the alliance she once refused was all that stood between her and destruction?

That day has not yet come. England is stronger now than she has been at any time since the Emperor ascended the throne; but it explains the Krüger telegram, it explains why Germany hoped for the success of the Boers, it explains the support given to Russia during the war with Japan, it explains the ultimatum to France that led to the retirement of M. Delcassé. And as England has abandoned her policy of "splendid isolation" and has made alliances and compacts with other nations, she has forced Germany to stand alone, and in her isolation regret a policy which has resulted only in making enemies of nations that otherwise would gladly have been her friends.

Coincidently with the announcement from Rome that the Triple Alliance has been renewed for a further period of six years, it is reported both from London and Paris that a new triple alliance has been brought into being, and that a "military convention," which is in substance a defensive alliance, has been concluded between Great Britain, France, and Italy. Obviously both reports cannot be true, because Italy is a party to the Triple Alliance, which includes Austria and Germany, and cannot therefore enter into a new alliance one of the purposes of which is hostile to Germany. A semi-explanation of this seeming inconsistency is offered by the statement that the new alliance becomes effective when the Triple Alliance ceases "either by expiration of time or by any other cause."

The existence of the new alliance has been officially denied, or rather it has not been affirmed, which is not always the same thing in diplomacy. The British Foreign Office, perhaps the most reticent in Europe and the most indifferent to newspaper reports, dismisses the matter lightly; its attitude is very much that of a great trust magnate who objects to publicity except when publicity will help his schemes. Prime Minister Clémenceau was interpellated in the Senate and evasively replied that he had been too short a time in office to know whether the report was true or false. It would be a fair assumption from these cautious replies that if the "military convention" is not already *fait accompli*, it is within measurable distance of becoming so.

Assuming then, that England, France, and Italy have reached an understanding to act together in case one of them is attacked by any

single power or a combination of powers, the most important action to preserve the equilibrium of Europe has been taken in the last quarter of a century, or since the German-Austrian-Italian alliance was concluded twenty-four years ago, and which, it is only proper to say, has been one of the strongest influences in preserving the peace of Europe. The new league is a "league of peace;" it is strictly for defensive and not aggressive purposes; and it almost completes the task to which King Edward has devoted himself since his accession — the placing of the peace of the world on a basis so firm that it will endure.

If England, France, and Italy are leagued to keep the peace they can prevent the aggression of Germany, Austria, and Russia; and Russia for the time being may be left out of calculations, as her domestic situation is too desperate to make it probable that she will have either the inclination or the means to engage in military adventures. Nor is the position of Austria much better so long as extreme bitterness, at times amounting almost to civil war, exists in the Dual Monarchy. Germany is the one power of which the other Continental powers stand most in fear; but Germany will think long and earnestly before attacking single-handed a combination so powerful as that of England, France, and Italy.

Whenever this alliance becomes operative it is more than likely that Russia will join it or at least retain her neutrality so long as it does not enable Austria to extend her authority in the Balkans. One of the advantages to Austria of the Triple Alliance has been the moral support it gave her when Russia sought to find in Southeastern Europe a pretext to add to her empire and bring her nearer to the goal of Peter the Great — Constantinople. For the present, at least, perhaps for many years to come, that menace does not threaten Austria; therefore the Triple Alliance ceases to have its former importance.

It has been frequently pointed out by this writer that the natural alliance of Italy was with France rather than with either Germany or Austria, and that Italy has far more to gain by cultivating close relations with France than she can expect from either of the other two Powers, unless she regarded an alliance with Austria as a policy of insurance. It is a curious thing how deep-seated is the sentimental affection of a nation for territory once possessed. To Austrians of this and the last generation, Venice ought to mean nothing except as it recalls a somewhat interesting chapter in history; and yet the Austrians have never quite forgiven Italy for their loss or perhaps quite relinquished the hope of regaining it.

There is said to exist a strong anti-Italian feeling in Austria, a feeling so strong that at one time during the past summer it was believed the

Austrian Government was willing to take advantage of it to distract attention from domestic affairs, even if there was no intention of seriously fomenting trouble; and the Austrian Government as the ally of Italy could not officially encourage hostility toward Italy. If Italy deserted the old Triple Alliance to join the new, Austria, of course, would be under no compunction not to wound Italy's feelings; but Austria would be very timid about provoking hostilities if she knew she must meet not Italy alone, but also England and France.

When last year the tension over Morocco led many persons to think that Germany was merely seeking a pretext again to make war on France, the question where France would find an ally was seriously discussed. Russia was not taken into account as she was in too badly shattered a condition to make her alliance formidable, and at that time Germany did not believe that England was prepared to support France with her military and naval strength. But Italy was counted upon to give France her assistance, whereupon the Germans began to estimate the increased difficulties that would follow if they had to fight two Powers instead of one; and their conclusion was, or at least they wanted the world to understand it, that France with the aid of Italy was still not a match for German arms. With forces so nearly evenly balanced, no nation is going to run the risk of war unless war is the only alternative.

The change of government in France may perhaps enable the German Emperor, if he really desires it, to bring about better relations with his neighbors across the Rhine, as M. Clémenceau has very significantly extended an olive branch. To Herr Theodore Wolf, who has for many years been the Paris correspondent of the Berlin *Tageblatt*, and who has recently become its editor, M. Clémenceau said:

I am averse to war, and when one is adverse to war one desires good relations, so that if the relations leave something to be desired one is willing to improve them. That is my *état d'esprit*. I shall rejoice if the opportunity is afforded me to act in this sense. Naturally one must always retain one's strength and be prepared for everything; but that does not say that one wishes for war, on the contrary. One would have to be demented to desire a war. It is because we think thus that we dismissed M. Delcassé, who did not in any way desire war, but whose policy might have led to war. A war would be for all states something uncertain and unknown — an indefinable catastrophe; no one can foretell how such a war would result, what it would lead to, and how it would end. It would be quite impossible for us to pursue a belligerent policy, since Parliament would at once hunt us from office as it did M. Delcassé, and the entire people would be against us. I hope that you will continue to labor in conjunction with others for the improvement of the relations between the two countries; that is the task that I also shall set myself.

There is always a "crisis" in Austrian affairs, for Austria during the

last ten years has lived under the perpetual shadow of fierce hatred between the Austrian and Hungarian parliaments, and there have been repeated attacks on ministers to drive them out of office for some real or imaginary wrong. We have had in the past three months the usual "crisis." In October, Count Goluchowski, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, resigned, and was succeeded by Baron Aehrenthal, formerly Austrian ambassador to Italy. Count Goluchowski's retirement was not due to his having forfeited the confidence of the Emperor or because he had lost his authority with Parliament, but was a sequel of the never-ending and ceaseless efforts of the Hungarians to obtain a larger share of the "rights" to which they consider themselves entitled and out of which they claim they are defrauded by Austria.

Count Goluchowski resigned because he believed he was to be attacked in the Hungarian Delegation when he presented his annual statement of the foreign affairs of the monarchy and asked for the approval of his budget. The members, he was given to understand, were to take advantage of his presence not only to attack his policy, but also to attack him personally; to protest against the system which excludes Hungary from having as much voice in the foreign policy of the Empire as Austria; and to demand assurances that the grievances complained of would be remedied. Rather than face his critics and submit to humiliation he resigned, and the "crisis" was quickly met by the Emperor's appointment of his successor, that wonderful old Emperor again showing that despite his age he is still the master mind of his country.

This constant clash between the two parts of the Dual Kingdom shows how tenuous is the tie that binds the Empire. Between the Austrians and the Hungarians there is nothing in common, and it is only the accident of politics that unites them under one crown. There is no common language, no common religion, no common origin; nothing to make them one people with one purpose. Hungary would gladly have dissolved the union in 1848 and was only prevented by the force of arms, but the lapse of time has not made her become more reconciled to a partnership which she affects to believe is of greater advantage to Austria than it is to herself. Politically and in every other way I believe Hungary profits by the arrangement; but the intense jealousy that the Hungarians have for the Austrians, their quickness to resent every imaginary slight, and their never-ending demands for a larger voice in the government and policy of the Empire keep the country in a constant state of turmoil and at times almost throw it into anarchy.

The political system of Austria-Hungary, which is unlike that of any other country, is provocative of friction and cumbersome to the last degree. Each kingdom has its own parliament and its own set of

ministers who exercise power within their respective countries; but in matters affecting the interests of both kingdoms jointly, that is the Empire as a whole, the necessary authority must be obtained from a joint legislature composed of 120 members selected in equal proportions by the two parliaments. Although this is a joint assembly, the two bodies carry on their debates separately; German being the official language used in the Austrian Delegation, and Magyar in the Hungarian, and they vote separately, except in the case of a deadlock, when a joint vote may be taken, but no debate is permitted. So long as Austria-Hungary clings to this unpractical system so long will there be friction between the two kingdoms.

The new Russian Duma, we are now told, is to meet on the fifth of next March. Certain formalities are yet to be observed before the election is ordered; and until it is precisely known what restrictions are to be placed upon the free choice of selection, it will be impossible to determine whether the new Duma is really a popular assemblage or has been carefully packed by adroit manipulation to masquerade as the people's parliament while, as a matter of fact, it carries out the edicts of imperial authority.

Both in Russia and on the Continent of Europe the good intentions of the Czar and his ministers are regarded with cynicism, as the reactionary policy of the Government ever since the abrupt dissolution of the Duma has not tended to convince the world that the Czar intends to give his people political liberty and full freedom of expression. We must know now in a short time. If the second Duma is to be as helpless as the first and have as little power, the Czar will not have succeeded in stifling the demand of his people for political liberty. The agitation will go on, and it must continue until at last that which the people demand is given to them.

It seems utterly incredible that the Czar and his entourage should be so blind to their own interests. More than anything else Russia needs foreign capital and foreign energy, the coöperation and assistance of England, the United States, and the rest of the world in the development of her enormous natural resources. So long as the world is uncertain whether Russia will remain a monarchy or between night and morning become a republic, in which all existing laws may be annulled and all obligations incurred by the monarchy repudiated, capital is too timid to risk investment in Russia. With domestic tranquillity assured, foreign capital would quickly flow in; and as business and politics always go hand in hand, in the case of England the establishment of mutually satisfactory political relations would follow.

There is a strong feeling in England that the differences between England and Russia that have for so long kept the two countries apart can be reconciled without very great difficulty and to the great advantage of both. Once again, if Russia had only sense enough to see her own interests she would understand that now is the time for her to settle with England. England feels her own strength and knows Russia's weakness; and this knowledge, instead of making England drive a hard bargain, will induce her to be lenient so as to reach a fair settlement for the sake of an uninterrupted peace, which is the animating motive of English diplomacy.

An agreement with Russia is the logical outcome of the understanding with France. It is a continuation of the policy inaugurated by Lord Lansdowne when he was secretary of state for foreign affairs, and which was the beginning of that "policy of peace" to which reference has been made in the earlier part of this article. It is well known in diplomatic circles in Europe that negotiations have for some time been pending between Russia and Great Britain concerning Tibet and Persia. If Russia perceives that she can make better use of her energies at home than in satisfying that lust for territory which is almost a mania, and abandons her designs on Persia and Afghanistan, and is willing to embody her renunciation in a formal treaty, there is no doubt England will be only too glad to live on terms of friendship with her. But it is somewhat doubtful whether Russia can be induced to abandon her traditional policy, even for the sake of being on good terms with England.

Spain also has a new Cabinet since I last wrote; Spain, similar to France, having challenged the Vatican. In Spain for some time a feeling has been growing in favor of non-interference of the Catholic Church in civil affairs, especially in the marriage ceremony. A decree of the last Cabinet permitted the civil marriage of Catholics, which the Vatican opposed, and insisted that a marriage of two Catholics was null and void unless it was performed by the ecclesiastical authorities. The Government, however, refused to recognize Rome as superior to civil law, and recognized a civil marriage, while the church refuses to do so. To the surprise and intense chagrin of the Vatican, the young King sided with the anti-Clerical party and sustained the action of his Cabinet. The Clerical press and party at once attacked the King and charged that he was under the influence of his English Protestant bride, although she was received in the Catholic Church before she was wedded. There does not appear to be any foundation for this assertion of the Queen's influence. She has played her part very discreetly. She has declined to be drawn into any religious quarrel, and has made no attempt to interfere in affairs of state.

Marshal Lopez Dominguez was at the head of the last Cabinet, which resigned on account of differences as to the lengths to which the anti-Vatican policy was to be pushed. His successor as premier is Señor Moret y Prendergast, who like his predecessor is in favor of terminating the concordat between Spain and the Vatican and putting in effect the same policy that has lately been applied in France. A complete separation of Church and State in Spain is clearly foreshadowed.

The appointment of Perez Caballero as Minister for Foreign Affairs insures a continuance of the arrangement with France, which was agreed upon at the Algeciras Conference, to preserve order in Morocco. Señor Caballero was one of the Spanish delegates to the Algeciras Conference, and the arrangement reached was made with his approval. Acting as the mandatory of the Powers, already France and Spain have been called upon to send their forces to Morocco to protect the lives and property of Europeans, and it is not at all improbable that they will have a good deal of work on their hands before the bandits who have so openly defied the authority of the Sultan have been reduced to subjection. The interior of the country affords much better fighting ground for the natives than it does for Europeans.

For the first time in the history of the relations between the United States and Turkey, there is now an American ambassador at Constantinople. Abdul Hamid, Commander of the Faithful, past master of the art of wily diplomacy, who single handed has played every Power against the other, and usually won, has at last met his match in this Government. Abdul Hamid did not want an American ambassador stationed in Constantinople. A minister may not seek audience with a sovereign unless that sovereign deigns thus to honor him, and all his diplomatic intercourse must be carried on with the Minister for Foreign Affairs. An ambassador, on the other hand, may claim the privilege of audience as a right, and the sovereign can only refuse it at the risk of breaking off diplomatic intercourse, with all the risk that that involves.

When Mr. Leishman, the then American minister to Turkey, went to the Minister for Foreign Affairs to make a complaint he was most politely received and sent to another official, who was even more polite and suggested that he go elsewhere. Thus week after week this farce was continued, and no satisfaction was accorded for the violation of treaty rights. When Mr. Leishman asked an audience of the Sultan he was always ill, frequently on the very verge of dissolution.

The act of Congress creating ambassadors provides that when a foreign government accredits an ambassador to this country the United States shall be represented in that country by an envoy of similar rank.

It was gently intimated to the Sultan that he should raise the rank of his mission to this country to comport with his own dignity. The Commander of the Faithful received the suggestion, filtered through remote channels, in good part, but unfortunately he was too poor to afford the luxury of an ambassador. For a time at least he must so far disonor himself as to get along in Washington with an agent so unworthy as a minister.

When Abdul Hamid refused to appoint an ambassador, we took the bull by the horns, and Congress authorized the appointment of an American ambassador to Turkey. Mr. Leishman was duly commissioned, but he was still forced to exercise the gift of patience. The Sultan remained ill, and although Mr. Leishman's presentation was arranged for repeatedly, whenever the day arrived the Sultan was just a trifle worse. Mr. Leishman protested and threatened to close up his embassy and leave Constantinople, which would not have caused Abdul Hamid any great grief. But patience was at last rewarded. One fine day there came a gorgeous state carriage to the American Embassy, and escorted by a troop of cavalry Mr. Leishman drove to Yildiz Kiosk and was received in solemn audience by the Sultan. The Sultan showed no trace of his recent alarming illness. He was only too glad to have the pleasure of receiving the American ambassador. But did he promise to correct the things of which Mr. Leishman complained? Probably not, because it is the Sultan's little way of saying much and doing nothing. Abdul Hamid has not played the game for thirty years without learning something about it.

Sir Edward Grey, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, has put himself in the front rank among the great foreign ministers of Great Britain by securing the consent of the Powers to a compact guaranteeing the inviolability of Norway against territorial aggression and giving to that kingdom an international status similar to that of Switzerland and Belgium. Sir Edward Grey has always been noted for his courage, firmness, and ability to see far in the future; and this compact alone will make his administration notable even if he does nothing else.

Norway as an independent power was always in danger from the ambitious designs of Germany and Russia; Germany with her longing for territorial expansion and her desire to increase her influence on the Continent; Russia forever seeking an ice-free port so that she might become in verity a great naval power. The possession of Norway by either Germany or Russia would be a menace to England; it would give possible enemies a strategic base that would throw an added burden on the British navy. Realizing this, Sir Edward Grey took the initiative to secure

the consent of the Powers to an agreement respecting the neutrality of Norway.

It was a masterly stroke of diplomacy. It was well understood that Russia was endeavoring to secure a Norwegian port, and had the world stood aloof nothing could have saved Norway from yielding at last to the pressure that was put upon her. To resist Russia by force was out of the question; it was equally hopeless to expect that other nations would support her refusal by force of arms. But the argument used by Sir Edward Grey was sufficient to induce Russia to relinquish her desire to secure a port open the year round; and, with the consent of Russia obtained, Germany was compelled, reluctantly no doubt, also to acquiesce; and Sir Edward Grey knew, of course, that he would meet with no objection from France. Thus what might possibly have caused very grave complications in the near future has been removed. England has safeguarded her own interests and at the same time protected the independence of the newly established Kingdom of Norway, and that "policy of peace" to which the present British Cabinet is committed is given an additional guarantee of its permanence.

A. MAURICE LOW.

FINANCE.

THE remarkable phenomena of the past three months have been bound up with the credit situation, not only of New York and of America as a whole, but of the world at large. Briefly summed up, it may be said of this situation, as was said a year ago at this time, that the demand on capital seems to have run beyond the immediately available supply. The difference between the present season in 1906 and that in 1905 is a difference of degree, not of kind. The strain has been heavier, the evidences of shortage in supplies greater. Otherwise the course of events this winter has much resembled that of last winter.

In this connection, it may be said that custom has largely removed the strangeness with which the repeated paradox in last winter's markets affected the financial mind. The winter of 1905, to begin with, was the first in at least three years which produced a bank deficit or such extraordinary money rates as twenty-five and fifty per cent; it was the first since 1899 which brought call loans to the 100 per cent figure. This year has repeated and emphasized all of these phenomena. Yet, having already gone through one season marked by such extraordinary financial phenomena, the mind of the people at large began to grow accustomed to them, and, naturally, their appearance excited less of acute alarm than it did in many quarters a year ago. This is both a favorable and an unfavorable incident of the situation. It is favorable, because it prevented any such spread of misgiving as might have jeopardized the situation in general. It is unfavorable, for the obvious reason that, as public concern over what are undoubtedly danger signals in the market begins to subside, to exactly that extent must the danger itself increase.

Perhaps the most striking consideration in the whole matter of under-supply of capital is that which bears on the question of gold production. The increase in the world's gold output during the present year has been constant. Roughly, it may be said that where the whole world's gold output in 1901 was \$262,492,900, it had risen to \$346,892,200 in 1904, and to \$376,289,200 in 1905, and it cannot this year have fallen far short of \$400,000,000. Whether these figures are exact or not, the fact remains that the annual gold production has been going on this year at a rate wholly unprecedented in the history of the world. Yet, in the face of

such a showing, not only has the gold in the hands of the New York banks fallen to a lower figure than in any other past few years, but the banks of the outside world make an even more striking showing. The following table gives an idea of the gold holdings of the great European banks at the opening of the present autumn in 1906 and in 1905. For convenience, values are given in pounds sterling:

Gold held by—	1906.	1905.	Increase or Decrease.
Bank of England	£ 35,045,706	£ 35,257,182	— £211,476
Bank of France.....	115,812,000	118,900,000	— 3,088,000
Bank of Germany.....	32,041,500	34,082,250	— 2,040,750
Bank of Sweden	3,879,000	3,636,000	+ 243,000
Bank of Spain	15,249,000	14,929,000	+ 320,000
Bank of Russia	81,069,000	91,022,000	— 9,953,000
Bank of the Netherlands..	5,528,000	6,597,000	— 1,069,000
Bank of Belgium	3,948,000	3,693,000	+ 255,000
Bank of Italy	26,577,000	21,285,000	+ 5,292,000
Bank of Austro-Hungary .	46,791,000	46,328,000	+ 463,000
 Total	£365,940,206	£375,729,432	— £9,789,226

This shows that, in the face of the enormous increase in the past twelve months, these banks held in September something like \$49,000,000 less in gold than they held a year ago. It would be apart from our purpose here to go into the details of this seeming disappearance of gold from sight. It is enough to say at this point that enormous amounts of gold have been absorbed into general circulation, through the expanding trade in countries where gold is still a medium of hand-to-hand exchange; also that numerous outside countries, such as Mexico and the Argentine Republic, have been accumulating gold for currency purposes; and, finally, that the amount of gold used in the arts for ornament must have increased very greatly in connection with the general movement of prosperity.

The interesting phase of this movement is that which concerns the absorption both of capital and of gold into the expanding trade of prosperous countries. Some highly interesting particulars of this movement have come to hand from various parts of the world. The immense drain on such supplies by our own interior banks, merchants, and population at large, is familiar to every one. Facts have become known on the European continent, showing the drainage of gold into Westphalia, in connection with the booming iron industry, to have been so great as to have embarrassed the Bank of Germany. In France, it has been credibly stated that Paris money-changers were paying a premium for the small gold currency in the hands of department stores and railway stations. All this naturally works in the same direction, and it all converges

upon the winter months when trade is at its height. In addition, during the last few months, there has been a constant accumulation of gold by Russia, where the Imperial Bank has been building up its reserves. Between the issue of its \$440,000,000 loan in April and the opening of November, the home gold holdings of the Russian Bank increased nearly \$68,000,000.

This demand on money and credit has been merely an incident in and a reflection of the enormous business progress. Production, especially in this country, has been at high notch; and prices have been such that amounts of money, ten, twenty, and sometimes fifty per cent greater than a few years ago, are required to carry and dispose of the same quantities of merchandise. Naturally, the railway industry has been subject to the same demands, and in the case of the railways the strain has come in a double form. Not only are large amounts of money required for the actual moving of the commodities, but the facilities requisite for such traffic must be constantly increased. In fact, at the very high notch of the season's prosperity has come the bitterest imaginable complaint regarding the inadequacy of railway facilities to care properly for the produce in transit. Speaking on this subject before the Merchants' Club of Chicago, no less a railway authority than Mr. James J. Hill made the following remarkable statement in November:

It has been noticed that from June 30, 1895, to 1905 — ten years — the growth in ton mileage was 110 per cent. The growth in the mileage of railroads to handle that traffic was twenty per cent. There's where you stand to-day — you can see it in that brief comparison. There's where the whole country stands. The traffic of the country is congested beyond imagination. The commerce of the country is paralyzed, which, continued, means slow death.

More cars? Yes, we need more cars, but we need also cars of greater capacity, heavier trains, and more miles of railroad to haul them over. In ten years railroads of the country expanded twenty per cent for the handling of a business that increased 110 per cent. Suppose you are able in the near future to increase that expansion fifty per cent. That will still leave forty per cent a year of the business without any facilities for taking care of it.

It is estimated that from 115,000 to 120,000 miles of track must be built at once to take care of this immense business. But to build that amount will cost as much as the Civil War cost at least. It will cost from \$4,000,000,000 to \$5,000,000,000. A thousand million dollars a year for five years will scarcely suffice. Why, there is not money enough nor rails enough in all the world to do this thing.

And if the rails were piled up ready for the undertaking, and if the money were in bank to-day, it would be impossible to get the labor with which to do it. Labor in the mines, in the forest, in the quarry are behind a stone wall which they cannot scale.

I tell you there is no question since the Civil War of half the consequence of this one.

No doubt, it will be said that Mr. Hill exaggerated the evils of the

case, but his remarks have pertinent bearing on some of the causes operating to increase the strain on capital and to absorb the currency supply of the country. When to such legitimate trade requirements there are added the always urgent demands of speculation, a position is created which may very logically end in such extraordinary money markets as those of the present season. As a matter of fact, this has been preëminently a speculative year. It is true that speculation for the rise in grain and cotton, which largely characterized such years as 1901 and 1903, has cut little figure in the present season. On the other hand, real-estate speculation has risen to a magnitude never reached in this country since the famous boom of the early seventies.

At the approach of autumn, this real-estate craze had reached a stage which gave genuine concern to people who were watching the course of the market. It had gone so far that, in many quarters of the country, speculation was being carried on in "options" on unimproved property — which meant that the right to buy at a given price was based on payment of a constantly rising premium from hand to hand without the title ever changing. Markets, in other words, were dealing in realty "futures." This especially dangerous real-estate speculation was brought to something of a halt by the later movement of the money market; for real estate cannot be bought and utilized without heavy borrowings; and when a merchant pays seven per cent to discount his paper, there is no chance for building loans in the money market, and if builders are forced to suspend operations, buyers of unimproved property begin to take fright.

Therefore, by the middle of October it was possible to say that the Eastern real-estate speculation at all events was checked. When, for reasons which we shall presently see, speculation on the Stock Exchange was also arrested, the public appetite for gambling in values elsewhere still appeared unabated. At precisely this juncture, the so-called "curb market" of New York, following the example already set in Pittsburg, Boston, Chicago, and the Canadian cities, began to bring out mining propositions. Of these it should first be said that plenty of them were legitimate and plenty illegitimate, but that, at the present stage of credit and capital, a sound mining proposition very rarely goes to the curb or into the newspaper columns to obtain the needed funds. On the contrary, its requirements are easily satisfied by private arrangement with wealthy men who make a specialty of such investments. Notwithstanding this fact, the violent rise of certain "curb specialties" among the mining shares seized upon New York in November with such violence as to divert attention almost wholly from Stock Exchange speculation.

Shares of the Nipissing mine, which had sold at \$5 per \$5 share early in the autumn, went to \$16 at the end of September, and to \$34 a month later. With this advance came a violent outburst of speculation for the rise in similar securities. This particular mining stock was sustained in its rise by certain negotiations of genuine mining experts, into the details of which it is unnecessary here to enter. The point to notice is the violence with which speculation followed such an example. At the opening of December, announcement that a hitch in certain negotiations had occurred sent the stock of this mine down within a week from \$34 to \$12 per share. Yet even this did not wholly discourage the enthusiastic speculators. Summed up, the situation appears to be that the American public has determined to speculate and is using for the purpose all the resources which it can command. This is a formidable addition to the demands of industry on the supply of capital.

Back of all this stood the Stock Exchange market itself, where the extensive speculation of millionaire operators began, as was described in the last number of *THE FORUM*, at the time of the Union Pacific dividend declaration, and was continued, though with great caution, throughout the season. At times the question was asked, with much bewilderment, whence the resources came to hold these stocks at their existing value, not to mention the advancing of them to a still higher price. This question was greatly emphasized by other incidents of the season to which I shall have occasion to refer. The only sure answer to this question lies in the well-known fact that credit at such times as these will be extended by lenders with little reservation — first because lenders, too, are infected with the speculative ideas, and, secondly, because rising prices seem a guarantee against loss on such investment. As John Stuart Mill remarked, sixty years ago, of a similar episode:

Not only do all whom the contagion reaches employ their credit much more freely than usual; but they really have more credit, because they seem to be making unusual gains, and because a generally reckless and adventurous feeling prevails which disposes people to give as well as take credit more largely than at other times and give it to persons not entitled to it.

It will be observed that this diagnosis of the position of lenders bears rather curiously on the fact that available supplies of capital should be so unprecedently scarce as has lately been indicated by the action of money rates. But this merely goes to show how overwhelming has been the instinct to speculate, and with borrowed money.

It cannot be said that the wild advance on the Stock Exchange, which began in August, has been continued during the past three months.

Some stocks have gone considerably higher, and at times there has been a really violent forward movement; but, as a rule, the market has been held back from excesses. There have not been wanting incidents which might have been expected to have provoked excited speculation for the rise and from which in fact such an outcome was predicted. Among these was the remarkable "ore deal" between the Great Northern Railway and the Steel Corporation, which consisted in a lease of the Great Northern ore lands to the Steel Trust on the basis of a royalty of so much per ton for the ore used year by year; the rate rising constantly to a higher figure, and the basic rate being higher than any yet paid by the Steel Corporation. The contract provided an initial price of \$1.65 per ton delivered at dock, "with an increase of 3.4 cents per ton each succeeding year"; it stipulated that "the minimum agreed to be mined is 750,000 tons for the year 1907, and increases by 750,000 tons per year until it reaches 8,250,000 tons, and thereafter continues on that basis." The parties to this deal contended that it was highly beneficial to each; the Steel Corporation claiming that through possession of these ore lands their primacy in the steel trade could not possibly be shaken; the Great Northern people naturally looking for valuable stock privileges in connection with the ore lease. In spite of these not unreasonable expectations, the announcement fell on the market almost absolutely flat.

Similarly, as November drew to a close, it was predicted that the publication of the Union Pacific Railway's complete annual statement for the fiscal year 1906 would turn the stock market violently upward. The report was duly published. Its income account, which had previously seen the light, showed a surplus over operating expenses and fixed charges of \$31,764,674, as against \$22,785,506 in the fiscal year year 1905, and \$16,597,093 in 1904.

The new part of the report was that which dealt with the company's assets. In this the remarkable showing was made of \$21,258,883 in cash on hand or in bank and of \$34,710,000 in demand loans, or a total of nearly \$55,000,000 in available cash as against only \$7,345,565 shown for the same accounts a year before. It was pointed out that this enormous reserve of cash compared with a similar cash surplus, prior to the Armstrong investigation, of \$27,406,000 in the New York Life Insurance Company, \$36,643,000 in the Mutual Life, and \$45,958,000 in the Equitable. In other words, no one of these institutions, whose enormous cash reserves were believed to have provided the sinews of the great speculation of 1901 and 1902, ever held a sum approaching the mountain of ready cash calmly reported by the Union Pacific.

As to where the Union Pacific obtained this enormous sum, little doubt existed. During the year the company had sold freely part of its hold-

ings of the Northern Pacific and Great Northern stocks obtained by it in return for its Northern Securities holdings at the time that company was liquidated. Originally, it will be recalled, Union Pacific had bought up a majority holding of the \$155,000,000 Northern Pacific stock. It had issued bonds to pay for this purchase, and, when the corner of 1901 occurred, had turned in its stock to the Northern Securities merger. When, in the final settlement after the government had upset the merger, Union Pacific lost its control of Northern Pacific, it was in a position to realize on its holdings of liquidated stock; and it did so at the extraordinary prices prevailing during the last two years. This means, in substance, that the company went into debt to buy stocks of a highly speculative nature, that it won in its venture, and turned a portion of its enormous paper profits into cash.

Whether this is safe railway finance, and particularly whether its influence on the community at large is likely to be beneficial, are questions apart from what we are just now considering. So is the further consideration, brought up by many critics when the Union Pacific balance sheet was published, that quite possibly we now had a sight of the private resources on which the inside speculators of the so-called Union Pacific clique were relying for their bold ventures in the market. Of this, no doubt, more will be heard, later on. One conclusion of the season has been that such displays of stupendous wealth by corporations are a sure invitation to Government intervention.

Such a Government attack was begun in November on the Standard Oil as President Roosevelt had intimated in his special message of May 4. In that case the effect on the market for the stock was spectacular. The stock had sold three years ago at \$750. At the time of the New York bank deficit of last April it had fallen to \$650. The President's message of May sent it to \$590, at which price it was quoted up to the middle of last November. The beginning of the Government suit in the middle of November was followed by a break in the stock within a fortnight to 505.

It is unnecessary to infer from the experience of Standard Oil any exactly similar result in any other stock. In fact, the circumstances of Standard Oil are peculiar and are such as could not be easily reproduced with any railway company. But precisely as this collapse of Standard Oil in the middle of November had no effect in demoralizing the general tone of the market, so the extraordinary showing of Union Pacific's assets at precisely the same time had no effect in stimulating speculation. The reason for this anomaly undoubtedly was that the stock market was held firmly by people who did not venture to risk advancing it, but who would not let it go.

For this the obvious reason lay in the money market, where the

rate had repeatedly gone up to the extravagant figures of last autumn, and where, after a brief easing off, time money and commercial paper rose again to the figures accompanying last September's deficit and where the bank deficiencies of April 7 and September 8 were repeated on November 10 — this being the first occasion on which three bank deficits have occurred in a single year at different seasons and with restoration of a surplus intervening. We have now to examine some most extraordinary developments of the season, closely connected both with these shortages in the New York bank reserve and the world-wide strain on credit to which I referred at the opening of this article.

I mentioned in the last number of THE FORUM the unusual attitude of Europe toward our securities, shown in the fact that all the principal markets of England and the Continent placed practically no restrictions on the credit which they professed to be willing to advance to America. This attitude, which was observable to all visitors at the European markets during the summer, has had this autumn certain results which were as logical as they were extraordinary. It was not to be expected that a proffer of credit, to so unlimited an extent, could be made in the face of the speculative appetite of the American market without being utilized to the full.

Ordinarily, such credit facilities are employed through a few powerful and long-established international banking houses. These houses, whose individual credit is, as a rule, beyond criticism, raise very large sums of money abroad on the basis of what is called "finance bills." The term has been used for many years to describe borrowings made purely on credit, and without collateral, for the purpose of obtaining resources from one market to use in another market, during a period of great stress, which is certain eventually to be relieved. For example, in the autumn the demands on the capital of the Eastern markets of America are exceptionally great on account of the harvesting of the crops. In order to pay off the farm hands, transport these enormous crops to market, pay for their storage and transportation, and deliver them to consumers at the seaboard markets, sums are required so great that it would be impossible for an American market providing them to continue to extend the normal facilities to its usual customers.

Now, as it happens, very great portions of these wheat and corn and cotton crops are destined for European markets, which in due course purchase them for their own consumers and pay the bills through remittances of capital to New York. When it is reasonably certain that these crops will reach a given magnitude, the operation on finance bills plays its part. The international banker borrows from London, Paris, or Berlin,

through the exchange market, sums which there is reasonable certainty can be repaid at the time when Europe is settling for exported grain and cotton. The proceeds he loans out in this market, repaying them, later on, with proceeds of the exported produce. Such bills are usually placed for two months, thus bridging the period between the beginning of the extreme harvest demand in America and the beginning of the payment by Europe for its imports of our merchandise. The operation, even on this basis, is somewhat startling to the untrained observer; for it amounts to the raising of sums reaching into the tens of millions purely on the note of hand of a banking house or a group of banking houses. Nevertheless, it is a normal and legitimate factor in international finance, and has operated smoothly and safely during many years.

The singular situation of this summer brought about an immediate change in these finance-bill operations. It did so for two reasons. In the first place, when the offer of credit was made by Europe on so unrestricted a scale, it was inevitable that many financial houses, not entitled by their standing to such facilities as the older international concerns had enjoyed, would rush into the foreign market to provide themselves with funds. They could get them at a lower rate than they would have to pay in Wall street. This is precisely what happened. Loans of this sort were placed on an extensive scale by houses distinctly of the second or third grade, and they were placed, in many cases, without security.

Furthermore, the volume of such loans was not made conditional on the out-turn of the crops; and it must be kept in mind that the banking houses who habitually manage this business had already, on their own score, anticipated this part of the operation. Again, while the older financial houses were accustomed merely to draw on the credits established by their European finance bills, and to lend out the proceeds to legitimate borrowers in Wall Street, it was perfectly well known that these smaller borrowers were raising the money to place it in their own stock speculations. So much for one side of the new situation created at the end of last summer.

Had the attitude of foreign lending banks remained the same as it had been during many years, the applications of these second-grade borrowers would have been rejected. But while the borrowers were multiplying on this side, a sudden and very large accession was made to the ranks of European lenders on "American bills." Precisely as a few Wall Street banking houses had conducted the finance-bill operations between Europe and America in previous years, so the lending of foreign money for such purposes had been mostly in the hands of a few great London and Continental banks. Now, as it happened, not only were all classes of Europe's money-lending community seized last summer

with the idea that New York's credit was invulnerable, but the summer came to an end with English trade and speculation sufficiently slack to give only moderate employment to capital in the hands of London banks. The result was that banks which had never before engaged in business of this sort appeared in the market offering money to New York borrowers, and naturally made connections at once with the inferior class of borrowers of whom I have spoken.

Not all of these borrowers were able to secure loans without collateral; but even when security had to be put up, some novel arrangements were made. For instance, loans to an enormous amount were made on the basis of American securities pledged not with the lending banker, but with a New York trust company selected by both borrower and lender as the depository. By this means a situation was created which caused the London "Times," as long ago as the opening of last August, to complain that English borrowers had no longer a fair opportunity, because the capital of London was being "drawn away by a hidden pipe line" to New York.

It should be observed that, although this episode in banking was in most respects as novel as it was startling, it was not wholly new in the experience of the two markets. Had it been so, it is doubtful if the experiment would have been pushed as far as it actually was. At the close of 1900, when the enormous promotions of the ensuing spring were in contemplation, and when the Wall Street banking houses having these operations in charge were well aware that the American market's resources were not sufficient to finance them, some of the older international banking houses, to which I have referred as usually conservative in their methods, borrowed stupendous sums abroad, through their foreign branches, for use in the Wall Street speculation. In large measure the Steel Trust promotion was thus financed with foreign capital; and the Northern Pacific affair was almost entirely carried out through similar resources.

Thus an example had at any rate been set for the exploits of 1906. But of 1901 there are several facts to be recalled which make this year's episode more singular. In the first place, the facilities thus granted to American bankers for the Wall Street speculation of six years ago were cut off almost immediately when it was found what sort of business the money was being used for. A profound sensation was created in the London and Paris banking offices when the Northern Pacific corner coincided with the utterly reckless venture of American millionaires into the "shipping trust" which was to snatch control of its merchant marine from England.

Loans granted by Europe and used in New York for such purposes could not be instantly called back, because by their terms they still had a month or more to run, and because, also, some of them had contained in the contract conditions guaranteeing renewal if desired by the borrower. It is a fact, however, that the great French banking houses at that time shut down absolutely on their New York customers, and that the London banks, under the lead of the Bank of England, virtually called on the borrowing New York bankers for a showing of their books. Furthermore, when the loans did expire, so that it was possible to decide as to their continuance, they were not renewed. This happened, unfortunately for the borrowing American bankers, at a time when the corn crop of the United States had largely failed. It will be remembered that, as a result, we had to export gold in the early autumn of 1901 at the very time when we should normally have been importing it, and that trouble in our market followed.

No attention whatever was paid this year to the precedent of 1901; and there seemed to be a comfortable feeling, on both sides of the ocean, that nothing unpleasant would come of the new experiment, and that the American market would be successfully financed through it. The Bank of England recognized, early in the season, that the heavy draughts made on these credits by the American borrowers were so far depressing exchange in favor of New York that gold exports from London must soon follow. But the Transvaal was sending large amounts of gold to London, and the Bank itself made known that, at a pinch, it could spare \$10,000,000 or \$15,000,000 from its own gold reserves.

Possibly neither of the parties in this operation had looked for the events of September in the New York money market. When the deficit in reserves occurred, September 8, and money went up in Wall Street to the figure of forty per cent, wholly unprecedented for the season, efforts to import London gold in quantity were urgently made by Wall Street bankers. These efforts were assisted by Secretary Shaw, who renewed his offer of lending government money free of interest to importing banks, so as to save the usual loss of interest during transit of the gold and thus to facilitate gold imports.

When it became evident that gold on a large scale could be obtained through this operation, there was rush to get it. At first the London market and the Bank of England filled the demand without protest; but it presently appeared that the extent of the American requirements had been wholly underestimated. Almost within a month the enormous sum of \$60,000,000 gold had been engaged by New York on the foreign markets. Our actual imports during September were \$30,400,000 and in October \$27,000,000, in addition to which gold in

Australia standing to the credit of London houses, and normally designed for London's use, was diverted to New York.

The Bank of England's gold holdings at the close of August amounted to \$192,500,000; but by the third week of October they were down to \$142,000,000. This was not wholly due to the New York demand; for perhaps the greater part of gold engaged by Wall Street banking houses was taken from the open London market. But, in the first place, these very engagements on the open market headed off, so to speak, gold which would otherwise have gone into the Bank; and in the mean time another striking phenomenon developed in the nature of a hoarding craze in Egypt, where cotton had gone to enormously high prices, and an extravagant speculation had caused exceptional demands on the London market which habitually finances it.

During the month of October, 1905, Egypt took \$5,000,000 gold from London, which was about the normal. In the same month of the present year it drew no less than \$21,000,000, and most of this came directly from the Bank of England. The Bank of England's ratio of reserves to liabilities, which at the end of August had stood at fifty-one per cent, fell on October 10 to thirty-five and one-half. As is well known, forty per cent is the traditional low mark. It is what Walter Bagehot called the "apprehension minimum." The fixing of so low a ratio as thirty-three and one-half, and at the very time when the normal autumn demands of English trade were just beginning, was recognized as a sign of danger. Long before that figure had been reached the Bank of England began to take precautions. What it did makes up one of the most singular chapters of the financial history of the year.

On September 13, as a matter of regular course, the Bank of England advanced its discount rate from three and one-half to four per cent. Before the advance was made the bank rate was not greatly above the recent average for that time of the year. It stood at three per cent in the first weeks of September last year and the year before. The advance had no influence whatever on the movement of gold to the United States, which, as we have seen, was enormously increased by the low bank reserves at New York, the high money rate, and the Treasury's offer of special facilities — all which occurred just before the London bank rate went up from three and one-half per cent. For some weeks the four-per-cent rate was maintained; then, on October 11, when the bank's gold holdings had fallen \$30,000,000 from the figure at which they stood at the first increase in the rate, and when the ratio of reserve had fallen to thirty-five and one-half, as against fifty per cent in the week of the rise to four per cent, the rate was again advanced to five per cent.

No more effect seemed to be produced by this than had been produced by the earlier advance. New York continued to draw gold heavily from London, and the operations on finance bills increased at such a rate as to throw the entire London community into a spasm of apprehension. The Bank of England directors for the moment seemed to have lost their heads. Their actions regarding the money market were so vacillating and contradictory that London was unable to discover any concerted policy in what they were doing.

For a time, indeed, they undertook a somewhat remarkable experiment, all things considered, by announcing that they would discriminate against foreign borrowers and in favor of home borrowers, by maintaining the five-per-cent minimum in the case of the foreigners, and lending at easier rates at home. Theoretically, this was sound enough advice, and its purpose was, of course, not to inconvenience British trade by the exaction of an unreasonably high rate. But the only way in which the Bank could effect this discrimination was through lending at the low rate to its own regular customers; and, as it happened, some of its best bank customers were the very banks who were providing the American market with its gold. It did not, therefore, require more than a day or two for the English community to discover that the Bank's experiment was absolutely futile.

This being so, and the movement of gold to New York continuing at an unchecked rate — the Bank lost \$6,700,000 gold on foreign account in the first week of October, \$9,900,000, in the second week, and \$2,300,000 in the third — it was commonly expected in the London market that on October 18, when the weekly meeting of the bank was held, the rate would be advanced to five and one-half per cent or higher. Much to the surprise both of home and foreign observers, the directors took no action at all on this occasion, but left the rate at five per cent. The only explanation of this action was that a moderate reduction in loans had placed the bank in a somewhat stronger position as compared with a week before, so that its ratio of reserve to liability was about two per cent higher than on October 11. The inference commonly drawn from the refusal of the directors to fix a higher rate was that the bank management was satisfied with the situation and believed that it had obtained control of the market.

This was on Thursday, October 18, and the Bank of England is not in the habit of making a change in its rate except at the Thursday meeting. It may, therefore, be judged what was the effect on the financial community, at home and foreign, when on Friday morning, the very next day, a special meeting of the bank directors was held and the announcement given out that the rate had been put up from five to six per cent. Now,

regarding this action, there are several historical facts which deserve to be noticed, because of their direct bearing on this year's episode. In the first place, a six-per-cent official rate at the Bank of England has never been exceeded since the world-wide panic of 1873. More than this, the Bank had fixed that rate only four times in the past twenty-five years, and only ten times in the past forty years.

Furthermore, the occasion for the six-per-cent rate has usually been one when a serious crisis was impending. The last time previous to 1906 when a six-per-cent London bank rate was established was the Boer War panic of November, 1900, when not only were the immense war loans impending, but the Transvaal gold output was shut to Europe's markets. The next previous occasion was the Baring panic of November, 1890, when the failure of the great banking house, with £20,000,000 liabilities, and with entanglements in every market of the world, was impending.

The establishment of the six-per-cent rate was in itself sufficiently disquieting. But the fixing of such a rate at a special meeting, not on the regular weekly day, was calculated to create acute alarm. Such action is most exceptional. A similar step was taken on Monday, October 3, 1899, and on Friday, November 7, 1890, and in each of these instances the advance was made at the irregular occasion because circumstances of a highly critical nature had arisen since the regular meeting day of the bank directors. It was perfectly natural, therefore, that the first inquiry of all financial markets, when they heard the news, should have been: What disaster is impending?

The Bank's directors themselves took pains unofficially to announce that nothing of the sort was in sight; and indeed it soon became evident that this extraordinary action of the directors was taken not because of an apprehended calamity, but because they had been suddenly convinced of the mistake of their previous policy. Some effort was made to show that they had learned, since the Thursday meeting, of the abnormally heavy demand for gold on the part of Egypt; but since the general market had for three or four days been aware that this demand would have to be met, it is hardly conceivable that the Bank's policy was reversed by this fact alone.

Subsequent events have proved abundantly that the Bank had made up its mind to shut the Wall Street borrowers and the Wall Street gold importers absolutely out of the English market, and had determined not to hesitate at any policy, however drastic, which would accomplish that end. During more than a month after the six-per-cent rate was fixed, there was constant talk of an advance to seven per cent in case the New York demand should be renewed; and seven per cent, a rate

which the Bank has not announced since 1873, is distinctly a panicky figure.

In short, the Bank of England had resolved that it must, at all hazards, regain control not only of its own home market, but of the international money market, and turn the flow of gold in its own direction. Among bankers and competent financial critics, there has been much difference of opinion as to the wisdom of this action. Some of the highest practical authorities on the international market have held the ground that the Bank of England directors were seized with a sort of panic, and that the step they took was wholly unnecessary under the circumstances. Others have judged the policy more leniently, though all experienced observers concur in the judgment that the Bank's directors bungled with the problem during the early stages of the American gold movement when they might have accomplished their purposes more promptly without such violent disturbance of the financial situation.

Perhaps the best gauge of practical opinion on the subject lies in the fact that the London commercial community submitted almost without a protest to the higher bank rate. This fact has considerable meaning, for it must be remembered that not only does a six per cent minimum at the Bank of England fix the range for all loans made in its own very large share of the London banking business, but that the loans of all other institutions are necessarily affected by it. With the advance on the London market, there was a general movement of money rates throughout the world to adjust themselves to it.

Neither in America nor in Europe was any one prepared at the time the Bank of England took its startling action to say what the result would be. The one sure result appeared to be that New York would get no more gold from London. But this, as presently was shown, was only part of the Bank of England's purpose. I have mentioned heretofore the fact that several hundred million dollars in American loans were outstanding on Europe's market. As we have seen, the bulk of these, in the form of finance bills or of loans on stocks, were placed in London.

It soon appeared that the Bank of England was not stopping with a move to check the gold withdrawals, but was determined to expel the speculative American borrowers from the London market, and by this means to regulate the rate of exchange between New York and London. This purpose clearly appeared at the so-called Stock Exchange settlement in London one week after the bank rate went to six per cent. It should be said in explanation that where the New York Stock Exchange handles its business by daily settlements, in each of which the account between buyers and sellers is adjusted through payments of bal-

ances and receipt or delivery of securities, such adjustment occurs in London only once a fortnight.

Between the so-called "settlement days" any contract, whether for sale or purchase, entered upon on the London Stock Exchange, is left to be closed out at the ensuing settlement. When that "settlement day" arrives, the purchaser of the stocks who has been carrying them with money borrowed on Lombard Street has the option of extending the account another fortnight. That is to say, he need not pay outright for his securities, but must go to the lenders on the Stock Exchange and procure funds for what is called the "carry-over." The rate demanded at such times depends on several circumstances. Naturally, it is largely regulated by the prevailing rate on the general market; but, in addition, it goes higher or lower as the special account from which the demand arises is large or small. If, for example, a speculation is arranged in South African mining shares, but is slack in English railways, the contango rate, or the charge for continuing the account over the ensuing fortnight, will be higher in the case of mines than of the railways. Manifestly this principle operated on this occasion against such borrowers as were carrying American securities. Applicants for loans upon such security had against them not alone the fact of the higher rate on the outside market, or the fact that the account had long been relatively large, but the further fact that, under the lead of the Bank of England, sentiment in the English banking community was overwhelmingly against the continuance of facilities to such speculative borrowers.

At the London Stock Exchange settlement in the first week of October, the "contango rate" on American securities was six and one-half per cent. At the settlement in the week following the six-per-cent Bank of England rate, the abnormal charge of eight to nine per cent per annum was made for carrying over the account, and this rate was repeated at the two next settlements. Automatically, such a rate would have served to force a transfer of these loans from London to New York; for at the very time when these high rates were charged for loans on American stocks in London, Wall Street banks were lending in New York, on the same collateral, at four and one-half per cent on demand and at six per cent for sixty days. A very large part of the American borrowings in London had taken this form of money-raising at Stock Exchange settlements. Through the Bank of England's opposition, and the high rates at the settlements, enormous amounts of these loans on "Americans" were dislodged.

Now came the real problem of the situation. Every one knew that the great speculation on the New York Stock Exchange, which began

late in the summer and which had been sustained in the face of September's forty-per-cent money market, had been financed with London capital. It is impossible to estimate how large a volume of such loans had been transferred from the New York banks to London during September's money stringency. Our bankers' operations in the London gold market had succeeded in drawing upward of \$50,000,000 gold from various markets. This enormous sum had been largely used to offset the withdrawal of currency by the West for its harvest demands; and part of it had remained with the banks at New York. As against the \$6,577,000 deficit of September 8, the New York surplus reserves had risen on October 13, the week before the London bank rate went to six per cent, as high as \$13,024,000. In other words, the New York bank position was reasonably stronger; the surplus at that time being nearly \$3,000,000 in excess of the similar date a year ago and only a few millions below that reported in the middle of October during any of the past ten years.

The question which now arose, however, was: If the New York banks should assume these loans sent back from London, in what position would they then be left? On the face of things, there were two alternative possibilities. Having recalled these loans, London naturally would ship back to its New York agents the stocks deposited as collateral. This collateral, arriving in New York, might be used as the basis of further loans in Wall Street, or it might, on the other hand, be immediately sold on the open market, the proceeds being used to discharge the debt. No evidence of such liquidation as would have been required by the second of these alternatives appeared on the New York Stock Exchange. The inference, therefore, apparently remained that the banks were putting up the money for the continuance of the loans, and that their own liabilities would thereby be so far expanded that the surplus reserve would be much more than exhausted.

What followed differed in so extraordinary a degree from the expectations of the banking community as to throw over all the American banking operations of the autumn a veil of mystery. Between Saturday, October 20, in the week when our loans were crowded out of the London market, and November 17, when all of the dislodged securities must have been delivered in New York, loans of the New York Associated Banks had not only not expanded through such addition to their granted credits, but, according to the financial statement, had been decreased by \$43,000,000.

An explanation of this financial paradox is difficult to discover; and at this moment it remains a puzzle to conservative observers. Three possible theories have been suggested. The loans might have been

transferred, as they were last year from the Clearing House banks to the trust companies, whose reports do not appear in the weekly bank returns. Or, in default of this, out-of-town banks might have come into Wall Street, offering such sums in loans as to enable the banks to reduce their own outstanding credits. Or, conceivably, loans might have been raised at other points than on the European continent.

Of these three possibilities, I can only say that no one of them seems in any degree sufficient to explain the disappearance from sight, without any wholesale Stock Exchange liquidation, of some \$60,000,000 or \$70,000,000 loans; for it must be remembered that the \$43,000,000 reduction in the outstanding loans of the New York banks between October 20 and November 17 was not all that is left to be explained. There remain also the \$15,000,000 to \$25,000,000 in loans transferred from the London Stock Exchange.

A review of the events in financial history and controversy during the past quarter would not be complete without reference to the real progress made in the matter of practical currency reform. I do not mean by this that the steps already taken insure early adoption or even early and thorough consideration of any plan for expanding the bank-note currency. On the whole, it is improbable that in the short session of an expiring Congress much time will be devoted to a subject involving such radical action as this. But what has happened is that an intelligible plan on which the larger representative bankers and commercial bodies are fairly united has come into the field in such a way as to make discussion along harmonious lines entirely practicable. The trouble with currency reform up to this time has been that every organization seemed to have its own plan, and that each of the plans conflicted radically with all the others.

The first step in harmonizing differences this past season was taken by the committee appointed from the Chamber of Commerce of New York City to consider currency reform. This committee submitted its report on October 4. It was adopted by the Chamber, which, as is well known, comprises not only the best known bankers, but the best known business men of New York City. The report thus adopted was peculiar in that it offered two alternative plans, concerning one of which the committee itself plainly expressed its doubts. The first proposition was as follows:

Let there be created a central bank of issue similar to the Bank of Germany or the Bank of France; such bank to deal exclusively with banks; its stock to be owned in part by banking institutions and in part by the Government; but in its management representatives of the Government shall be supreme. This central bank shall issue currency, rediscount for other banks, hold public money, and act

as agent of the Government in redeeming its paper money and making its disbursements.

This suggestion called forth virtually no approval among serious critics either in banking circles or in the press. It was conceded on all sides, first, that the traditional prejudice against such a bank of issue, reaching back into Jackson's time, would be overcome, if at all, only with the greatest difficulty and friction, and, in the second place, that no Congress could be imagined which would intrust such powers to a central banking institution at a time when the connection of our largest banks with schemes of speculating millionaires was a matter of notoriety.

The alternative to this central bank-of-issue plan was in substance as follows:

Let any National bank whose bond-secured circulation equals fifty per cent of its capital have authority to issue additional notes equal in amount to thirty-five per cent of its capital.

Let such additional notes be subject to a graduated tax as follows: The first five per cent taxed at the rate of two per cent per annum; the second five per cent taxed at the rate of three per cent; the third five per cent taxed at the rate of four per cent; then an issue equal to ten per cent of capital taxed five per cent; then an issue equal to ten per cent of capital taxed six per cent.

Let the proceeds of this graduated tax constitute a guaranty fund, in the custody of the Government, for the redemption of the notes of failed banks.

To insure the prompt retirement of notes when not needed, let redemption agencies be established at sub-treasuries and other convenient points.

Shortly after the promulgation of this plan, the committee appointed by the American Bankers Association reported at the annual convention of that body. In brief, the report provided that a currency commission of seven members should be appointed by the President of the United States and confirmed by the Senate; the commission to be non-partisan; the Comptroller of the Currency to be a member of it, and the term of the other members to expire at variable intervals; that credit currency not secured by bonds and not exceeding fifty per cent of the bond-secured circulation already outstanding against a given bank may be issued by National banks if approved by this commission; that the commission may also determine the length of time during which such currency should remain outstanding; finally, that a tax of one per cent per annum on such credit currency should be exacted.

As between this plan and that of the Chamber of Commerce, the latter was far more generally approved. The scheme of a currency commission, brought forward in the Bankers Association plan, found no great favor, chiefly because of the delay necessarily involved and the easy possibility that such a commission might find itself out of sympathy with one or another section of the country. In the middle of

November, representatives of both of these committees met at Washington and undertook to harmonize their differences.

The plan, as at length approved, adopted the graduated tax idea, proposing, however, in place of the Chamber of Commerce Committee's slow and regular increase in the rate, a two-and-one-half-per-cent tax on credit issues up to forty per cent of the bond-secured circulation, and a five-per-cent tax on further issues up to twelve and one-half per cent of the capital. The criticism was fairly made that this plan, being less simple and more confusing than the Chamber of Commerce plan, which it replaces, stood at a disadvantage for that reason. It will serve, however, as a basis for further discussion.

One new proposition injected by the harmonizing committee was that the credit-note issues, having no bond collateral back of them, must be sustained by the same cash reserve—twenty-five per cent in the case of city banks and fifteen per cent with country institutions—as is now required to be held against National bank deposits. This proviso met with general approval. Such reserves were in fact required by the National Bank law from its enactment in 1864 until 1874, their abandonment at the latter date having been simply due to the recognition of the fact that, government bonds having greatly appreciated in value, their deposit to guarantee the note circulation was abundant security.

As a step further in dealing with present currency difficulties, the compromise plan set forth November 15 proposed this further innovation, that the present requirements of collateral security against government money deposited in National banks should be dispensed with, and the payment of two per cent interest to the Government be required in place of it. There can be no doubt that the law regulating public deposits urgently needs revision. As it stands, different public officers interpret it differently. Before Secretary Shaw took office, all secretaries had assumed that the law explicitly required deposit of government bonds to secure such public funds. Mr. Shaw, through a technical construction of the act, has admitted certain high-grade securities other than government securities in such collateral.

The Chamber of Commerce plan of 1902, afterward incorporated in a Congressional bill by Senator Aldrich, proposed that two per cent interest be required against public deposits, but that certain municipal and railway securities should be acceptable as collateral.

At the time, this proposition fell flat in Congress because of the opposition not by an anti-bank element, but by the Western bankers themselves, who objected to paying interest on deposits which they had hitherto been holding free of interest. Precisely how the proposal of last November will be received by this same element is an interesting

question. The criticism is bound to be made both on this proposition and on the general plan for a credit currency unsecured save by the general assets of the bank, that these prior liens by the note holders and the Government are placing the ordinary depositor in a somewhat different position from what he has heretofore occupied.

In all probability the success of this plan, with or without modification, depends on the movement of events in the money market and the government-bond market. If the requirement for a circulating medium continues to increase at its recent extraordinary rate, and the supply of government bonds does not increase, the demand for some new form of banknote issues may become irresistible. On the other hand, there is at least the chance of reaction in the demands of trade, and, again, the Panama Canal renders certain a large and early increase of outstanding government securities.

What, in view of the conditions and events which we have now reviewed, is to be said of the outlook for American finance? In Wall Street one meets, and has met during the past three or four months, the very general answer that, with the arrival of January and the relaxing of the money strain, everything will be comfortable again and matters financial will go on under normal pressure. The experience of January, 1906, is forcibly invoked as witness to this probability.

And, in fact, there are two concessions freely made, even by people who have shown real concern over the high money rates and the weak bank position of this season. One is that, although money stringency is likely to continue longer into the new year than it did twelve months ago, nevertheless the acute strain should relax. The other concession is that our prosperity is so real, our tangible wealth so enormous, and the impetus of a series of prosperous years so great, that no serious reverse to our commercial prosperity is to be logically looked for.

That the country has indulged in many excesses is admitted; more grudgingly, it is admitted that such speculative extravagances as have marked the past few years must in the end bring their own penalty. What people usually rest upon, when in a speculative frame of mind, is the assurance that they are safe for some little time to come. No one will doubt the propriety of such assurances in the case of financial America.

The graver consideration concerns the longer future, and arises from the fact, of which we have seen so abundant evidence, that credit is being rashly employed, that the precautions of normal years, in banking affairs particularly, are being one after another relaxed, and, in particular, that at the very time when the automatic warnings of the money

market are most sharply sounded, the feeling grows more and more general in the financial community itself that we need no longer heed them.

This is the danger of the future, exactly as it was in 1871 and 1872 — when, as in the present year, Wall Street paid exorbitant money rates, declaring that it could readily afford to pay them and that it was not at all alarmed at such warnings of overstrained credit. The situation, looked on from this consideration, has been fairly summed up in President Roosevelt's message to Congress on December 4, which began as follows:

As a nation we still continue to enjoy a literally unprecedented prosperity; and it is probable that only reckless speculation and disregard of legitimate business methods on the part of the business world can materially mar this prosperity.

This statement is certainly reassuring; but it perhaps becomes less so when one reflects that reckless speculation is already in progress on an extraordinary scale, and that, in more than one financial quarter, disregard of legitimate business methods has become almost habitual.

ALEXANDER D. NOYES.

APPLIED SCIENCE.

AMONG the many questions of interest attracting the attention of the engineer during the past few months, we note especially the consideration given to fuel and combustion problems. Men are beginning to realize that the manufacture of power by the combustion of fuel, itself a wasteful operation, is generally conducted in a more wasteful manner than is really necessary. Furthermore, we have been giving insufficient attention to the cheaper and lower grades of fuel, notwithstanding the fact that such combustibles, in many cases, are really as efficient, in proportion to their cost, as the higher qualities.

Much of this interest, in the United States at least, has been stimulated by the valuable researches of the Geological Survey, begun in connection with the St. Louis Exposition, and continued since that time, as already noted in these reviews. To this work is now added the independent series of tests undertaken by the Geological Survey of Illinois in conjunction with the Engineering Experiment Station of the University of Illinois, while in other parts of the world investigations are being conducted upon the fuel values of peat, lignites, and other low-grade fuels.

The fact is that fuel costs are entering more than ever into the larger problems of industry and manufactures, while at the same time engineers and manufacturers are watching those costs more closely than formerly. When to the investigation of the actual cost of power produced from black coal there comes in many places the competition with power generated from the white coal, the hydraulic power from the snow-capped mountains, the reasons for the study of fuels become apparent.

Experiments upon fine coal, commonly known as screenings, show some interesting relations between the size, the proportion of ash, and the steaming value; and as such screenings constitute one of the cheaper grades of steam coal, reliable information about the fuel value is of direct commercial importance. Coal containing much ash may be purchased at a low price; but the loss due to the presence of ash is greater than the direct proportion of ash present, since it interferes with the combustion of the coal to a greater extent than might have been supposed. Investigations have also shown that the best results are obtained

with coal screened through a sieve having openings about three-quarters of an inch square, the efficiency falling off for larger or for smaller sizes. These are but instances of the practical value of scientific experiments upon the behavior of fuel, apart from any study which may be made upon the comparative efficiency of coals from various localities.

In connection with any study of the cost of power, the engineer must consider not only the actual efficiency of the particular engine to be used, but also the local cost of the fuel which is available in that locality. It matters little that a particular type of internal-combustion engine, using liquid fuel, has a very high thermal efficiency, converting a large percentage of the heat into work, if the money cost of the liquid fuel is high in the place where the motor is to be used.

An oil engine might be a most economical prime mover in Southern Russia, for instance, and less economical than a steam engine in England. Comparative statements of the cost of power from gas, steam, oil, or water are now no longer considered of general application, but demand, for their intelligent use, the proper additional information as to fuel costs, transport charges, and other data concerning the locality of use. In this, as in other departments of work, the engineer is learning to act as an economist to the material advantage of his clients and the broadening of the scope of his work.

Another department of work in which the engineer must exercise the ability of the economist and the financier as well as of the constructor is in the planning and building of electric and interurban railways. The engineer himself must consider not only the problems of power plant, road-bed, and equipment, but also the wider questions of available traffic, both present and potential, in the territory. He must decide how extensive an equipment the immediate business will demand, and estimate, with safe judgment, how the requirements for future growth can be met.

Upon the application of scientific methods to just such questions, the commercial success of an enterprise will often depend. Formerly the business man attempted to determine these points himself, sometimes with the aid of scientific advisers, more frequently with his own unaided judgment. To-day the engineer does all this and often more, and his application of the precise methods of scientific research have established their superiority in many instances.

An important problem in the great domain of transportation at the present time appears in the matter of providing a sufficient supply of cars for the demands of business. Both in the United States and in

Europe there appears an insufficiency of transport vehicles, with the consequent delays in the transportation of merchandise. At the same time, it appears that the number of cars in existence would be ample for the entire demands of the traffic if it were only possible to restrict their use to the legitimate purposes of transport. Many cars are now withdrawn from transport service for temporary warehousing. That is to say, the cars are not unloaded promptly upon delivery at their destination, but are held upon sidings or other tracks for days at a time until the merchandise can be conveniently unloaded.

Railway managers have endeavored to overcome this evil for a long time, but without effect; but there is every reason to believe that some definite action will be taken at an early day to put a stop to a practice which is so injurious to the prompt movement of merchandise upon the railroads. The Interstate Commerce Commission is insisting that all shippers shall be treated alike, so far as the time allowance for the removal of goods from the railroad's possession is concerned, while the railroads themselves are considering the imposition of higher demurrage charges in order to render the use of their cars as storage warehouses too expensive to be long continued.

In this, as in other situations apparently of a commercial nature, the engineer steps in by providing improved appliances for the more rapid loading and unloading of the cars. Iron ore, coal, or similar merchandise is either dropped through the bottom of the car, or, in the more recent devices, the entire car is held in a suitable frame and turned bodily upside down, returned to position, and passed on in less time than it takes to describe the operation. In loading cars from the holds of vessels the improved grab buckets remove tons at a load and deposit them at the will of the operator. At the iron furnace or in the steel mill the lifting magnet is now available, so that material formerly difficult to handle may be picked up, transferred, and deposited with freedom and precision.

By these and similar methods, the time required for the actual handling of material in the course of transport has been reduced to a minimum, and, so far as the engineer is concerned, there is no reason why cars should be detained or delayed at the terminus. The question of unshackling railroad commerce by releasing the cars now held for warehousing purposes must be solved by the business department of the railway systems. The engineer has done his part already, and done it very well. The importance of maintaining the railways of a country at their full efficiency by enabling all the cars to be used for their legitimate service of transportation will be realized when the close relation of the railroads to the general industrial progress of the nation is considered.

This is especially true in the United States, where the great distances have required the development of correspondingly great transportation systems.

In the older countries of Europe, and notably in Great Britain, the moderate distances enabled the natural resources of the country, and especially the mineral wealth, to be developed with the more primitive means of transport available before the era of railways. In America, the active manufacturing and mining industries were compelled to remain near the Atlantic seaboard; but it has been the modern railroad which has permitted the tremendous expansion in the iron industry. To-day iron ore is hauled 700 to 1,000 miles to meet the fuel supply, and the finished product is then distributed over the entire country. In like manner the transport of coal has rendered possible the development of local manufacturing industries in the interior of the country, where formerly agricultural pursuits predominated.

Copper, silver, gold, and the mineral industries in general owe their accelerating rate of growth to the incentive of adequate railroad facilities, a growth which must increase for a time at least, and then become modified as the present resources become exhausted and new materials and methods replace the old.

Before the railroads grew to their present dimensions, the artificial waterway, the canal, and the canalized river offered the most efficient means of transport for merchandise, and the canal is yet able to hold its own where cheapness is a paramount consideration. In many parts of the world there is a revival of interest in canal construction and operation, and in Central Europe especially is this the case.

There has long been a tendency toward the adoption of some mechanical system of canal traction to replace the primitive method of towage by animal power; but in nearly every instance the additional cost of the mechanical traction has led to its abandonment, even when the mechanical performance has been satisfactory. The latest experiences, however, in using electric traction, appear to have given encouragement both as to mechanical and commercial efficiency, and the reports from Germany are attracting interested attention.

These experiments have been made upon the Teltow Canal, a portion of the great system of internal waterways in Germany intended to unite the navigation of the Oder and the Elbe. The towing system adopted is that of using an electric locomotive, running on a narrow-gauge track laid upon the tow-path, the locomotive taking its current supply from an overhead wire, and drawing several barges in the canal by means of a tow-rope connection. The apparatus contains a number

of ingenious details, the object being to perform every function by electric power, in the control of the operator on the locomotive.

Thus, there is one traction motor, driving the machine along upon the tracks, another motor for raising or lowering the mast to which the tow-rope is attached, and a third motor geared to a drum on the locomotive. This latter apparatus enables the tow-rope to be wound up or let out at will, so that the engine may run ahead at a lock or similar location, and then wind up the rope and draw the boats ahead while the locomotive is standing still. The drum is also provided with a friction connection which will slip if any sudden resistance is encountered. There are two lake sections in the canal, and in these electric tow-boats are used, these taking current from overhead conductors, supplemented by storage batteries.

Experience with this installation shows that with a heavy traffic, using every economy in the operation of the generating station, electric traction may be able to compete, with other methods. For an annual traffic of 2,000,000 tons, the costs of electricity and steam are about the same, while for 4,000,000 tons there is an advantage of about twenty per cent in favor of the electric service. In any case it is essential that the operation be limited to a single kind of service, since any attempt to operate a mixed system of mechanical and animal traction materially increases the cost.

Now that the bill liberating alcohol from excessive taxation has become a law, there is being given increasing attention to the modifications desirable in internal-combustion motors to enable them to use this fuel to advantage. It is well understood that a higher compression of the charge of air and fuel in the engine cylinder is desirable for alcohol than for gasoline; but this is a matter easily controlled by adjusting the proportion of the clearance space to the cylinder volume. A matter not so easily arranged is the production of the vapor of alcohol, since this fuel is not so volatile as gasoline, and the ordinary carburetter is unsuited to the duty.

In most of the designs proposed, the plan is to heat the carburetter, utilizing for this purpose the warmth of the exhaust gases, a plan which does very well after the engine is in full action, but which is not so convenient in starting, since some external source of heat is then necessary until the carburetter is warmed up.

An ingenious method has recently been suggested by Dr. Schreber, that of injecting the liquid alcohol directly into the cylinder during the compression stroke, the heat developed by the compression causing the vaporization of the alcohol, and the compressed mixture being ignited

electrically at the beginning of the power stroke, as usual. This method obviates any necessity for a carburetter, while the heat absorbed in vaporizing the alcohol enables a higher degree of compression to be used than would otherwise be possible, without danger of premature ignition of the charge. This is but one of the methods by which alcohol may be used effectively in internal-combustion engines, and there is no doubt that this fuel will come into very general use for automobiles and motor boats, as well as for stationary engines.

With the development of electric traction for interurban and local service, there has arisen an effort on the part of existing steam railroads to meet the competition with their local traffic. The ordinary railway train cannot meet the requirements for a frequent local service in competition with its electric rival, nor can the steam road be converted into an electric railway at once, or at all, if its merchandise traffic will not permit. Under these circumstances, the railroads are turning to the various designs of self-contained motor cars, operating upon the existing tracks, and equipped with their own propelling machinery. Such cars, being independent of the regular locomotives, may be run at any time when the tracks are clear, and it is practicable to meet the demand for a frequent local service in this way very effectively.

The question of cost is naturally the controlling one, and this has led to some investigations, especially in England and on the Continent, as to the relative costs of operating different types of railway motor cars. Such cars have been made with internal-combustion motors, similar to the engines used for automatic service; but the demand for gasoline renders it improbable that this source of motive power is likely to be generally employed for local railway traction. It is possible that alcohol motors may be developed to a point where they will be available for this purpose, but such machines have not yet been introduced.

At the present time, the railways must choose between steam and electricity. The steam motor car, the car carrying its own boiler and engine, and possibly hauling a single trailer, has been found to be an economical and convenient machine; and in actual service such cars, carrying about sixty passengers, can be operated at a cost of about fifteen cents per mile. Electrical propulsion is distinctly more costly, being about three times as great as for steam, using the third-rail system or secondary batteries.

Apart from the actual cost of operation, however, the independent motor cars for passengers are found to possess many advantages. The small size of the unit enables a frequent service to be given at a mileage cost of about one-third that of the ordinary passenger train-mile. Local

stops, accompanied by good speeds and rapid accelerations, permit of a service which is satisfactory to passengers, keeping the road cleared for the through trains. Special trains, usually expensive and inconvenient, are readily replaced by the handy motor car; and one or more of such cars may be kept ready for immediate call at any great terminal, with little cost or trouble. That these advantages are appreciated by the railway companies of Europe is evident from the increasing number of such machines in service; and both in Europe and in the United States they may give material aid in solving the problem of effective competition with the local and interurban electric lines.

An interesting development in machine-shop practice appears in the manner in which a number of shop operations are becoming standardized, or reduced to matters of record and repetition, with material benefit both to the manufacturer and the user of the product. The late Sir Joseph Whitworth, a pioneer in this matter, used to say that his attention was directed to the subject by observing the lack of agreement in the diameters of candles and the sockets of candlesticks. Whitworth standardized British screw threads, and introduced standard gauges for cylindrical and other pieces; and others have carried the work on since his death.

In England, the Engineering Standards Committee, a body operating for various government departments in connection with the national engineering societies, has issued some very valuable reports. Among the reports already issued may be mentioned those for rails and for structural shapes, also for screw threads for bolts and for pipes and for other machine elements for which uniformity and interchangeability are desirable.

Apart from the devising of standards, the committee has recently done some excellent work in gathering and classifying certain workshop data, covering the tolerance of error and the allowances in fitting practised by the leading establishments. It has been fully accepted in the best workshops that various kinds of work involve definite limits of tolerance or permissible error; but the practice of prominent shops has varied, and the work of the committee has enabled these various allowances to be compared, analyzed, and standardized for the benefit of others. These methods have also been applied to the standardization of running, sliding, and forcing fits, as they are called, giving the difference in size between the hole and the piece to go into it, according as the parts are to move freely or to be closely and firmly fitted together.

It is important in all such standardizing work that the methods should be sufficiently elastic to prevent the perpetuation of forms or

processes which ought to become obsolete. There is sometimes danger that the adoption of fixed standards may result in impeding improvements and delaying the development of inventions; but such need not be the case if the governing body exercises proper judgment, and especially if it be so constituted as to be of continuing existence, so that it may be able to provide for future improvements.

The British Engineering Standards Committee, working as it does in connection with the National Physical Laboratory, with the Institution of Civil Engineers, and with other high organizations, forms a body of just such judicial and reviewing powers as make for the permanence of the essentials as well as the development of those details which are absolutely necessary for success.

The advantages of standardization are beginning to be realized in many departments of work, a notable example being that of the design and construction of automobiles. At the earlier exhibitions there were shown almost as many different methods of construction and proportion as there were exhibitors, while at the last show held in New York one of the notable features was the extent to which structural differences had been eliminated. The various machines still show the differences in style necessarily involved in their independent production, but in their mechanical features the influence of standardization is plainly apparent to the distinct benefit of both manufacturer and purchaser. The same is true of other manufactured products, and there is little doubt that much of the progress which has been made in machine design during the past decade is due to the acceptance of scientific methods of standardization by a large number of leading manufacturers.

Some time ago I referred in these reviews to the fact that a number of investigators were experimenting with a view to improving the efficiency of the incandescent electric lamp, and this work is being continued with unremitting energy in different parts of the world. For many years the incandescent lamp has remained practically as if it were accepted as a finality, a sort of staple article, not susceptible of further change. The carbon loop in its exhausted bulb has become a sort of household article not widely removed from the former status of the "fish-tail" gas-burner; and electrical engineers appeared to be devoting more of their efforts to the proper production of the electric current than to its more effective application, at least so far as lighting was concerned.

Some of the earliest experiments in incandescent lighting were made with metallic filaments; but the lack of durability together with other imperfections led to the abandonment of metals and the adoption of

carbon. It has now practically been demonstrated that many of these early difficulties were due to impurities in the metal filaments, and with the improved methods for producing fine wires, of a high degree of purity, of the more infusible metals, a wide field for investigation has been opened.

The use of filaments of tantalum and of osmium has been already noted in these pages, and now we have the rare metal tungsten as a candidate for favor. Tungsten, although rare in the pure metallic state, is well known and widely used in combination, especially in connection with the production of special alloy steels. Indeed, it has been employed in this connection for many centuries, since the so-called "wootz," the famous steel of India, is known to owe some of its peculiar properties to the presence of tungsten.

The very high melting point of tungsten has led it to be used experimentally for a lamp filament; the method of substitution, devised by the German chemists Just and Hanemann, enabling the element to be produced in a metallic state. This method of substitution is an interesting example of the manner in which an operation, originally little more than a curious laboratory experiment, may become a valuable commercial process in an important department of applied science.

The method consists in the heating of a filament of carbon in an atmosphere consisting of a gaseous compound of some other metal. As originally tried, the result was a coating of the metal, deposited upon a core of carbon. Under certain conditions, however, it has been found possible to cause the carbon filament to be oxidized as the metal is deposited, so that ultimately a pure metallic filament replaces entirely the original filament of carbon.

It is in this manner that filaments of pure molybdenum and of osmium have been produced, and more recently the same process has been successfully applied to make filaments of pure metallic tungsten. Filaments of this kind when used in exhausted bulbs, similar to the ordinary carbon-filament incandescent lamp, enable a brilliant light to be obtained with a much lower consumption of electrical energy than is required for the carbon lamp, the current consumption being but one-half to one-third that of the older type, while the life of the lamp is lengthened nearly fifty per cent. There have thus been obtained excellent results with incandescent lamps using tantalum, osmium, and tungsten in the place of carbon; and although the carbon-filament lamp will doubtless long continue to be used, the new lamps will also be developed as important rivals.

In the last of these reviews I referred to the completion of the new

British battle-ship "Dreadnought," and some of the most notable peculiarities of design and equipment involved in this latest naval fighting machine. In the mean time the speed trials of the vessel have been completed, and, in view of the fact that this is the first example of the propulsion of a first-class battle-ship by steam turbines, especial interest is attached to the results. The vessel was designed for a speed of 21 knots at a displacement of 18,000 tons, with a development of 23,000 horse-power.

As a matter of fact, the exertion of 23,000 horse-power produced a speed of 21.25 knots, an important gain over the original estimate, while it was found possible to attain a maximum power of 27,518 horse-power, this giving a speed of 21.6 knots. This really means that a first-class battle-ship, heavily armored, and with maximum gun power, has also the speed of a swift cruiser, a combination hitherto considered unattainable. It is realized that such a speed loses much of its tactical advantage unless the other units of the fleet of which the vessel forms a part are equally speedy, since the speed of the slowest vessel measures the practical rate of progress of the whole. It is planned, however, to complete the scheme by providing three similar battle-ships as promptly as may be, and thus enable the full benefit of this high speed to be rendered of practical utility.

An interesting point in the speed trials of the "Dreadnought" appears in the method used to measure the power developed by the turbine engines. As is well known, the usual method of measuring the power of a steam engine is by means of the indicator, this being a form of recording pressure gauge which makes a diagram showing the actual steam pressure in the engine cylinder at each point in the stroke. From this diagram the average pressure acting to impel the engine is found, and, combining this with the dimensions of the cylinder and the speed of the engine, the power developed may be computed.

In the case of the steam turbine, however, the indicator cannot be applied, since the steam flows continuously through the machine, acting upon a varying area of rapidly revolving vanes in its flow. The method devised for the turbine engine is based upon the measurement of the torsion or twist of the propeller shaft itself, this twisting spring of the shaft naturally being greater or less as the power transmitted varies.

The apparatus involves some very ingenious electrical appliances, the measurement of the distortion of the shaft being determined by the difference in electrical contacts on two discs placed at a definite distance apart on the shaft. When the apparatus is once installed, the shaft itself becomes a continual transmission dynamometer, so that the power passing through it may be read off at any moment. In this manner a series

of progressive speed trials were made, and the power required for successive speeds readily determined.

In connection with improvements in the design and control of vessels, mention may here be made of the proposal of Herr Otto Schlick, the well-known German marine engineer, to minimize the rolling of ships by the use of the gyroscopic action of revolving bodies. Every one is familiar with the scientific toy known as the gyroscope, consisting of a small disc with a heavy rim, arranged in a pivoted frame so that it may be rotated at a high speed. Such a wheel possesses the property, when in rotation, of resisting any effort tending to displace it from the plane in which it is revolving.

This action may be very forcibly demonstrated by taking the rear wheel of a bicycle from the machine and holding the axle in the hands while the wheel itself is rotated. It will be found that any attempt to twist the wheel into a different position will encounter a very considerable resistance, this resistance depending upon the weight of the rim of the wheel and upon the speed of its rotation. If the tire be removed from the bicycle wheel, and the rim wound with a number of coils of wire or, better still, with a few turns of lead pipe, the effect of a heavy rim upon this gyroscopic action will be most apparent.

Herr Schlick proposes to utilize this action by mounting a heavy wheel amidships on strong trunnions, and maintaining it in rotation by means of an electric motor. In order to avoid opposing too positive a resistance to the forces causing the rolling, it is suggested to arrange some form of retarder, such as a friction brake or hydraulic buffer, between the wheel suspension and the hull of the vessel, and thus prevent the jarring action which might otherwise occur. It is altogether possible to compute the forces producing rolling in a ship of given dimensions and proportions, and this has been done for several examples; and it is found that a wheel four metres in diameter and ten tons weight may be so placed and run as to neutralize completely the rolling action of a ship of 6,000 tons displacement.

It does not follow that the prevention of rolling will cause the disappearance of seasickness, although it is possible that the malady may be modified by the steadyng of the ship. Experience has shown that the vertical movement alone is sufficient to cause nausea in many persons, just as a similar effect is produced in a rapidly descending elevator car, so that the improved device may not prove the boon so much desired. It should aid, however, in providing a steadier gun platform for war-ships, and other applications will doubtless suggest themselves.

The question of fire prevention is attracting increasing attention from

engineers, both in connection with the construction of fireproof buildings and with scientific methods of preventing the occurrence and spread of fires.

A not infrequent cause of fires is believed to be the so-called spontaneous ignition of bituminous coal when stored in bulk, either in the yard or in the bunkers of a vessel. This danger is especially serious on shipboard, and since many coaling stations distant from their source of supply must be served by colliers making long voyages in tropical climates, the question of protection against loss of life and property in such cases becomes most important.

Coal requires a temperature of about five hundred degrees Centigrade for its ignition, and unless such a temperature is attained no danger is to be feared. It is difficult to see how so high a heat can be caused by any chemical action in the coal itself; but it appears to be amply proved that the combined action of the internal accumulation of heat and some external source of heat together may produce ignition, flame, and disaster. Bituminous coal will become heated through the absorption of oxygen, and although this action is slow it often occurs in the interior of a mass of coal, where there is no opportunity for the heat to escape, and where consequently its accumulation will cause a steady rise in temperature to take place.

Ventilation is generally recommended as a remedy, and if the whole body of coal could be thoroughly ventilated it might be kept safely cool; but this is usually impracticable. Extinguishing fires in the heart of a mass of coal by applying water is also difficult, since water gas is often generated by the contact of the vapor with the incandescent carbon, and dangerous explosions may follow.

An ingenious method of preventing such fires has been suggested by Prof. Vivian B. Lewes, this depending upon the action of carbon dioxide, commonly known as carbonic acid gas. This gas is most effective in the extinction of fire, most of the so-called chemical fire extinguishers depending upon its generation for their action.

Prof. Lewes, however, goes a step further, and proposes to place a number of cylinders containing liquefied carbon dioxide in the midst of a cargo of coal, these flasks being provided with fusible metal stoppers which will melt and allow the escape of the liquid if the temperature of the coal becomes too high. The escaping liquid produces an intense degree of cold in its evaporation, this action lowering the temperature in the vicinity at once, while the gas itself permeates the coal from within outward, effectually extinguishing any fire which it may meet. Since liquefied carbon dioxide is now an ordinary article of commerce, there appears to be no good reason why this plan may not be carried out suc-

cessfully and at small cost. The cylinders of liquid gas may, of course, be used repeatedly until they are discharged.

Among the great engineering works planned and to be executed as a part of the development of New York city, mention should be made of the scheme for the provision of the future water supply of the metropolis from the Catskill region. This plan involves the construction of twelve reservoirs in various parts of the district, an aqueduct sixty miles in length, a tunnel under the Hudson River, and an expenditure of more than \$160,000,000, a larger sum than that estimated necessary for the construction of the Panama Canal. The plans assume the provision of more than 500,000,000 gallons of water per day, this being in addition to the present Croton supply of 300,000,000 gallons daily, the proposed new aqueduct delivering the water from the Catskills to the edge of the Croton water-shed.

Although the surveys have been completed and much of the preliminary work laid out, the undertaking is so extensive that its completion is a long way off, and probably the supply will be greatly needed even before it is available. It is significant, however, that the engineering works involved in the growth of a great city are as great, both in cost and importance, as the national and international undertakings about which much more is said and concerning which non-technical readers may be led to form opinions altogether disproportionate to their relative importance.

During the past few months the interest in aéronautics has been increasing, and some very interesting experiments have been made. I mentioned in the last review the fact that M. Santos-Dumont had turned his attention from the dirigible balloon to the aéroplane, and since that time he has made several successful flights. His machine consists essentially of a combination of several box kites of the Hargrave type, the general form being that of the letter T, the apparatus being supported, while on the ground, upon light bicycle wheels, permitting a forward movement until the speed becomes sufficiently great to cause the apparatus to ride up on the air like a kite.

Experience has demonstrated that there are two essentials which must be provided for before the aéroplane can become a practical success. The first of these is a motor of such light weight that it shall not be an excessive burden upon the supporting power of the aéroplane surfaces. The second point is one rather of design and operation than of actual construction—the command of equilibrium.

When it is remembered how difficult the beginner finds it to balance himself in his first attempts to ride on a bicycle, it may, perhaps, be

realized how necessary some knowledge of balancing the machine is to the experimenter with an aëroplane. M. Levasseur has supplied M. Santos-Dumont with a motor of twenty-four horse-power which weighs only a little more than sixty-three pounds, while M. Santos-Dumont himself has apparently mastered the art of balancing his new machine, since he has made public flights of nearly 700 feet, and appears to have the mechanism fairly well in his control.

These experiments have drawn renewed attention to the work of the Wright brothers, whose successful experiences in gliding flight are well known. It is claimed that the Wrights have succeeded in applying a motor to their aëroplane, and that they have made controlled flights of several miles with their latest machine. It is certain that M. Fordyce, who visited the Wright brothers, on behalf of the French Government, more than a year ago, was favorably impressed with their work; and even before the present reports of successful flights were made public, it had become evident to those who followed their experiments that these indefatigable young men had made great progress in the difficult art of balancing.

There seems to be little doubt that the practical solution of the problem of the aëroplane is near at hand; and like many other such questions, it will be solved not by some startling invention, but rather by the gradual development of the essential elements involved, through the growth of the art of mechanical construction in response to the demands of the engineer.

HENRY HARRISON SUPLEE.

THE EDUCATIONAL OUTLOOK.

Good teachers are getting scarce. Cities which exact a high standard of qualification find their eligible lists depleted and no immediate supply in sight. This state of things is in a measure accounted for by the prevailing shabbiness in the remuneration of teachers. The rewards are not such as to induce enough ambitious young men to invest their time and strength in a thorough preparatory course. The increase of money-earning opportunities for working women has still further reduced the influx of desirable material. The situation is a serious one. Thousands of efficient teachers leave school work every year for more remunerative labor. They feel that they cannot afford the luxury of teaching. Meanwhile the number of inefficient ones must of necessity increase, and as a matter of fact is increasing, their inefficiency ranging all the way from lack of professional judgment down to rank illiteracy. People devoid of almost everything included under the term culture, a considerable percentage of them possessing not even a modicum of elementary instruction, manage to get employment as teachers.

Frederick the Second of Prussia has been held up to scorn because he insisted that his non-commissioned officers, many of them confirmed drunkards, wanting employment, should be appointed as school teachers. All protests were met by the explanations that they must have shelter during the inclement winter days; that teaching would keep them out of mischief; that being military drill-masters they would keep the children in order; and that the wages paid to teachers were all they were worth. The frugal Frederick's reasonings, especially the latter point, are not very unlike those actuating some of our American school boards.

Low wages necessarily restrict one's opportunities for self-development. The kind of people who would make the most desirable teachers are looking forward to occupations holding out the possibility that some day they may have a comfortable home with a respectable library and a piano in it, and, if so it may be, a garden around it. Fifteen dollars a week does not hold out much hope. What shall we say, then, of places that pay only twelve dollars a month—and then only "when school keeps"? Or what inducement does a city position hold out which pays, say, twelve dollars a week, and then subjects the tenant to the liability of being docked for unavoidable absence?

This whole question of teachers' wages is one that must be handled without further reticence. When people permit their children to be taught by illiterates — and there are not a few of them in the service — we are confronted by a state of rottenness that must be treated in the open. No State in the Union can afford to harbor a single teacher who lacks in the very elements of education. Communities that cannot pay a fair living wage must be given State support sufficient to enable them to do it. Things cannot go on much longer as they have been. If better financial inducements are not supplied soon, the State may have to adopt, in time, a sort of conscription compelling every able-minded person of mature age and other desirable qualifications to serve two or more terms as teacher in the schools, much as the able-minded men are drafted for the German army. Something radical certainly seems to be demanded by the conditions confronting us. Public sentiment must recognize the need of having the various States fix minimum standards of remuneration for teachers. Education is the most vital concern of the State.

A condition far more discouraging than unsatisfactory compensation is to be found in the petty annoyances to which teachers are constantly subjected. The children are the least of their troubles. The parents are but little more trial to the flesh. The "regulations" and the bosses of greater and lesser magnitude, they are the chief sources of discouragement. The subduing of the teacher begins before his appointment. He is sent from one mighty personage to another and is made to feel at every point that he who wants to be exalted to a school position must first humble himself. After he has obtained a provisional license he must be watchful of the idiosyncrasies and pet theories of his several superiors, not to offend their exceedingly sensitive spirits. He will be marked in various ways and according to many standards. If he is blessed with a lack of originality and carefully avoids all semblance of self-assertion, keeping closely in officially approved ruts, he may soon be in possession of a permanent license. If he can rid himself of the thought that he is a separate entity endowed by his Creator with certain inalienable rights, etc., — if he can forget that and will then bend his mind to a study of the prescribed conditions for promotion — he may some day be translated into a position of authority.

Teaching has many attractions. But these attractions are usually so modified by official and officious irritants that many will forego them for the sake of being able to live their own lives, even if it be in a less congenial occupation. The making out of innumerable reports and the being reported upon in almost equal measure are not to every healthy person's liking. Teachers are made to run the gauntlet of miscellaneous

criticism even more emphatically than clergymen. Everybody, including the clergymen, seems to be interested in keeping them meek and lowly.

Criticism may be needed. Commendation is needed. Teachers are hungering for encouragement. Their work is such that the results of it are not immediately visible. In fact, the best fruit of their work may not begin to show itself till years have passed. The girls and boys grown to womanhood and manhood may be more or less conscious of the debt of gratitude they owe to some particular teacher, but the ears that would be happy to drink in the words of commendation may long be closed. The parents of these grown-up daughters and sons quite likely never realized what a blessing the teacher was to their children. And so they, too, did not say the word that might have cheered a worthy toiler.

There are some people of whom a speedy recognition of professional merit might quite reasonably be expected. They are the principals and superintendents and other supervisory officers who owe their positions to the popular assumption that they are experts in education. But these, too, avail themselves but rarely of the privilege of commanding worthy laborers. It is only charitable to assume that they do not always know good work when they see it. There are practically no fixed impersonal standards for testing efficiency in teaching. The statistical method of research suggested in the *THE FORUM* for the reconstruction of such standards has not been as generally accepted as its reasonableness might lead one to expect, although some progress has been made.

Criticism is formulated too much on mere impressions. The unusual is not infrequently praised as original. Those who follow a scientifically approved procedure may find themselves disapproved as routinists. It is as if physicians of moderate or no professional preparation were commended for novel ways of handling diphtheria in its initiatory stages, scorning the use of anti-toxin as routine, and letting a momentary inspiration have full sway. There naturally can be no justice exercised except in accordance with universal standards. Lacking such standards there seems to be very little excuse for scholastic rulers of greater and lesser magnitude to go about fault-finding. If constructive criticism should be insisted upon as a rule, under present conditions criticism would cease altogether. If those in authority should assume an encouraging attitude, the teachers under their sway would soon feel happier, and their good cheer might induce many to regard teaching as a desirable occupation. Perhaps the suggestion is too revolutionary. But then it need not become at once a fixed rule. Occasional encouragement will be enough of a departure to fill the hearts of the teachers with sustaining hopes.

The unlovely way in which superintendents and other supervisory officers handle their teachers has its counterpart in the treatment accorded to these same authorities by the official representatives of the people whose taxes pay the salaries. Chicago exhibits a flagrant example of systematic irritation of the school superintendent. The difficulties placed in the way of Dr. Cooley by the very people who should coöperate with him appear almost insuperable. Several of the school trustees have pet educational-reform schemes of their own, and seem to regard their appointment on the school board as a title to meddle with things in which the superintendent and his assistants are supposed to be expert. They seek to discredit and humiliate the professional head of the system and to weary his spirit with unprofitable nigglings and exasperations of all sorts.

Fortunately for Chicago, Dr. Cooley is not easily dismayed. Frank, accessible, desirous of doing at all times what he considers best for the welfare of the young and the city they call their home, thoroughly tried in educational work and firm of purpose, he has thus far been able to prevent the school system from becoming a football for ambitious theorists in and outside of the board of education. But Chicago is only one of many cities where the school board holds the reins and attempts to make the superintendent go through the paces that appeal most to the majority of the trustees. Here is an example in point:

The Liliputian Board of Education has decided to prohibit the use of all text-books prepared by teachers in the city's employ. Superintendent Conrade's grammar must go, and the collection of songs edited by Dr. Borachio, the director of music, will not be placed on the "approved" list. The chairman of the board declared that he considered it unbounded presumption on the part of any one connected with the system to become the author of a text-book, and that it was "flat burglary" to place a book by a local teacher in the hands of the children. He expressed high admiration for the superintendent, whom he regarded as an excellent authority on English grammar; but, he said, he would not let such conviction betray him into voting for books written by that gentleman. As to Dr. Borachio's song collection, he admitted that he knew nothing of music, but he felt himself compelled by virtue of his office to suspect that collection to be unfit for local use.

The only member on the board who failed to grasp the overwhelming logic of the chairman's declarations was Mr. Fish. Contrary to Liliputian traditions, he held that the only question that should be considered was what books were best adapted for the local needs. He could not rid his simple and benighted mind of the feeling that a book written by a teacher in the system, which had proved helpful to other

schools, might be worth trying at home. Mr. Verges caused consternation by the statement that authors were paid royalties by the publishers and that a vote for the books by Messrs. Conrade and Borachio would actually put money into the purses of these gentlemen. Mr. Verges grew very eloquent in presenting his case. He insisted that teachers must look into their own hearts for reward, and that the love of money was the root of all evil.

Superintendent Conrade asked for permission to explain. A vote of fifteen to fourteen accorded him the privilege of the floor. He said that all royalty received from the sale of his books in the city had been turned into the treasury of the board. Mr. Verdigris said he was glad to hear that Mr. Conrade returned to the city the money which the publishers had mulcted from it. He hoped that the papers would print that fact in large letters, as the superintendent had recently bought a fifteen-dollar overcoat, and some of his (Mr. Verdigris's) constituents had expressed the opinion that this extravagance was due to the use of the Conrade grammars in the local schools. Mr. Crotchet asked whether, now that the grammars were to be changed, the board would no longer get the usual royalty money. He wanted to know, too, whether under the by-laws Mr. Conrade could not be compelled to pay over whatever money he received from the sale of his books in other places? The chairman ruled that the question was out of order. The ruling was sustained.

Mr. Fish asked that Dr. Borachio be invited to present his reasons for desiring his collection of songs to be placed on the "approved" list. Granted. Dr. Borachio explained that there was a number of really great songs which pupils in the advanced grades ought to be familiar with. These songs had been collected in a book for the convenience of teachers and pupils. No other one book available for school use contained these songs. Mr. Crotchet asked whether the publishers would agree to pay a royalty to the board. Dr. Borachio replied that the matter had never been discussed with them, but that he had agreed not to accept any money from the books used in the local schools.

Mr. Fish could no longer control his feelings.

"Mr. Chairman!" he shouted, "I cannot allow this discussion to proceed unchallenged. The question is about the advisability of adopting text-books prepared by teachers in the local service. We ought to be proud to have teachers who are considered qualified to supply books which reputable publishers are willing to publish. It is a credit to us, and shows that we displayed good judgment in the appointing of these teachers. Can any one be so illogical as to declare that the books written by Messrs. Conrade and Borachio may be good enough for other places, but we cannot indorse them? For my part, I shall vote for the retention of Superintendent Conrade's grammar and the adoption of Dr. Borachio's song

collection. We owe them this encouragement. As to royalties, that is not our affair. We shall pay what other places pay for the books. The author is as much entitled to compensation as any other worker. I have never run up against a physician who does not charge the members of his church for professional calls, and I know that in my law practice I expect compensation for all services, whether performed in office hours or outside of them. Even clergymen have been known to accept money for officiating at weddings and funerals and on other occasions. Let us be fair with our teachers."

Mr. Verdigris called out "Question!" The chairman presented the resolution, and it was decided by a vote of twenty-eight to one that hereafter no book can be used in the schools of Liliputamia in the preparation of which any one connected with the local system had had an active part. Mr. Crotchet announced that he would shortly present a resolution forbidding the employment of any teacher capable of writing a text-book.

Liliputamia is a type, and so a few examples of the board's regulations may be interesting. All teachers are required to sign their names on entering the school on a time sheet, giving the minute of arrival. If they are more than ten minutes late, they lose the pay for that particular day. This does not mean that they are permitted to go home. If they are absent altogether they must pay besides for a substitute. Last year a heavy snowstorm crippled all traffic, and many teachers were unable to get to their schools. The magnitude of the problem of how to exercise mercy toward the malefactors and still uphold the by-laws, which represent the sublimate of the wisdom of all of Liliputamia's board, occupied three long sessions. It was finally decided that the teachers should pay only a nominal fee of five cents each.

Each teacher is required to fill out at least seven reports per day, which, after being carefully examined and approved by the principals and stamped with the superintendent's seal, must be filed where every trustee can have access to them. The superintendent must keep all letters coming to him relating to the appointment of teachers and other matters bearing upon school affairs, and each month have copies made for every member of the school board. Miss Addams did object, at one time, that the copying of all the letters twenty-nine times, so that each member might have a copy, was "foolish." The statement caused consternation, and the wisdom of the former trustees who had established the rule was promptly approved by "a vote of confidence."

The teachers must not wear shortened skirts in rainy weather; must never talk to any man near their own age except the family relation be no further distant than first cousin, or he be the superior official in the system. They must not go to the theatre, nor play cards, nor play

any but hymn tunes on Sunday; their hair must be parted in the middle, their shoes must have low heels; when walking in the street they must not "gape about them," etc., etc. The principals are required to pay proper obeisance to any trustee who may drop in to inspect the school. One principal was suspended from his office until it could be established by an official investigation that he had intended no slight when he failed to invite Mr. Verdigris to make an address to the pupils, on a recent visit.

Disagreement with any member of the board or any by-law thereof is stamped as disloyalty. A conference of principals last month agreed to petition the board to reduce their purely clerical work, in order to give them more time for the performance of their educational duties. They called attention to the utter uselessness of many of the reports required by law. The committee to whom the principals' petition was referred stated that "they [the principals] have committed false report; moreover, they have spoken untruths; secondarily, they are slanders; sixth and lastly, they have verified unjust things; and, to conclude, they are lying knaves."

The educational situation at the Federal Capital is by no means as gratifying as the friends of the schools had hoped it would be under the new régime. This is not the fault of the board, which is composed of excellent material; neither can the superintendent and the teachers be held responsible. The difficulty is rooted in the organization, which is a cumbersome and complex one. The Washington local situation is a most difficult one to handle with absolute justice to every one. The schools are, by reason of their peculiar constitution, made part of the responsibility of every citizen of the United States. They are, in fact, the schools of the nation as much as the people of the District of Columbia. This division of responsibility may or may not be to the best interests of the schools; but there it is, and as such it must be dealt with.

Mr. Clark, of Missouri, certainly stated a cold fact when he said last spring that Congress has proved itself worse than unfit to administer the local affairs of the District. Washington represents in its organization the least American municipality in the United States. Practically all power is resident either in the District Commissioners or in such officers as the Controller of the Treasury or in the sub-committees of Congress. The control of the educational affairs is correspondingly complicated.

Going on the well-warranted assumption that he who controls the finances holds chief control in the system, we shall find that the board

of education is extremely limited in the scope of its powers. No moneys are allowed for any purpose except those which are specified in the acts. The District Commissioners control the money. The legal adviser of the board, too, is controlled by the Commissioners. Thus far three different advisers have been assigned to the board, each with a different opinion to give. Those who have followed closely the development of affairs feel that the attitude of these Commissioners has not been a helpful one. However, even if the Commissioners should wish to give their fullest aid to the board, there would still be other difficulties to be met. The Commissioners are fenced in by acts of Congress with provisions so definite that they have almost no discretionary power. One bureau is dependent upon another bureau. Prerogatives are sensitively guarded. There is really no "city" of Washington. And the District of Columbia? Someone has called it "a satrapy of Congress," and that expresses about what it really is.

A careful study of the situation warrants several definite statements. First, as to conditions. Washington has a splendid corps of teachers. Few, if any, cities are so well favored in this respect. The superintendent is a forceful educational leader. The board appears to be not only willing, but eager to benefit the schools. It has held as many as three or four meetings a week to dispose of problems confronting the schools. The devotion and loyalty of the members as a body are acknowledged. A rare courage and high civic spirit have been revealed under very trying circumstances, newspaper talk about the handling of the appointment of teachers in the colored schools notwithstanding. The situation brought to light by investigations was such that explanations could not have benefited any one, and much serious harm would surely have been done. The board shouldered accusations and misunderstandings, convinced that it had done only what right had demanded, however its motives were misrepresented. What the board needs most of all just now is the confidence of all friends of the schools. And that it is entitled to.

The chief difficulty the board has to deal with is the constant handicap resulting from extreme limitation of its authority. No school board of any city in this country has so little real power. For example, the Washington Board has no control even over the orders for school supplies. It makes and passes and pays no bills. The selection of sites and the construction of school buildings are beyond its authority. Many of the buildings are in a wretched condition, yet the board can do nothing directly to effect needed improvements. It would seem to be reasonable that the board ought to have powers similar to those accorded to the boards of New York city, of Chicago, St. Louis, Philadelphia, Boston,

and other American cities. Then, and not till then, can it be held responsible for conditions.

It may be that President Roosevelt will come to the rescue once more. The appointment of a special commissioner to investigate and acquaint him with the educational needs of the Washington schools showed that he is deeply interested. The corps of teachers under the leadership of the new superintendent can be trusted to take care of the purely educational part of the problem. The serious problem is an administrative one. United States Commissioner Brown could furnish the President with data from the records of the Bureau of Education, which would reveal the real handicaps to progress.

The St. Louis organization may well be regarded as a model. Boston and Philadelphia have in their recent reorganizations adopted many of the best features of successful American school systems, which might also be studied with advantage to the Washington situation. Rule by ruled bureaus has proved too serious a hinderance to growth to be permitted to continue in the school administration of the District. The people of Washington ought to have a fuller share in the responsibility for the schools than they now have.

The situation wants the constructive thought of a really great man. It is not unlikely that Mr. Roosevelt will take a hand. The President is reported to be keenly disappointed in the quality of instruction and discipline afforded his own children, and therefore to have withdrawn all but one of them from the common schools. The school authorities account for this in the unfortunate taking away of eighth-grade teachers and requiring every building principal to teach all day. However that may be, the President is directly interested, and this gives rise to the hope that he will put the help of his strong hand at the service of those who are conscientiously striving for the improvement of the Washington schools.

In his latest message to Congress, President Roosevelt speaks with characteristic emphasis of the need of extending industrial training in common schools. Boys and girls who are trained "merely in literary accomplishment" he says are rendered either unfit for industrial work or reluctant to go into it. "This is a tendency," declares the President, "which should be strenuously combated." The movement for strenuously combating limitation of the schools to literary programmes is well under way.

On November 16 the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education effected a permanent organization in New York city at Cooper Union. Its objects are: To bring prominently to public

attention the importance of industrial education as a factor in the industrial development of the United States; to provide opportunities for the study and discussion of the various phases of the problem; to make available through publications the results of experience of industrial education both in this country and abroad; and to assist in other desirable ways toward the establishment of institutions for industrial training. The proposition to organize such a society has developed widespread interest throughout the United States, as is evidenced by the hearty endorsement of many prominent men and women.

The mistake that will have to be guarded against in the introduction of industrial training is that the course does not confine itself too much to masculine pursuits, especially in the high schools. The arts of home-management and the care of children and invalids are well worthy of careful consideration. The girls are entitled to practical training in these matters. The work done by the Manhattan Trade School for Girls, under the constructive leadership of Mrs. Woolman, and by the Washington Irving High School of New York city under the principalship of Mr. McAndrew supported by Supt. Maxwell, is suggestive of the sort of development most needed at present.

Mr. Samuel B. Donelley, a member of the New York City Board of Education, presented the problem most lucidly in a recent address in which he argued that every high-school course for girls should show that its organizers recognize that the girl is going to be a woman, not a man. The studies should be based upon the best womanly instincts and should perfect and strengthen the powers that spring from them. The girl set to studying typewriting and stenography should have her attention directed at the same time to housekeeping. Business life for a woman is episodical and secondary. Self-support ought not to be held up as an ideal for young women to the rejection of marital partnership. Among other things Mr. Donelley said:

The antipathy of trades unions to technical schools has been exaggerated. It is not general. The textile schools of Lowell and Philadelphia are not opposed by workingmen. The technical courses of the Washington Irving High school have won the approval of employers, mechanics, and citizens, because of the school's service in supplying workers well advanced in the theory and practice of its special industries.

The purpose of a girl's industrial or technical instruction should be, first of all, the perfection of the woman herself. This is the German, the Belgian, and the French idea in those countries that have advanced girls' technical schools the farthest. Let the school assume first that its graduates will marry and have homes and families of their own. During the time between their graduation and their marriage let the young women be able to support themselves by stenography or typewriting or dressmaking or millinery or designing, or by managing the home for

father or mother or brother; but keep enough of womanly work prominently before all the girls so that their natural instincts shall be strengthened—that the school shall graduate women, not mere industrial units.

What we want is a good woman who can use the typewriter, if necessary; a good woman who can, if needed, take a place in the designing studio. There is, and should be, a marked distinction between the purposes of a boys' technical school and a girls'. To fill commercial or industrial positions should not be the only or even the main ambition of the girl graduate. Let her best natural instincts be encouraged. Let her look forward to being a good woman, with all that this implies.

This matter naturally brings up again the old question of the desirability of co-education in high schools and colleges. Chicago University decided quite recently upon a definite segregation of the sexes in the college. There seems to be no longer any doubt that co-education beyond the elementary schools entails more loss than gain to the individual pupils. As the importance of a special training for women is becoming more recognized by a progressive civilization, the question will be seen in a clearer light than has been the case in the past.

The confusing claims made for "character formation" are largely responsible for the prevailing diversity of opinion. The common-sense view would probably declare that "character formation" is not the business of the schools at all, that character is an individual matter and will take care of itself more largely than pedagogical wisdom can contrive.

Co-education appears to be chiefly a temperamental question. It is a good thing for some people and not for others. According as one sees the good or the harm one either advocates or opposes it. Furthermore, it is a financial question. Co-education is less expensive than the other kind of education, and so there are more advocates raised up in its favor. Industrial training, aside from infusing a new spirit in school work, is bound in its development to reveal the most sensible standpoint from which to judge the educational needs of young people.

Those who desire to inform themselves more fully concerning the much-discussed new English Education Bill will be interested in the bulletin recently issued by the Bureau of Education. It is the first official document issued since Dr. Elmer Elsworth Brown's appointment as Commissioner. Miss Anna Tolman Smith is the editor of it. A lucid and comprehensive view is presented of the law which has stirred Great Britain as no educational matter ever did before. Miss Smith has with skilful hands freed the main propositions from the mass of confusing detail which encumbers them in the general text of the bill, and exhibits them in the form of fundamental principles of organization. She has rendered the further service of setting the bill in its his-

toric perspective, so that the progress it marks in British national life is more clearly emphasized. The main clauses of the bill are projected by means of citations from the speeches of eminent political leaders in support and in opposition. A helpful index is added which is interpretative as well as directive.

A remarkable "Social Education Congress" was recently held in Boston. It emphasized anew the great thought for which America is indebted to Prof. John Dewey of Columbia University, that "all education proceeds by the participation of the individual in the social consciousness of the race," that "education is the fundamental method of social progress and reform." In the past education has been too largely regarded as the bringing up of self-sufficient individuals — "harmonious development of powers," character formation, etc. Now the industrial and social relationships are to receive more adequate attention. The congress at Boston shows that the new gospel is beginning to be understood, and will soon spread over the land, defining anew to the schools the specific purposes they must serve.

OSSIAN H. LANG.

A FEW BOOKS ON SHAKESPEARE.

THERE is, I believe, a saying among publishers that no member of their craft — or, as one prefers to term it, their profession — ever ultimately lost money on an edition of Shakespeare. Perhaps the fact thus vouched for, if fact it be, is partly responsible for the numerous competing editions of the works of the dramatist. But publishers must have lost money on many a book dealing with Shakespeare's life and writings, hence the increasing number of such publications must be accounted for in the main on grounds other than commercial. The supreme position of Shakespeare in our literature; the spread of English studies, especially among post-graduates in our universities; the growth, in a democratic age, of the craving for distinction, which finds a convenient outlet in literary and scholarly pursuits; these and other reasons amply account for the rising tide of Shakespeareana that threatens to swamp our libraries.

That books devoted to Shakespeare are accumulating very rapidly is a proposition which no one will dispute, and for which, in consequence, proofs are rarely or never demanded. They can be readily found in bibliographies designed for the use of scholars, or, indeed, by a glance through the lists of books received by any literary journal in good standing. One such journal, during the six months just elapsed, acknowledged the receipt of five new books and one reprint, all of which contained the word "Shakespeare" in their titles. A new edition of the complete works was advertised in the last number examined, and was probably received a few days after that number was issued. Doubtless some plays intended for school use, and some doctor's dissertations, were not submitted for review. I have an impression that this showing was below rather than above the average; but it would not be worth while to take the trouble to confirm or to disprove the point. The tide of Shakespeareana is steadily rising, and the critic who attempts to stay it will find himself as powerless as Canute.

Two hundred years ago the case was very different. The rise was beginning, but he would have been a shrewd man who could have foretold at all approximately the height that would be attained in a couple of centuries. During the year 1706 the famous antiquary Thomas Hearne, with ten years of service still before him in his beloved Bodleian, kept

a diary which, with excerpts from his correspondence, fills nearly 163 octavo pages in the edition of his "Remarks and Collections," now being slowly given to the world by the Oxford Historical Society. Hearne was not merely an expert in coins, in classical scholarship, and in English antiquities, especially the series of old chronicles; he was also not a little of a gossip, and he jotted down all sorts of literary news, including, among other items, many titles of books and pamphlets just from the press. Yet during the year 1706, if we may trust the index, his indefatigable pen did not once trace the name of William Shakespeare.

That name occurs but once in the seven volumes that carry the diary and the correspondence from July 4, 1705, to September 22, 1722. This single Shakespearean entry is to be found in the second volume under date of July 30, 1709. It records the Oxford tradition that "Shakespear as he us'd to pass from London to Stratford upon Avon" would always stop at "y^e Crown Tavern in Oxford, which was kept by one Davenant," and it goes on to give the familiar facts and surmises with regard to the relations between the dramatist and the tavern-keeper's son, who was afterward Sir William Davenant. It ends with the anecdote :

" 'Tis further said that one day going from school a grave Doctor in Divinity met him, and ask'd him, *child whither art thou going in such haste?* to w^{ch} the child reply'd, *O Sir, my godfather is come to Town. & I am going to ask his blessing.* To w^{ch} the Dr. said, *Hold Child, you must not take the name of God in vain.*'"

With a little manipulation this story might be well applied to many people of to-day who speak of Shakespeare in terms extravagant even for him. It is quite apparent that Hearne gave up thirteen lines of his diary in its printed form to this Shakespearean item, not so much because he thought it a good story, as because it was a tradition of his beloved Oxford. It is further noteworthy that he employed the phrase, "a very Eminent Poet," not in connection with Shakespeare, who received a slur upon his morals and not a single compliment, but in connection with Davenant. Yet Hearne was not without interest in poetry, especially in whatever had been consecrated by the tenth muse—that of Age. He was interested in Chaucer, as befitted a friend of John Urry, and he devoted some space to that monument of dulness "A Mirror for Magistrates." Hearne, however, was a cloistered student, and many a specialist of to-day might keep a diary for years without mentioning Shakespeare at all. Yet Hearne had a contemporary who was as little of a cloistered student as one often encounters. He was a pamphleteer, a journalist, a politician, a secret-service man, a writer of fiction — a jack of all trades. His name was Daniel Defoe, and his enormous bibliography may be estimated roughly at between 250 and 300 items. He

had a very considerable knowledge of English poetry and was fond of quoting it. To-day such a literary man of the people would be almost sure to quote Shakespeare more than any other poet, even though, like Defoe, he held the acted drama in no high estimation. Yet, if one were to venture to infer from the quotations Defoe makes from Shakespeare the extent of his knowledge of the great dramatist and enthusiasm for his works, one would be almost compelled to believe that the author of "Robinson Crusoe" was more impressed by the doggerel epitaph beginning

"Good friend, for Jesus' sake forbear"

than by any noble passage or scene in the thirty-seven plays.

Such an inference would not be fair to Defoe, but it is plain that he and Hearne may be used, as I am using them here, as foils to Shakespearean enthusiasts and students of to-day, in order that we may clearly perceive how great an increase of fame the lapse of two centuries has brought to the dramatist. It is by no means true, as has often been pointed out, that Germany taught England to appreciate the chief glory of her glorious drama; but it is true that to-day Shakespeare has become much more completely and emphatically a national and a popular possession than would have been thought possible by most people a hundred years after his death. And it is to Defoe's credit that he had a faint vision of the fame awaiting the poet whose words were so seldom on his lips. In the second volume of his "Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain," published in 1725, he wrote apropos of a visit to Stratford:

At this last Town, going into the Parish Church, we saw the Monument of Old *Shakespear*, the famous Poet, and whose Dramatick Performances so justly maintain his Character among the British Poets; and perhaps will do so to the End of Time.

My quotations from these eighteenth-century worthies, while keeping us too long from the recent books on Shakespeare with which this paper professes to deal, are not, after all, out of harmony with the tone and setting of the first book that must be noticed — the most important and interesting of late contributions to Shakespearean scholarship — Prof. Thomas R. Lounsbury's "The Text of Shakespeare."¹ This, the third instalment of his admirable and extensive work on "Shakespearean Wars," is really an elaborate account of an eighteenth-century literary controversy, of which the protagonists were Alexander Pope, author of

¹ "The Text of Shakespeare." Its History from the Publication of the Quartos and Folios down to and including the Publication of the Editions of Pope and Theobald. By Thomas R. Lounsbury, L.H.D., LL.D., Professor of English in Yale University. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906.

"The Dunciad," and the Shakespearean scholar, Lewis Theobald, the original hero of that famous and infamous poem. If he had entitled his volume "Pope and Theobald," Prof. Lounsbury could have found his justification in 500 out of the 600 pages of his treatise; for his earlier chapters on the quartos and folios and Rowe's editions, while sufficient for his purposes, are almost forgotten by readers as they follow the tortuous course of Pope's revenge upon the scholar who exposed that arch-poet's shortcomings as an editor. In other words, Pope and Theobald occupy the centre of the stage, much as Voltaire did in the second of Prof. Lounsbury's volumes, "Shakespeare and Voltaire"; but, as he was in duty bound to get the name of Shakespeare into his title, and, as three names would have been cumbrous and that of Theobald, thanks to Pope's manœuvres, surprising to most people in such a conjunction, there was nothing for our modern scholar to do but to give a book intensely alive with biographical and controversial interest the somewhat dead and deadening title of "The Text of Shakespeare."

To say of Prof. Lounsbury's latest volume, what one must say also of his second and of many pages of his first entitled "Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist," that it is probably more important to the student of eighteenth-century literature than it is to the student of Shakespeare, is not in the least to suggest that he has been guilty of divagation from his subject. The attitude of the eighteenth century toward the art and the text of the greatest of dramatic poets throws a light upon that century's criticism and scholarship which is even more illuminating than the light thrown by its attitude toward Spenser and Milton; and criticism and scholarship are more closely connected with creative literature in the eighteenth century than in any other period of modern times.

If, then, Shakespeare's works sometimes seem in this volume to occupy only the inglorious position of the bone over which two dogs are growling and tugging, we must blame not the author, but his subject; and we must console ourselves with the thought that it is only through Prof. Lounsbury's extraordinary zeal and acumen that Theobald has received his full rehabilitation from duncedom to a high place among Shakespearean scholars, and that Pope's moral obliquities, already partly revealed in his manipulation of his correspondence, are set forth in a way which strikingly illustrates the truth of the adage that, though the mills of the gods grind slowly, yet they grind exceeding small.

It is between 150 and 200 years since Pope revenged himself upon Theobald and other enemies in "The Dunciad" of 1729 — the best form of the poem, which has been superseded by the edition of 1743 — and since, by almost unimaginable trickery and intrigue and by the equally unrivalled force of his stinging satiric genius, he succeeded in

imposing upon the world false conceptions with regard to the moral and intellectual worth of his victims, to say nothing of false notions with regard to his own lofty rectitude of purpose. Shakespeare had died more than 100 years before, little dreaming, humane soul that he was, that the works he had not had time or else inclination to collect would occasion the publication of what is probably the most malignant book in English literature.

Whether Pope died in 1744 believing that the vile means by which he had won his victory — not over Theobald's rival edition of Shakespeare, but over Theobald's just fame and over the mild reputations of scores of lesser men — would never be discovered is a question we need not pause to discuss. Certain it is, however, that, while the colonial partisans of Mather Byles could not induce the world to accept their favorite's claims to the throne of poetry vacated by Pope, it is an American who has at last, not precisely overturned the considerably less honorable seat among the poets allotted Pope of late years, but at least stripped him of some of his robes and made from them waist-cloths for his despoiled and shivering adversaries.

It is due to Prof. Lounsbury's modesty to say that he does not believe he has done anything of the sort described in the above over-figurative sentence. He thinks that the world has taken the side of the man of genius and that it will continue to regard Theobald, probably the most happy of all the amenders of Shakespeare's text, as a "piddling" dunce, and the rest of Pope's victims, with the exception of Bentley, Defoe, and a few others, as entirely negligible persons.

This position, it seems to me, assumes a greater popular knowledge of "The Dunciad" than probably exists to-day, and it overlooks the large part that training in selected English classics plays in our secondary education public and private. The vast majority of the readers of the next generation, at least in America, will begin whatever browsing or study they may undertake in the field of English literature with general notions with regard to leading writers derived from the teachers and the editors of the text-books of their youth. These teachers and editors, and even the writers of encyclopædia articles upon Pope, will sooner or later, without, I am afraid, in most cases, drawing directly from Prof. Lounsbury's voluminous but very witty and readable treatise, gather the gist of our distinguished scholar's investigations and present the character of Pope and the story of his writing "The Dunciad" in a fashion fairly consonant with the facts. Pupils thus instructed, if they remember the names of Pope and Theobald at all, are not likely to go egregiously astray in their notions with regard to the relations of the two men.

Prof. Lounsbury, whatever exceptions minute scholars may take to this or that statement or inference, has pulled down and builded again, not "better than he knew," but more effectively than some of his modest remarks might indicate. And he has rendered a new critical edition of "The Dunciad" and a revising of Pope's biography necessary, and a fuller life of Theobald desirable — despite the fulness and excellence of his own treatment of the great commentator's career; and, all the while, he has been steadily nearing the goal he originally set himself, of tracing the history of the works and fame of William Shakespeare.

To pass from Prof. Lounsbury's volume to the last book of Mr. Sidney Lee¹ is not altogether to get rid of the eighteenth century — for that is the background of one of the latter writer's essays — but it is certainly to get much nearer and to keep much closer to Shakespeare. This is not to say that Mr. Lee is a Shakespearean specialist and nothing more. Any one who has tracked his varied scholarship through the volumes of the great work which came to a conclusion under his editorship, the "Dictionary of National Biography," will know that such a statement would be absurd. Readers of his history of Queen Victoria's life and reign and of his edition of Herbert of Cherbury's delightful "Autobiography" will need no other proof of the range of his interests.

Nevertheless, there can be little doubt that the services performed by his "Life of Shakespeare," by his studies in the sources of Shakespeare's sonnets, and by his facsimile editions of the folios, have made Mr. Lee stand before the public primarily as a professed Shakespearean; and, although such a volume as his comparatively recent "Great English Men of the Sixteenth Century" makes us feel that perhaps it would be more just to speak of him as a distinguished student of Elizabethan literature, it is hardly doubtful that he himself would very willingly admit that Shakespeare is the true centre of his studies, the very god of his idolatry.

Mr. Lee's latest contribution to Shakespearean literature is based, as all his other books are, upon a scholarship that is remarkably solid and sane. Hence it is sure to appeal to the limited audience interested in English and, particularly, in Shakespearean studies. The book should, however, reach a wider audience, as the titles of four out of its eleven essays would seem to show. These are "Shakespeare and the Modern Stage," "Mr. Benson and Shakespearean Drama," "The Municipal Theatre," and "The Commemoration of Shakespeare in London."

The paper last named seems at first thought purely local in its application; but London is still the centre of the Anglo-Saxon world, and any

¹ "Shakespeare and the Modern Stage, with Other Essays." By Sidney Lee. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906.

permanent memorial of Shakespeare erected there must belong, in a very true sense, to all who speak the English language. The three other papers deal with the important problem of how the great body of the Shakespearean drama can be best presented to the theatre-going public of our own and of future times. Hence they have an interest not merely for students and persons who care for literature, but also for all lovers of the acted drama and for all who see in the theatre an efficient instrument of civic progress.

Although it is composed of papers written at different times and for various occasions, and although it breaks into three divisions, the group already cited, contributions to historical and biographical Shakespeariana, and Shakespearean essays properly so called, the volume possesses more unity than such collections of occasional addresses and articles are wont to have. This unity is given partly by Mr. Lee's constant reiteration of the fact that Shakespeare's works and fame are a most important element of what may be termed the culture-inheritance of the Western world — an element the aesthetic significance of which is equalled if not surpassed by its truly practical utility in the highest sense — partly by the sober, earnest tone with which he presents his facts and ideas and arguments, and by the thorough, workmanlike treatment he accords to every topic.

He is as meticulously careful in tracing the history of a questionable hoax perpetrated by George Steevens as he is in recording the bits of oral tradition that enable us to piece out Shakespeare's scanty biography. He does not mind repeating himself, provided he can thereby the better press his point home. There is no coruscation of humor or exuberance of spirits and knowledge such as we find in Lowell; there is not a trace of Matthew Arnold's jauntiness or of his apostolic unction the aesthetic Pater might just as well have never lived, written, and died so far as Mr. Lee is concerned. There is little or no divagation, or indulgence in intellectual gambols, or culling the flowers of rhetoric, or spinning the threads of subtle analysis, to be discovered in any of these essays. They are the straightforward deliverances of a man who is master of every subject he treats and vitally interested in them all. This vital interest and this business-like competence impart those elements of the sound and the sincere which are more important than any others to the production of catholic criticism. Hence it would be a mistake, I think, to rank Mr. Lee only among our most distinguished scholars in English. He is also entitled to an honorable place among latter-day critics by virtue of his knowledge, his zeal for the things of the mind, his robust common sense.

These merits are all displayed in the leading essay which gives the

volume its title, "Shakespeare and the Modern Stage." Instead of the spectacularly splendid presentations of a few of Shakespeare's plays which, since the days of Charles Kean, have cost rash managers thousands of pounds, and, by banishing other Shakespearean dramas from the stage, have contracted the knowledge and the imaginative enjoyment of two generations of audiences, Mr. Lee would like to witness in London and New York the adoption of the methods which have made it possible for the Burg-Theater of Vienna to give the citizens of that capital an average of two performances a week of frequently varied plays of Shakespeare at very reasonable prices.

He dwells in this essay and elsewhere on the deadening effects produced upon the imagination by the obsession of the spectacular, and with equal insistence on the moral and intellectual benefits to be derived by the mass of mankind from that interpretation of Shakespeare's works which is alone given on a stage not dominated by a single star, but filled by a company of trained, intelligent, and sympathetic performers. In subsequent essays he shows how municipal theatres of excellent quality have been and may still be secured for any city that will seriously set itself to obtain them; and he shows also how the experiments of such managers as Phelps and Benson give lessons of encouragement to all who are interested in elevating the art of acting and in keeping alive upon the stage not a few chosen plays only, but almost the entire body of the Shakespearean drama.

The essays belonging to this practical group are doubtless, in a utilitarian sense, the most valuable in the book; but the scholar and the lover of literature will probably turn with more pleasure to such papers as "Pepys and Shakespeare," "Shakespeare and the Elizabethan Playgoer," "Shakespeare in Oral Tradition"—a very valuable and well ordered collection of data which proves that, after all, we are not so entirely ignorant about Shakespeare the man as we often complain of being—"Aspects of Shakespeare's Philosophy," "Shakespeare and Patriotism," and "Shakespeare in France."

To discuss these essays at all adequately would require a good deal of space, and would be attended by the disconcerting conviction that any reader would do better to consult Mr. Lee himself on each interesting topic. It will suffice to say that it was quite worth while to gather the papers from periodicals, to give the date of each in the commendable French fashion, and to furnish the volume with an index. I was personally glad to read the well-balanced essay on "Shakespeare and Patriotism," and to observe the sound point of view taken in the following sentences, which belong to the paper on "Aspects of Shakespeare's Philosophy"

Yet there are occasions when, without detracting from the omnipotence of Shakespeare's dramatic instinct, one may tentatively infer that Shakespeare gave voice through his created personages to sentiments which were his own. The Shakespearean drama must incorporate somewhere within its vast limits the personal thoughts and passions of its creator, even although they are for the most part absorbed past recognition in the mighty mass, and no critical chemistry can with confidence disentangle them.

These sentences mean, I take it, that Mr. Lee perceives that constant insistence upon the objective character of Shakespeare's art is bound to discourage attempts on the part of constructive and sympathetic criticism to arrive at some comprehension of the wonderful personality behind the plays. It is well enough to crush all foolish and rash attempts to portray the man Shakespeare; but it is not well to cut ourselves off from the chance that some day a great critic may discover in the dramas traces of their maker from which and from the facts we already have he may be able to put together a more satisfactory biography than any that has yet appeared.

In the case of Shakespeare, no fact or notion may be safely cast aside without careful examination. Mr. Lee's essays on "Pepys and Shakespeare" and "Shakespeare in Oral Tradition" made me wish that a band of scholars would supplement the work already done in "Shakespeare's Centurie of Prayse," and bring together practically every reference to the poet that can be found in English literature between his death and at least the middle of the eighteenth century. Even such a small fact as that Andrew Marvell seems to have known "A Midsummer Night's Dream"; such an inference as that Lady Winchilsea was acquainted not only with several of the plays, but with the sonnets also; such a description, slight though it be, as Mrs. Katharine Philips, "the Matchless Orinda," gave of a performance of "Othello" she once witnessed in Dublin — all such evidences of the growth of the dramatist's fame should be methodically gathered and arranged. What Marvell on the one hand and Pepys on the other thought of "A Midsummer Night's Dream" can scarcely be termed matters of great moment, and we might have inferred that the former did not like the latter find Shakespeare's charming creation of the fancy an "insipid ridiculous play"; but there would be an advantage in having every scrap of early Shakespearean criticism, whether eulogistic or not, accessible to students.

Meanwhile we may be thankful that publishers and scholars do not confine themselves to books on Shakespeare, but spend part of their energy in endeavoring to give us Shakespeare himself in increasingly more worthy and convenient forms. The admirable scholarship which Prof. William Alan Neilson of Harvard has put into his preparation

of the text of the recent "Cambridge" edition of Shakespeare's complete works,¹ and into the writing of the short introductions to the separate plays, will certainly benefit both readers and students.

No more attractive single-volume edition exists. The type, though necessarily small, is clear, the book lies open at one's will, the lines are numbered by fives,—everything, in short, invites to the use of this edition when one wishes to have the entire body of Shakespeare's work in one's hands. It follows, I think, that readers as well as students will be more than usually alive to the merits of Prof. Neilson's editorial apparatus—to the sanity and suggestiveness of his biographical sketch, to the conciseness and accuracy of his introductions, and to the care with which he has marked off all modern additions in the way of *dramatis personæ* and stage directions. His radical procedure in frankly adopting a modern punctuation will probably please readers, if they notice it, and raise questions among scholars. His rearrangement of the plays according to chronology within the three well-recognized divisions of Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies, by which "The Tempest" appears as the seventeenth instead of the first play, is likely to give qualms to readers rather than to scholars. Both innovations seem to me to be worth trying, and it is needless to approve the small amount of textual apparatus in such an edition and the consequent saving of space for a good glossary.

These are homely matters, calling for no rhetorical rhapsodies, and not even affording material for an effective close of an article. They are important, however, not only in view of the conservatism that characterizes most editions of any classic, but also in view of the fact that everything which tends to make more feasible the reading of Shakespeare in his entirety advances the cause of popular education in a way and to an extent that would be impossible in the case of any other author. Criticism and scholarship have done much, and will continue to do much, for Shakespeare's fame; but the reading of Shakespeare himself has done and will do more. Prof. Neilson has deserved well of the readers of Shakespeare because he has made access to the works of the master poet in some respects more convenient than it has ever been before, and because he has done this through the unostentatious application of labor and scholarship that might easily, without blame, have been employed more strictly in his own behalf.

W. P. TRENT.

¹ Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1906.

SOME RECENT GUIDES TO CULTURE.

SINCE the days at least when Ruskin, in "Sesame and Lilies," and Arnold, in various treatises, of which "Culture and Anarchy" is the chief, laid down directions for reading and stated a high aim for all intellectual and spiritual endeavor, there has been wanting neither theoretical discussion nor practical counsel on the momentous question as to the best ways of making books minister to the higher interests of mankind. In a general sense, everything that teaches or stimulates man to set a value on any kind of life other than the material or the sensational or the hysterically emotional may be called an instrument of culture. Hence the term in this sense is hard to fix. And since, on the other hand, the sages and prophets of the world have been in substantial agreement that the life is more than meat and the body more than raiment, it is only the wisest of mortals who can add a jot to our general knowledge of the precepts that should rule a well-regulated and successful life. Yet books preaching and teaching culture are as numerous as ever; indeed, the day that saw their ceasing would be sad. It may not be amiss, therefore, to take from the present time a number of books falling under that description, to see what counsel they have to offer, what significance and value is theirs, and of what kind of writing they are typical.

"Culture," said Arnold in the preface to "Literature and Dogma," "is indispensably necessary, and culture is reading; but reading with a purpose to guide it, and with system. He does a good work who does anything to help this; indeed, it is the one essential service now to be rendered to education." The remark, whether it be the cause or not, may stand for the type of motive underlying many a modern treatise on the subject. There have been famous lists of the one hundred "best books," now depreciated by a more catholic taste; we all know of numerous pamphlets on the subject of what to read; and the literary counsel "featured" in popular periodicals for domestic consumption is beyond analysis: they all tell us what books, both classical and contemporary, it is best for us to taste, to chew, or to digest. In such trains of advice one may be reasonably certain, before opening any given treatise, to find stock ideas: books are our priceless possession; you should, in Lowell's words, "read what will make you think

rather than dream;" newspapers are a public menace and should be read swiftly, merely for the sake of the important news; excessive novel-reading is deleterious to the moral fibre; the Bible is the best of all books for culture. Indeed, these ideas cannot too often be repeated, for we do not hear a tithe as much about them as we do about passing politics, the stock market, theatres, and athletics; but the specific interest in the present guides to culture lies in the variations from such worthy remarks and the fresh applications of them.

In "Books, Culture, and Character"¹ an assembly of a number of detached and somewhat generalizing addresses with a central purpose, not too exactly connoted by the title, Mr. Larned warmly decries the universal reading of newspapers. As an exponent of culture, he says: "I speak soberly when I say that the greatest antagonism to be met and overcome is that of the vulgarized part of the newspaper press;" the problem is "how to win readers of the general mass from unwholesome newspapers to wholesome books, or how to change the spirit of the common newspapers of the day from flippancy to sobriety." So, too, he deprecates the vulgarity of common novels, though amply recognizing the value of the better representatives of fiction. These are, however, details. The remedy lies in the public library, of which he is the earnest advocate. His aim, a broad popular culture, is expressed in these sentences:

It is better for the majority of people that they should be readers in a general way, rather than students, because they have not the leisure nor the freedom of mind for large subjects of study, and it is ill for the mind to focus it on small themes too exclusively. . . . I feel no doubt in the least that breadth of culture is more important, on the whole, than its depth, to the generality of mankind; that their character and capability as members of society are affected more by the area of their knowledge and by the diversity of their acquaintance with good literature than by the minuteness of either.

As an aid in the determining of excellence, Mr. Larned has a wholesome test, which indeed has been much used ever since Coleridge expressed it in another form:

The conclusive test for a book which offers pleasure rather than knowledge is the question, "Does it leave any kind of wholesome and fine feeling in the mind of one who reads it?"

More particularly, Mr. Larned is an earnest believer in the wide reading of history and whatever books transmit to us the treasures of the past; in science, which teaches us what really is now; and in the poetry that

¹J. N. Larned: "Books, Culture, and Character." Houghton, Mifflin & Company, 1906.

kindles the imagination and stimulates the life of true emotion. In general, the book is an able presentation of a sound point of view.

Mr. Larned is an enthusiast and an idealist, and therefore rather inclines to content himself with a statement of the ideal than to busy himself with the question of ways and means. Furthermore, in pursuing his ideal he perhaps loses sight of one or two minor points of some practical value. It is an open question, for example, whether the public library, for which he is so winning an advocate, does not do its share in fostering a taste for the cheap novels that he decries. Doubtless the public library opens the doors of a not very profound knowledge to willing seekers, but its hospitable portal is also open to the inrush of desultory novel-readers; nor do we know many libraries which do not rather cater to the public taste than guide and restrict it.

Nor, again, is such a paragraph as the following, however good as an ideal, capable of being analyzed in terms of actual fact; for if the "discipline of thoroughness" be an admirable thing, it is valuable in its applications, and hence carries a condemnation of discursiveness and superficiality:

At the same time, I would urge, as I say, the specializing of some object in the intellectual pursuits of every man and woman; not to the exclusion of other subjects and objects, but to their subordination. Let there be one thing for each of us that we try to know somewhere nearly to the bottom, with certainty, precision, exactness; not so much for the value of the knowledge itself, as for the value of the discipline of thoroughness. If it is something in the line of our daily occupations,—something bearing upon our particular work in the world, mechanical, commercial, professional it may be,—so much the better. Then, around that one centre of positive study, turning on it as on a pivot, let there be circle after circle drawn of wide discursive reading.

Nor is it captious to say that Mr. Larned's dictum on Boswell's "Johnson" is visionary rather than reasonable:

Who can read it without wishing that some figure more impressive in human history stood where a strange fortune has put the sturdy old Tory, in the wonderful light that reveals him so immortally?

It lacks reason because whether or not the "figure more impressive in human history" would, if presented by a Boswell, have been more momentous than the actual picture is mere guess-work. I dare say that Johnson was a great deal more interesting as a personality (that is Boswell's point) than Cæsar, or Shakespeare, or Napoleon; but, of course, I don't know, and, being ignorant, must accept Johnson as he stands. There is nothing to do except to take the material that Boswell has given us. To wish otherwise would be to ask for a recasting of history. Such random remarks as that of Mr. Larned's mar-

sound factual criticism. One may be pardoned for speaking of such trifling defects in a stimulating book, but it is in the interest of sound culture that they be noticed.

Mr. Larned's book to some degree shows the limitation under which many good treatises suffer. They deal with what ought to be to the exclusion of what is; whereas no right-thinking and efficient reformer can hope to move very far without a knowledge of actual conditions. Otherwise he fights as one that beateth the air or must content himself with addressing an audience with whom he is already substantially in accord. Prof. Brandes's short sketch on reading¹ is in this respect an improvement over Mr. Larned's essays. No less enthusiastic in tone than the latter, it would seem to have a better grasp of the general fact. This is stated in these words:

The simplest experience of the world proves that a work of great excellence may deeply move one person, while it leaves another untouched; and that a book which has influenced one strongly in one's youth may lose such influence over one's later years. There is practically nothing that every man can read at every time.

This fact is not particularly evident, of course, for the simple reason that nowadays very few people can be said to read at all, or to enjoy reading, or get any good out of it. Out of a hundred persons able to read, ninety generally read nothing but newspapers — a species of reading which demands no exertion. Most people, for that matter, read without any particular attentiveness. . . . And many people, after all, are not accustomed to understand fully. They are like young people reading books in foreign languages, who neglect to refer to the dictionary for words they do not understand; they infer them from the sense, so they say; that is, they understood half, and are content with that.

In the case of works the nature of which is not intended to be grasped by the intellect, as, for example, in lyric poetry, readers generally relinquish beforehand all idea of understanding exactly what the author means. An acquaintance of mine, in a company of ladies, once tried the experiment of reading aloud Goethe's "The God and the Bayadere," beginning each verse with the last line, and reading upward. The rhymes fell without intermission, all the melody of the verses was retained — and every one was charmed.

With such facts in view, Prof. Brandes sets himself three questions for answer — Why should we read? What should we read? and How should we read? The answer to the first is somewhat unconventional. Instead of claiming for books the all-important place, he regards them as in many ways inferior to pictures and sculpture as instruments of culture, and he adds: "Books can at best present only a theory." Hence they are, with intelligent people, merely a supplement to knowledge derived from observation. On the other hand, they have great value in that they "set thoughts in motion," and it is to their credit that "they

¹ George Brandes: "On Reading: An Essay." Duffield & Co., 1906.

are seldom so inane as people"; moreover they make us alive to the value of things; they are entertaining; and, if not palpably moral, are excellent spiritual guides.

His chief advice in answer to the second question is an adjuration to shun general surveys and miscellaneous reading in favor of deep and intensive study of what interests us. In calling this the only safe road to culture, he steps out of the broad and primrose path of Mr. Larned, and is more in accord with Stevenson's dictum that "culture is not measured by the greatness of the field which is covered by our knowledge, but by the nicety with which we can perceive relations in that field, whether great or small." Dangerous books, "which speculate in the youthful reader's sensual impulses, or appeal to his idleness or frivolity . . . that represent base and low things as admirable, or disseminate prejudices, and throw a hateful light on liberal-mindedness, or the pursuit of freedom," and wearisome books, like dry-as-dust history, are to be eschewed. Most important of all is the object of reading — to gain new ideas, to increase our sense of relationships, to preserve the moral essence of things, and to strengthen moral fibre.

In one even more interesting respect Prof. Brandes is at some variance with a popular dictum — that which proclaims the Bible to be the best of all books. The Bible usually heads the list of the "hundred best," and he who would plead for discrimination in his praise would occupy an uncommon position. Prof. Brandes's words on this question are so characteristic of his point of view and his manner that they are worth quoting:

There is one Book of Books that is generally regarded as the most suitable of all for general and constant reading, *the very best book*, — the Bible. Few books, however, prove so conclusively as this that the bulk of mankind cannot read at all. The so-called Old Testament comprises, as is well known, all that is left to us of the ancient Hebrew literature of a period of eight hundred years, together with some few books in Greek. It includes writings of the most various value and the most various origin, which have come down to us with texts comparatively recently edited, often corrupt and further marred by endless copyings; — writings ascribed, as a rule to men who never wrote them, nearly all of them difficult to understand, and demanding extensive knowledge in order to be read with the smallest degree of profit.

Certain of the books of the Old Testament, like the collection which bears the name of Isaiah, contain some of the sublimest extant poetry of antiquity — a witness to the purest craving for righteousness, the highest religious development to be found on earth at that time, seven hundred and fifty or five hundred years before our era. Others, as for example the Chronicles, are of less value, and are not strictly accurate in their historical recitals.

There is much evidence that such reading confuses men's minds.

Yet if the acknowledged "best" book cannot be called good for every one, then how much less the classics!

Here Prof. Brandes undoubtedly, to some degree, accounts for a regrettable fact in modern culture — the Bible, since it has ceased to be of tremendous moment to the eternal welfare of mankind, is not popularly read — as has been the case with the classics since Greek and Latin have ceased to be of moment as required subjects for entrance to college. Incidentally, this change of attitude is suggestive of our evaluation of literature as opposed to information: so long as the Bible was thought to contain the most important of all facts, it was read, but when degraded from the dignity of science to the level of literature it ceased to be interesting. The truth of the matter is that people care much more for information than for the finer sorts of pleasure. That the fact of the present neglect of the Bible is true can be heard in the constant cry against the modern indifference, and the ignorance of the rising and the risen generations in regard to the Scriptures.

But if one would reform this deplorable state of affairs, one must go deeper, must ascertain the causes, and apply the remedy. In this respect, Prof. Brandes's suggestion — that the book is incomprehensible to the modern reader — is valuable, even if not wholly true. To say that it is incomprehensible is but another way of saying that it is not interesting, to people of to-day, in comparison with more modern ways of thought, feeling, and expression. Since, however, its place as an invaluable work of literature is unquestioned, and since, as a matter of fact, it seems to have ceased, for the present generation, to be the only sufficient rule for faith and practice, any one who would tell us why it ought to be read, and would succeed in making us read it, would, in the highest sense, be furnishing us with a guide to culture of especial importance.

Such in part is the arduous and pleasing task which Prof. Gardiner has set himself in his able and interesting study of the Bible as literature.¹ Let it be understood that there are, ideally, in treatises of this sort, two possible subjects — the quality and value of the Bible as literature — which would of itself be sufficient to stimulate the inquiring spirit — and the means to be used in arousing the uninterested, the dull, and the perverse young barbarian from his play to a consideration of this book as a means of enriching his intellectual and spiritual life. It is to the first of these that Prof. Gardiner confines himself: "My object has been," he says in the preface, "to make students as familiar as possible with the English Bible, and to throw light on its literary forms by bringing together facts from the history of the translation into English."

¹J. H. Gardiner: "The Bible as English Literature." Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906.

It is unnecessary to describe Prof. Gardiner's book in detail. A good general idea of it may he had from a short examination of the subjects with which it deals and the points of excellence which are brought out. Aside from the historical introduction, there are three subjects: a descriptive account of the chief forms of writing in the Bible — that is, the narrative, the poetry, the wisdom books, the epistles of the New Testament, the prophecy, and the apocalypse, each of which is treated in a separate chapter; the history of the translation into English; and a final chapter on the place and influence of the translation on the course of English literature.

In dealing with the first of these subjects, Prof. Gardiner's way is usually to show the different types of writing under each head, not so much as examples of different literary and rhetorical forms — such as the short story, the epistle, the address, the lyric, etc. — as a more human analysis of each kind of writing in terms of spiritual values and intensity of experience. He appropriately, therefore, discusses the style of each class of writing with a view to showing how its characteristics — its simplicity, its directness, its concreteness — are part and parcel of the quality of thought. This difference is well emphasized by a comparison with the more abstract style of modern writing. The chapter on the history of the translation is an admirable one and should be very interesting to those who wish a simple statement of the facts. Even more impressive is the closing chapter. Prof. Gardiner makes out a most interesting case for the great influence that the translation has had on English style; and, though he perhaps exaggerates the debt that all succeeding writers owe to the great translator, Tindale, his treatment is in the interest of giving honor to whom honor is due. In general, it would be difficult to find in any semi-popular treatise on the subject of the Bible as literature a more interesting impression of the book — of the quality of its thought, the dignity of its manner, and the range of its influence.

Prof. Gardiner's treatment will be seen from the preceding account to consist in a well-judged exposition of the good, the great, and the impressive things in the Bible as a work of literature. That is the most necessary of all aims to-day in such study of the book as Prof. Gardiner has in view. Yet it is the task of criticism to point out one or two instances wherein his work is defective in aim. A young reader, turning to the Bible for the first time, might open to such a book as, say, the Chronicles, named by Prof. Brandes, and, as would probably be the case, not finding them interesting, might turn to Prof. Gardiner for guidance. Of such inferior parts Prof. Gardiner makes no mention; indeed, his book contemplates a wholly appreciative study of the

nobler passages. Yet no study of any piece of literature of any author, of any body of writings, can pretend to completeness which does not take into account all the facts. To be sure, in final estimates, we sift the good from the bad, and a popular reading of any of the great masters of literature contents itself with what is best. We remember Wordsworth, Lamb, and Browning, for example, by their most original and significant work, and are right in not troubling ourselves with their inferior writings. The selective process is, humanly, inevitable. But a professed study of literature, a guide to reading, should not merely dwell on the greatness of its theme.

As a matter of fact, those of us who read the Bible, even with the most devout spirit, are conscious of the fact that the Bible is, as a whole, an extremely uneven book. There are many parts which children ought not to read. Guiding is to some degree moral discrimination, and though one would wish inferior work to be passed over as summarily as possible, it is perhaps a mistake for Prof. Gardiner to dwell so exclusively on excellencies. The only shortcoming in the Bible as literature that one finds in his treatment lies in the fact that, unlike modern literature, the Bible contains little abstract thought, and even this limitation is turned into praise for the greater simplicity and vividness of the Scriptures. The attitude is in general like that of Coleridge, Lamb, Hazlitt, and Cowden Clarke toward Shakespeare, in whom they were content to see no variability, neither shadow of turning.

The trouble, if trouble it be, goes back to a statement of Prof. Gardiner's preface:

In all my discussion I have assumed the fact of inspiration, but without attempting to define it or to distinguish between religious and literary inspiration. The two come together in a broad region where every one who cares for a delimitation must run his line for himself.

Setting aside the fact that, except as regards so-called verbal inspiration, not even psychologists are competent to tell us what inspiration is, much less to delimit the various forms of inspiration, the assumption seems to me to be both an unnecessary and an embarrassing one. It is unnecessary in dealing with a literary subject, because the student is to do simply with the body of facts as he has them presented to him — in their variety, their impressiveness, their vitality — to get what enjoyment and stimulus he may from them. These facts would be the same, Prof. Gardiner's analysis of them would be the same, so long as he is the scrupulous and reverent critic that he is, whether the facts were inspired or not; for the question is one of literature and not of divine origins. Why complicate the question in this wise? We do

not assume inspiration of any sort in our ordinary literary studies, in dealing with Shakespeare or Shelley, for example; but, if we use the term, it is as an after-thought, to express our admiration for the extreme opposite of what we find dull. The assumption is embarrassing in that it compels one even to force himself to pronounce everything good, and to eschew its opposite or to deny the existence of inferiority.

In consequence of this, possibly, Prof. Gardiner is occasionally led to press his conclusions further than his facts will warrant. For example, it is indisputable that the English translation has had an extraordinary effect on the history of English style; and it is not too much, in view of that, to call Tindale, as Prof. Gardiner did in a former article, "the Father of English prose." But it is somewhat extravagant to say "that if any writing departs very far in any way from the characteristics of the English Bible it is not good English writing." Regularity, precision, balance, cadence, and, indeed, many other virtues of prose existed in languages written by men who walked in darkness, and to some of these Greeks and Romans the debt of many English writers is as great as to the Bible. One cannot see, without more evidence than Prof. Gardiner gives, how the Bible has materially affected the writing of, say, Swift, or Johnson, or Arnold, all professed believers in the excellence of the Book, to say nothing of such professed scoffers as Gibbon. And it is rather uncritical to say that "Lincoln, not only among Americans, but among all English-speaking people of the nineteenth century, is the man who most surely attained the grand style, and we all know how naturally in his most solemn moments his style became infused with the phrases and the virtues of the English Bible." The main idea is a sound one, but it gains nothing from being pushed to extremities.

The second purpose of such books — how to make readers interested in literature of the highest moment — is not touched by Prof. Gardiner; indeed, it was not his purpose to do so. That is the burden of Prof. Bates's latest book¹ on education. How to read the classics, the English classics, those books that Prof. Brandes found not "good for every one," is really the complicated question that he tries to answer. Originally delivered as a series of lectures at the summer school of the University of Illinois, his talks inevitably retain some of the unctuous and repetitiousness of popular discourse; but the gist of the matter is not hard to get at, and it is illuminated by a rich and thoughtful experience. The desideratum is the inculcation in the youthful mind of a real liking for literature. The means, in the last analysis, is the teacher who

¹Arlo Bates: "Talks on Teaching Literature." Houghton, Mifflin & Company, 1906.

can make literature appear of vital rather than detached interest to the reader. The teacher must feel his subject, literature, and not simply talk about it. Many of the subjects frequently exploited at great length in teaching do not contribute to the end. Biographical matter is usually too copious — for the reason that it is the easiest thing to talk about; — teachers do not make pupils think for themselves, but often do the work for them; preaching palpable morals, a tempting and easy thing to do, is bad; the pupil should not be warned to find excellence, lest he learn to cant; he should not be given questionable books, such as Macaulay's essay on Milton, for the reason that his mind becomes obsessed with Macaulay's untenable dogmas; juvenile literature is usually bad;—such are some of the drawbacks that Prof. Bates finds in the modern methods, and his remarks surely appeal to one's reason. The wise course, on the contrary, is first to make the pupil understand what he is reading, — to which end a special study of vocabulary and reading aloud are excellent means — and then to lead him to connect this with his own experience. The main thesis is not wholly new; it agrees, for example, with that of Prof. Brandes already cited; but the virtue of Prof. Bates is that his remarks and experiences are always copious and illuminating.

As such the book should be read by every teacher, if for no other reason than the fresh and invigorating common-sense with which Prof. Bates approaches his subject. It is not an easy book, however; he who runs, as many teachers are forced to do, may not always read. If anything, there is an *embarras de richesses*; Prof. Bates has so much to say that he occasionally is under the necessity of making factitious categories in order to compass material for which there was no room in the more real divisions of his subject. For example, it is hard to distinguish, either in definition or illustration, the difference between such classes (which name separate chapters) as "The Problem" and "The Conditions," or "The Inspirational Use of Literature" and "Educational." And occasionally Prof. Bates's earnestness leads him to fall into a mild fremescence of style not good for clearness. But mainly the book is excellent, and its quality may to some degree be judged from such valuable advice as is contained in the following isolated passages.

A sensitiveness to word-values is with a child the beginning of wisdom. Children too often acquire, and adults follow, the habit of accepting words instead of ideas. — . . . Children need to learn that the sentence is after all only the envelope, only the vehicle, for the thought. Everybody agrees to this theoretically but practically the fact is ignored. The child is father to the man in nothing else more surely than in the trait of accepting in perfect good faith empty words as complete and satisfactory in themselves (p. 14).

What should be done in the lower grades, and usually all that can with profit be attempted in the secondary schools anywhere, is to cultivate in the children a

love of literature and some appreciation of it: appreciation intelligent, I mean, but not analytic. I would have the secondary schools do little with the history of authors, less with the criticism of style, and have no more explanation of difficulties of language and of structure than is necessary for the student's enjoyment (p. 30).

By way of making things worse, scholars are drilled in Macaulay's "Milton." The inclusion of this essay, the product of the author's 'prentice hand, is most lamentable. The philistinism of Macaulay is here rampart; and the one thing which students are sure to get from the essay is the conception that poetry is the product of barbarism, to be outgrown and cast aside when civilization is sufficiently advanced (p. 35).

I am far from being so modern as to think that pupils should not be asked to do anything which they do not wish to do; but I am radical enough to believe that no other good which may be accomplished by the study of literature in any other way can compensate for making good books wearisome (p. 53).

The tendency to abuse children with morals is as vicious as it is widespread (p. 72).

Not one teacher in a score had succeeded [a fact is related] in impressing upon his pupils the fundamental truth that the only excuse that poetry can have for existing is that it fulfils an office impossible for prose. Yet nothing which can properly be called the study of poetry can be done till this prime fact is recognized with entire clearness (p. 214).

Prof. Bates's book is addressed to those with beginners in their charge, and it concerns itself largely with the aims and methods of such instruction. The aims of the higher study of English rather than the methods is the purport of Prof. Cook's recent treatise,¹ and it addresses itself rather to the advanced and eager student than to the established teacher. The main thesis is somewhat difficult to state — for two reasons: Prof. Cook's book consists of four separate essays or addresses — "The Province of English Philology," "The Teaching of English," "The Relations of Words to Literature," and "Aims of Graduate Study of English" — written at different times during the last decade and delivered or published on various occasions; and, in the second place, Prof. Cook is so enthusiastic a believer in the ideals of his profession that to reduce his messages to cut and dried exactness is to lose the great persuasiveness of manner which is at least half their value. Presented as a single train of thought, the idea is, however, something as follows:

Since the abdication of clergymen from their high office of leading the way to what is permanently good, and in view of the failure of poets nowadays to appeal vitally to man, the teacher has become the most important of guides in the conflict of spirit with matter. He must be in the highest degree human and scholarly, if he is to use present forces of modern life for the most ideal ends. English literature is the best

¹A. S. Cook: "The Higher Study of English." Houghton, Mifflin & Company, 1906.

means now at his disposal for accomplishing his mission, and he must be a philologist in the true sense of the term; he must "endeavor to re-live the life of the past; to enter by the imagination into the spiritual experiences of all the historic protagonists of civilization in a given period and era of culture; to think the thoughts, to feel the emotions, to partake the aspirations, recorded in literature; to become one with humanity in the struggles of a given nation or race to perceive and attain the ideal of existence; and then to judge rightly these various disclosures of the human spirit, and to reveal to the world their true significance and relative importance." His study, as Prof. Cook illustrates the matter in his address on the relation of words to literature, should be characterized by fulness as well as by intensity. There is good reason, Prof. Cook says in his essay on the teaching of English, for believing that the ideal may come to pass; for out of the past chaos in English studies and the present tendency to lay stress on quantity rather than quality, there are signs that "scholarship in English, through the agency of our better graduate schools, is deepening as well as widening, is growing more refined and less mechanical. There is hope that the quantitative test will be gradually supplanted by the qualitative—that we shall forget to ask, 'How much?' and begin to ask, 'How well?'"

Were it not for such hope and such ideals as this, a reader might wish that Prof. Cook had dealt more extensively with actual conditions as the best means of approach to his ideals. His high enthusiasm occasionally leads him to take a less strict account of what is than the most helpful attitude would call for. For example, in the last piece, he raises the qualifications of the well-equipped teacher to an impossible height, and, though he admits that the ideal is never attained, he would be more helpful if he gave some relative standing to the twelve attributes which no well-equipped teacher can be without. Is it more important, for example, that he teacher must "speak and write the language with propriety," or that "he should be a gentleman, and, if convenient, a good fellow, in the better sense of that term"? Again, Prof. Cook does not squarely answer Prof. (now President) Wilson's urbane strictures on the methods of much modern investigation, but says, in essence, that philology is the beautiful thing described in the foregoing paragraphs; whereas Prof. Wilson's quarrel was not with the ideal denotation of the term philology, but with its practical applications and the sins committed in its name. It is, of course, no answer to Prof. Wilson to say that certain great poets and orators have also studied the etymology and grammar, or have written treatises on those subjects. But as the presentation of an ideal the book could scarcely be surpassed.

The books which I have mentioned represent three fairly distinct types: Mr. Larned, Prof. Brandes, and Prof. Cook, stand for more or less general points of view, not always in mutual agreement; Prof. Gardiner presents special material, and Prof. Bates considers the question of ways and means. Though these books are for the most part based on a broad common-sense and a keen observation, the ultimate sanctions of them all are personal rather than objective and scientific. Still another type, therefore, of guides to culture would comprise treatises which deal with the matter in terms of actual science, such as anthropology and psychology, in that they tell us how far natural limitations embarrass the inculcation of wisdom. Examples among very recent books are those of Prof. Horne¹ and Prof. O'Shea.² Again, that culture is more than reading is the implication of several books on art and music, which tell us how to see and to hear. Nor can more general books be neglected, which try to make us think rightly on momentous subjects. Such are President Eliot's sober and substantial exposition of the value of wealth,³ a book at once sensible and moral — though disfigured by an occasional impossible comparison, like that between the relative happiness of the millionaire of fifty and the newly married mechanic of twenty-five — and Prof. Matthews's⁴ and Prof. Wendell's⁵ generous analyses of the American character. All these and more might properly be brought under this head of cultural books.

The books which I have chosen from recent announcements as those which best come under the subject, have one thing in common. Almost without exception — the fact was not noted until the moment of writing — they have sprung from the universities. The fact is probably merely accidental; but it suggests that the universities are still the chief popular guides to culture.

WILLIAM T. BREWSTER.

¹H. H. Horne: "The Psychological Principles of Education." The Macmillan Company, 1906.

²M. V. O'Shea: "Dynamic Factors in Education." The Macmillan Company, 1906.

³C. W. Eliot: "Great Riches." T. Y. Crowell, 1906.

⁴Brander Matthews: "American Character." T. Y. Crowell, 1906.

⁵Barrett Wendell: "Liberty, Union and Democracy." Scribner's, 1906.

THE DRAMA.

AMERICAN drama in the making is the absorbing spectacle offered in sum by Greater New York's seventy-five theatres and their provincial ramifications, at the present moment. The activity is prodigious, unprecedented; the results are strikingly interesting, full of promise and significance.

Preparations for the new season were already far advanced before the old season came to its end, in May last. Some of the first-class houses, notably the Lyceum, with Charles Klein's enormously successful native comedy, "The Lion and the Mouse," did not close at all, but braved the dead sultriness of the dog-days and the seasonable competition of the roof gardens, and found reward in the continuous patronage of that transient summer army of visitors which annually invades this metropolis when the New Yorkers temporarily evacuate. Belasco's "Girl of the Golden West" took only four weeks' vacation; "The Social Whirl," at the Casino, never flagged; while the sprightly and tuneful "Little Cherub" began its deservedly long and happy career at the Criterion about the middle of August. On or before Labor Day a majority of the playhouses, including the Hippodrome, had opened their doors; and by the middle of September all of them, with the addition of the new Astor Theatre, were in full career. In October, the Lincoln Theatre was added to the list of metropolitan playhouses, and marked Sixty-sixth street as the northern outpost of that extension of Broadway's "Rialto" which ten years ago had barely reached Long Acre Square. In December, Oscar Hammerstein's Manhattan Opera House inaugurated its first campaign, in full rivalry with the Metropolitan Opera, under Heinrich Conried; these two vast enterprises, supplemented by Henry Savage's original American production of Puccini's "Madam Butterfly," constituting what will go down in musical history as "New York's million-dollar opera season."

In so far as it is a question merely of quantity, of numbers, of material magnitude and splendor, New York stands to-day the foremost theatrical city in the world. That its artistic rating is proportionately far lower is now an obvious, trite, and also somewhat pharisaical remark. But, as we have said, this is American drama in the making. The tremendous evolutionary process is steadily going on, and indica-

tions are not altogether lacking that we have commenced to build in the spirit of the older nations, whose work is "not for an age, but for all time."

But New York, rapidly as it has grown, has not been able to keep pace with the enormous native theatrical development of the times. Only three years ago, this city represented the general headquarters and producing centre, and the other cities were nowhere. There was but one Theatrical Syndicate, and its seemingly impregnable stronghold was here. To-day there are two syndicates of the first magnitude, between whose rivalries and competitions independent managers all over the country are beginning to get their long-sought opportunities.

Though the season as yet is scarcely half over, there have been already produced *outside* of New York as many important dramas as, until recently, a whole winter was wont to bring forth in this luxurious and dominating metropolis itself. Chicago, besides possessing a New Theatre of its own which in the first month's bills had such attractions to offer as Rex Beach's "The Spoilers" and a one-act piece by George Ade, has seen the premières of William Vaughn Moody's "Great Divide," Mansfield's version of Ibsen's "Peer Gynt," Gen. Lew Wallace's "Prince of India," George Cohan's "Popularity," Mrs. Fiske in Langdon Mitchell's "New York Idea," Edward Peple's "Love Route," and Jesse Lynch Williams's "Stolen Story," while having in prospect, among other things, the first representation on the American stage, by the Sothern-Marlowe Company, of D'Annunzio's "Daughter of Jorio." This latter company, foremost among our legitimate travelling organizations, opened its season in Philadelphia with the first performance on any stage of Percy MacKaye's original poetic drama of "Jeanne d'Arc," following with Sudermann's "Johannes" (John the Baptist), and a revival of Charles Henry Meltzer's translation of Hauptmann's "Sunken Bell."

Boston was the capital chosen for the preliminary trials of such notable pieces as Charles Klein's "Daughters of Men," David Belasco's "Rose of the Rancho," and Wright Lorimer's ambitious essay in an Ibsen play hitherto unfamiliar on our stage — "The Wild Duck." Detroit was the theatrical birthplace of "The House of Mirth," Trenton of "The Jungle," and Cleveland of Clyde Fitch's latest drama, "Truth." Washington, Baltimore, Indianapolis, Pittsburg, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Minneapolis, and even Atlantic City, N. J., Buffalo, Albany, Syracuse and Rochester, N. Y., Springfield, Mass., and New Haven, Conn., are coming into such increased managerial favor for serious "initial presentations" that they are no longer classified under the undignified appellation of "dog towns." Then there is Brooklyn, which, though

theatrically further removed from Manhattan than any of the other large cities named, has the Spooner Stock Company and Corse Payton's, with repertoires, clientèle, revivals, and new productions all their own, and is a sort of suburban world in itself.

It is still in a measure true, though not by any means so comprehensive a matter of fact as it used to be, that the plays and productions above mentioned, and all others in their category, must sooner or later come to Broadway, New York City, for their final judgment and reward — to be "boomed" and booked, or buried. In that sense, they need not have been thus detached from the regular budget of the New York season, here to be enumerated. The fact, however, of so many new works of such calibre being "tried out" in localities not hitherto regarded as possible "producing centres" seemed sufficiently striking to call for special note.

What, then, are the established New York successes, vintage of 1906, up to the present? Safe to be so characterized are: "The Hypocrites," "His House in Order," "The Great Divide," "Cæsar and Cleopatra," "The Prince of India," "The Rose of the Rancho," "The New York Idea," "The Chorus Lady," "Clothes," "The Three of Us," "The Love Route," "Daughters of Men," "The Man of the Hour," "The Rich Mr. Hoggenheimer," "The Red Mill," "The Little Cherub," and "A Spring Chicken" — the last four named being farces, of more or less musical persuasion.

The unequivocal failures, at least so far as New York is concerned, seem to include: "The House of Mirth" "Mizpah," "Barbara's Millions," "The Stolen Story," "Man and his Angel," "Lady Jim," "John Hudson's Wife," "The Measure of a Man," "Brigadier Gerard," "The Dear Unfair Sex," and "Sam Houston." These seem heavy tithes to pay, yet it is all in the business of a big season's drama.

Between these two poles of success and failure hang suspended a score or more of new plays, some of them the work of our foremost dramatists, and most of them the latest vehicles of established stars, demanding critical appreciation. Before briefly reviewing these, however, or the Shakespearean, legitimate and poetic, revivals, it may be profitable to linger a moment and consider in conjunction those two remarkable twentieth-century American dramas, "The Great Divide" and "The House of Mirth" — the former a wellnigh unaccountable hit; the latter a somewhat surprising and unexpected fiasco.

"The Great Divide," by William Vaughn Moody, is the virile but crude and essentially unpoetic work of a writer justly esteemed and hitherto known only as a lyric poet of fine and sincere feeling. On its first presentation in New York, it puzzled yet impressed the critics,

and they gave it the benefit of the doubt they must have vaguely felt, by hailing it with unwonted accord and unguarded enthusiasm as a formidable competitor for that meaningless title of something which in the nature of things can hardly be — “the Great American Play.” The question of its greatness is at least debatable; and its Americanism is more an external matter of locale than of anything inherently native in its chief incidents, or in the character and motives of Stephen Ghent and Ruth Jordan, whose mutual heart-struggle begins in Arizona and ends in Massachusetts.

What is truly, egregiously American about “The Great Divide,” as a rudimentary analysis of the piece will show plainly enough, is its author’s lack of courage in his artistic convictions. After making a bold, even an audacious, beginning, he weakens logically before the first curtain is reached, in order to conciliate the average polite and proper Anglo-Saxon audience — or, as is more likely, the cautious and commercial New York manager. As the action progresses, its motives become more and more involved in a tangle of inconsistencies, culminating in a deplorable example of the conventional “everybody happy” ending.

Mr. Moody originally called his play “The Sabine Woman,” a truly significant title, only too literally suggestive of the theme chosen by the dramatist. Ruth Jordan, a heroine with a New-England conscience and a frankly acknowledged predilection for an “unfinished” husband, a man “in the rough,” such as the primeval feminine in her has loved “for æons past,” is suddenly confronted with just such a person. Accompanied by two other ruffians even more drunken and brutal than himself, he breaks into the isolated ranch-house in the Gila Desert where Ruth has been left alone, and intimidates her by force. After shooting one of his fellow-marauders and buying off the other, he secures the girl for himself, by assenting to her own proposition that they go straight-way to the nearest magistrate and become wedded man and wife.

The next we see of them, they are living unhappily together in the Catalina Mountains, where “Steve” has struck gold. He is fondly planning their future; she is spurning his affection and wealth alike, and secretly selling basket-work, in order to pay back the price in gold nuggets with which, as she declares, he “bought her, like an Indian squaw.” Remembering what transpired in the end of the preceding act, there is no reason at all why she should behave in this self-contradictory manner, except that it prepares the way for a really effective dramatic touch in the scene immediately ensuing, when her horrified relatives come on from the East, and she assumes the wifely loyalty which she has not, so as to scout their extremely disparaging opinions of her husband, and to defend him for the sake of her own pride.

But this only brings the play to the middle of the second act. Another violent wrench must be given to probabilities, more tortures devised for Ruth's acutely introspective conscience, new excuses given her for weeping and lying, and business made for a third and final act. So she suddenly changes her mind again and decides to quit Steve forever, and go back home with her brother Phil to Massachusetts—this at the very moment when she has just been at the pains of explicitly telling her husband, and the audience, that for the best of family reasons she ought to remain where she is! One might well imagine that such intimate confidences from a woman on the stage of a theatre would shock, or at least uncomfortably embarrass, the gentle play-going public. But, bless you! since "Man and Superman," "The Hypocrites," and "The Shulamite," to say nothing of "Hedda Gabler," we have learned to take these things lightly, and to hear the declamatory or epigrammatical discussion of things sacred, with the *sang froid* of medical students at a clinical lecture.

Later on, in Act III, Stephen Ghent surreptitiously follows Ruth to her mother's home at Milford Corners, Mass. Notwithstanding the little or no encouragement he has met with, married life seems to have transformed him from a picturesque brute to a commonplace man. He yearns to see the baby son that has been born, and that is said to receive little more of its mother's affection than does the father himself. Ruth at first is as fiercely uncompromising as ever, then she softens somewhat. She does not gain upon our sympathies, however, nor does Steve, when he drops the air of penitent, suffering forbearance and patient self-control that had almost reconciled us to him, and becomes feebly and coarsely jocular in talking about "the angels working overtime" on his case. When Ruth does fall into his arms, at the last curtain, it is difficult logically to avoid the reflection that, inasmuch as her change of heart followed closely upon the announcement that he had paid off the mortgage on mother's dear old home, she might in the near future bring up the still unsettled question of her having been "bought like an Indian squaw," and insist upon threshing it all over again.

The intelligent and enthusiastic work of Henry Miller and Margaret Anglin, who acted respectively the rôles of Stephen Ghent and Ruth Jordan, had everything to do with the decisive success of "The Great Divide," on its first presentation here. Its scenic investiture at the Princess Theatre also supplied a certain poetic, imaginative element in which the drama itself is deficient. Yet the work as a whole is probably not unworthy of the extraordinary attention it has attracted. It portrays a set of life-like and well-contrasted characters, so played against one another that, despite the unskilfulness of the inexperienced

author, they occasionally strike genuine dramatic fire in the development of a nobly chosen theme—the uplifting of a man from his lowest estate to his highest by the sheer power of earthly love.

"The House of Mirth" was dramatized by Clyde Fitch from Mrs. Edith Wharton's widely celebrated novel of life among New York's so-called smart social set. The short and inglorious history of this theatrical venture is highly instructive as to the influences which still dominate our stage. Every thoughtful reader knows, and must have felt from the beginning, that "The House of Mirth" is nothing more or less than a bit of literary artistry, as white and smooth — and as bloodless — as one of Canova's groups of marble statuary. Mrs. Wharton, indisputably, is familiar with her social *monde*; but her regard for the fellow-beings who people it is merely Platonic. What she really loves is exquisite writing, for its own sake, after the style of Henry James. The consequence is, that when she undertakes to depict the futile struggle of Lily Bart against the society of wealth and fashion, for the sake of antithesis she makes the latter one solid background of heartless vulgarity, sordid ostentation, brutal cynicism and caddishness, unrelieved by a single gleam of sentiment, geniality, Christian kindness, or even the natural refinement of good taste. Not even Mrs. Wharton can make us believe it possible for wealth and position to have recruited such a company of degenerates under one roof for a week-end house party at the Gus Trenors' country place.

Sympathy for Miss Bart is demanded, on the plea that she is beautiful, charming, clever, good, unfortunate, and helpless. Yet, throughout the whole book, from her preposterous visit to Lawrence Selden's bachelor apartments, in the first chapter, to her death from an overdose of chloral in the last, she never shows a winning trait or any sign of distinction, never says a witty thing or does a wise one, nor conducts herself in a way that right judgment could approve or common sense commend.

These fatal shortcomings, from the point of view of a possible dramatic representation, are almost as apparent in the novel as they subsequently became in the play. Why, then, the dramatization? The answer is painfully simple: "The House of Mirth" was the most powerfully "backed," the most extravagantly advertised, the most unconscionably puffed, and as a consequence the best selling, novel of the year. Could anything more be required to stir up the enterprising manager whose motto is: "Give the public what it wants"?

Mr. Fitch did what he could in the way of supplying "bright lines" for Mrs. Wharton's marionettes. He prompted Lily Bart to say for herself: "My mother had no money for me, but she gave me expensive

tastes instead." When Mrs. "Gus" Trenor reproaches one of her admirers for "talking to her like a husband," the flippant youth replies, "How can you say such cruel things to me?"

But when such a creative and subtle actress as Fay Davis, who took the part of the heroine, tried to strengthen it by putting in some of the hysterics necessary to account for what action there is, poor Lily proved too weak to stand the strain, and the whole artificial fabric fell to pieces. After all, the fundamental laws underlying true dramatic art are their own Nemesis.

"His House in Order," the latest Pinero play, has in Hilary Jesson, a genial bachelor-philosopher of the British foreign diplomatic service, one of those delightful John Drew parts which fit that gentlemanly actor as faultlessly as do his clothes. It is, moreover, a vital comedy of modern life, as middle-class Englishmen live it, carried out unflinchingly to a rising climax, which, whether on a plane with ordinary human conduct or decidedly transcending it, makes this one of the best plays of the season. The crisis at which the intervention of Uncle Hilary achieves its good work is where Nina, the second wife of a prig who is finical about his household arrangements and personal comfort, is sacrificed by him and his family to the memory of her predecessor, the late sainted Annabel. But Nina accidentally gets hold of a packet of old letters, proving beyond a doubt that Annabel was a faithless wife, and had planned an elopement with her lover on the very day that she met her death by a carriage accident. Hilary persuades her to an almost superhuman act of renunciation, in giving up to him those fatal letters, without using them to confound her persecutors. Then, after the enthusiasm aroused by this act subsides, he tranquilly turns about, produces the compromising documents, and tells the husband all. Thus is poetic justice accomplished, and a masterly exemplification given of what duty is, according to the definition of the late Alexandre Dumas, *fils*: "What is duty? It is that which we exact of others."

"The Hypocrites," by Henry Arthur Jones, is another earnest comedy-drama of English life to-day, but so accurately gauged to the normal *tempo* of human heartbeats that it becomes, if not universal, at least broadly Anglo-Saxon. Mr. Jones staked his well-established reputation, built upon such substantial achievements as "Mrs. Dane's Defence," "Joseph Entangled," and a dozen other repertoire successes, on this same breadth of appeal, by bringing "The Hypocrites" to New York for its first production on any stage. His confidence in his work, and in his American following, proved to be amply justified. Yet there is nothing new, original, or experimental either in his ingredients or in the formula he uses for their blending.

The play is dedicated to that safe general indictment, which everybody tacitly assents to, and nobody either cordially disputes or sincerely believes, that society is an organized hypocrisy. The play's specific motto, or text, is: "Expediency is man's wisdom: doing right is God's." The burden of the right-doing falls upon a poor but staunch young curate. The expediency, which, of course, is but another name for various kinds of hypocrisy, is practised by all the other personages of a rural parish, including the vicar, who typifies "good living" in the gastronomical sense. Between these two conflicting elements, the long-suffering heroine, a pale young person dressed in black, who has been wooed and deserted by the son of the lord of the manor in order that he may become affianced to the baronet's daughter, meets with those unpleasant and only too familiar emotional experiences which make the play and assure its coming out all right in the end. We seem to have met all these people, somewhere, and under similar circumstances, before. Was it in real life, or in numerous "heart interest" domestic dramas as far back as we can remember? No matter, so long as they stir our pulses with the wholesome excitement of a righteous row. Needless to say, this result nowadays requires for its accomplishment some sound philosophy, worldly tact, and, above all, a careful technique.

Charles Klein, who has followed up his phenomenally successful "*Lion and Mouse*" with another equally promising dramatic tract, "*The Daughters of Men*," possesses certain qualities which liken him to his British contemporary, Henry Arthur Jones. Both are conservative socialists, fully abreast with the times, and technically skilful enough to dramatize them effectively. Neither indulges in imagination or poetry, though honest sentiment, and even sentimentality, may be occasionally in their line. Mr. Jones makes a specialty of moral and ethical problems; Mr. Klein, of political and economic posers. In this, are they not as truly representative of our material age as were Shakespeare and Marlowe of the romance-days of feudalism?

"*The Daughters of Men*" has been criticised as "irregular," according to the standards of some plays that have failed, and as "a compromise" for timely vogue because of its unequivocal success in arousing interest, not to say enthusiasm, in the discussion of vital issues hitherto found too heavy — or too heavily treated — for the theatre. We hear the objection made that our dramatist does not solve the great social problem of modern times, as to the mutual relationship of Labor and Capital. Despite the vivid, pulsating presentation of these opposed elemental forces in a live twentieth-century comedy, the eternal conflict still goes on. All that Mr. Klein does is to show us plainly how and where the clash comes, and then suggest, by apposite illustration, how "a little

sentiment, a little compromise" — in short, a reciprocal spirit of brotherly love and Christian charity — in the conduct of business affairs might charm away some portentous evils, and appreciably add to the sum of human happiness.

Is it not something large, to have placed such a "preachment" as this acceptably before the vast theatre-going public of the world's commercial metropolis? The tragedy of "Hamlet" shows us that "there's something rotten in Denmark," and how "the times are out of joint" generally. We are deeply moved, perhaps started a-thinking, by the recital, and that suffices, without our demanding there and then that the unhappy Prince be made to set everything right. Much the same kind of stimulation ought to be conveyed to the impartial audiences who nightly gather at the Astor Theatre — a playhouse which, with its simple and classic interior architecture, patterned after that of the ancient Athenian theatre of Dionysus, is in itself a lesson and a delight — to see set forth in contrasted types of modern men and women, all new to the theatre, the working of those all-absorbing ideas which, whether we will or no, underly the whole fabric of our actual everyday life.

The conservative financier of the gentlemanly "old school;" the smooth, incisive, imperious young company-directors, who have "nothing to arbitrate;" the prodigal son who has married an actress and insists upon his right to do as he likes with his own inherited money; the mixed-up representatives of labor, classified by one of themselves as "the skilled ones, who know how to work, the unskilled ones who don't, and then all the others who don't want to work;" the blatant demagogues and anarchists, who want to tear things to pieces, and the level-headed council officers of the unions who strive heroically to keep them together — all these are drawn with unmistakable verisimilitude, and, if a trifle broad in characterization, are still well within the bounds of stage license.

Twin protagonists of the whole scheme are the two women, admirable antitheses of femininity — a daughter of the rich, portrayed with sympathetic beauty and distinction by Effie Shannon, and a daughter of the people, done to the very life, with superb ebullition of animal spirits and impulsive womanliness of heart, by Dorothy Donnelly. These two meet on the common plane of being in love with the same man — the young college-bred labor socialist, whom Orrin Johnson makes plausible and likable in spite of some declamatory drawbacks. They fight it out on this line, and, hearts and courage being evenly matched, good breeding and self-restraint fairly win. This feminine battle brings on what looks at first like the conventional situation of the concealed lady, or ladies, in the hero's apartment at an unseemly hour. But, by a

novel and ingenious turn, here suddenly develops the real and logical climax of the action, in the bringing together of the magnates of money and the leaders of labor so that they can sit down together and talk over their differences—not as they actually do in real life, but as every reasonable human being devoutly wishes they might.

Fortuitously in Horse Show week, Mrs. Fiske came to town with her brilliant new comedy, by Langdon Mitchell, bearing the too-restricted title of "The New York Idea." Unlike the equine paradox, this comedy will reign throughout the season, and other seasons to come. It deals with the "idea," the frivolous and irresponsible idea, unfortunately not confined to New York alone, of marriage and divorce on the progressive euchre plan. Such a serious subject cannot be dealt with too lightly on the stage. In other words, folly in its flight must be pierced, if at all, by the keen winged shafts of wit. Of these, Mr. Mitchell seems to have a full quiver. Fortunately, there is a saving grace of truth and tenderness behind it all, so that at the last, when the skittish Mrs. Cynthia Karslake comes back meek and gentle to the "sporty" husband whom she thought she had divorced, and figuratively eats out of his hand, one feels not so much that it is a happy ending, as that it is a right one.

"Nothing is final in nature, not even death," preaches the delectable worldly clergyman of the play; "and if death is not final, why should marriage be so?" All New York went to hear that sermon, and all New York came away happy—so he says. "The judiciary and the churches have mixed things up so, that we can't be sure we're married until we're divorced," Jack Karslake philosophizes. A fashionable marriage, to Cynthia's mind, has very much the aspect of a smart funeral; only that, happily, it isn't for so long. She rather inclines to think that "a woman should marry when she has the whim, and leave the rest to the man"—or to the divorce courts. But when the whim strikes twice in the same place, it is time to settle down to the inevitable. She returns to Karslake, her first whim; and that good fellow—who in the meantime has gone broke, while Cynthia is an heiress—declares that, after having "kicked the stuffing out of the matrimonial buggy," as a manifestation of her youthful thoroughbred spirit, she may now be trusted as a steady-goer, swift perhaps, but safe and kind.

If New York society persists in the insouciant error of its ways, after this season's theatrical expositions, it will be in spite of the fervent endeavors of many moral satirists to show up our frailties and indicate the austere pathway of reform. Among these well-meaning scourges are Messrs. Avery Hopwood and Channing Pollock, who fitted that clever and winning comedienne, Grace George, with "Clothes." This play, as its title implies, undertakes to show what a tremendous influence over

the lives of womankind is exerted by mere wearing apparel, and what it stands for. If a girl has wit and tact enough to keep this influence, or instinct, in its proper place, then her life story is a moderately successful comedy. If she "gives in," and weakly makes every compromise and sacrifice that comes along, then she is a tragic failure. There is the difference between "Clothes" and "The House of Mirth."

David Belasco has dived once more into that magic cabinet of his, and brought forth not only a fascinating new play, but also a magnetic young comedienne. "The Rose of the Rancho" is a light but well-knit story of California in the days succeeding "the splendid idle 'forties," when United States "hustle" rudely disturbed Spanish *dolce far niente*. The Spanish-American heroine, Senorita Juanita, is deliciously played by Frances Starr, a debutante as to parts of this importance, but an artistic personality who has won in a night a name and fame not to be lost sight of hereafter.

"The Dear Unfair Sex" proved too paltry a piece of work to sustain so refined and accomplished an actress as Ellis Jeffreys. William H. Crane, the most Yankee of American comedians, was sadly miscast as the poor but indifferent-honest literary Englishman in Alfred Sutro's disappointing latest offering, "The Price of Money"; but probably no cast could have sufficed to save so weak and vacillating a thing as this which the author of "The Walls of Jericho" and "The Fascinating Mr. Vandervelt" has permitted to go out under his marketable name. William Gillette's "Clarice," in which that popular actor-author this season stars himself with Marie Doro, is really a squandering of both abilities, though it may serve to attract that not inconsiderable section of the public who care for the player more than for the play. It is an unconvincing and somewhat morbid love-story, located in the mountain region of the Carolinas; and its most exciting moment is that in which the doctor-hero, having taken a suicidal dose of poison by way of a wholly unnecessary and absurd self-sacrifice, is saved by his rival in love and medicine by the administering of an antidote.

Virginia Harned, in "The Love-letter," a translation from Sardou in his later and most mechanical vein, made no marked impression; nor did Lena Ashwell, an English emotional actress of some distinction, win for her American presentation of the British-Boer play, "The Shulamite," more than the *succès d'estime* which it scored in London. George Cohan's "Popularity" did not live up to its title in New York, any more than did Nat Goodwin's abysmal descent into farce as "The Genius." May Irwin fell short of surpassing herself as "Mrs. Wilson," though she is still our most typical female humorist.

In "The Love Route," by Edward Peple, a vigorous, pleasing play

of Texas ranch and railroad life, Odette Tyler is making the most of an opportunity as good as that which she enjoyed in "Shenandoah." Carlotta Nillson is doing wonders for another neat little home-made play, "The Three of Us," all about mining speculations, in which she impersonates with unusual strength and finesse a courageous orphan girl burdened with many troubles, not the least of which is the awful name of Rhy Macchesney. James Forbes grasped a real triumph for himself and his "Chorus Lady" star, Rose Stahl, when he expanded the original vaudeville sketch into a four-act piece, the first half of which is racy and diverting enough to carry melodrama even more glaring than the latter part of this one.

Israel Zangwill has an easy knack of trifling with serious and unpromising themes, such as a surgical operation for a squint in the hero's eyes, in conjunction with a moral squint in his character; and when Eleanor Robson, as a nobleman's daughter playing at hospital work, lends her exquisite personality to the task of curing both of the obliquities aforementioned in her lover, the result is necessarily a dainty and agreeable "Nurse Marjorie." In pursuance of a commendable "répertoire" régime promised to endure throughout the season at the Liberty Theatre, Miss Robson soon followed the "Nurse" with "Susan in Search of a Husband," a Jerome K. Jerome storyette, and a one-act "Tenement Tragedy," neither of which calls for special comment at this date. Then came Clyde Fitch's mildly clever bit of comedy, "The Girl Who Has Everything." More interesting is the announcement that Miss Robson will presently appear in "The Lady of Dreams," which is a translation in verse, by Louis N. Parker, of Rostand's romantically beautiful "Princesse Lointaine," originally written for and played by Sarah Bernhardt.

The simultaneous presentation, early in the season, by two such noted actresses as Bertha Kalich and Blanche Walsh, of a lurid play called "The Kreutzer Sonata," might be taken, at a casual glance, to indicate a theatrical run upon the works of Tolstoy. As a matter of fact, it indicated nothing of the sort. The drama so named has no more to do with the writings of the eccentric Russian novelist than it has with Beethoven's music. It was written by Jacob Gordin, the pioneer and present head of New York's flourishing school of Yiddish playwrights, amongst which are numbered to-day such Hebrew celebrities as Boris Thomashefsky, Leon Kobrin, Joseph Litteiner, Sholem Aleichem, and others. These unpretentious authors, who supply dramas of contemporaneous human interest for the theatres of the half-million or more Jewish population of the East Side, think nothing of appropriating the titles, and oftentimes the text, of great masters like Shakespeare,

Tolstoy, Ibsen, Gorky, or Dostoievsky, as a basis for their own original studies of Jewish life in Russia and America.

Gordin wrote "The Kreutzer Sonata" on this plan for Mme. Kalich some years ago, before she emerged from Grand street to become a luminary of the English-speaking stage. Meanwhile, Miss Walsh, having reaped laurels and profit from her stage version of "The Resurrection," sought to continue in the same line by acquiring the right to do "The Kreutzer Sonata" in English — a project which, as we have seen, coincided with that of Mme. Kalich.

Both actresses have done fairly well in the leading rôle of Miriam Friedlander, the courageous but unfortunate Jewish girl whose moving history begins with betrayal by an army officer in Russia, and ends with madness and murder in New York. Yet it is a question if they are not wasting their time and talents on such coarse, raw material. Gordin, it is true, is a dramatist of no mean power, in his way, and he has an Ibsen-like feeling for the inevitableness of tragic endings. The English adaptation of his play used by Mme. Kalich had the advantage of being revised by Langdon Mitchell, but this only put its fundamental crudities the more in evidence. It proved decidedly strong meat for Broadway amusement-seekers.

The comic history of "Cæsar and Cleopatra," in a sumptuous production at the New Amsterdam by Forbes Robertson and Gertrude Elliot, came as an agreeable surprise, and revealed its author, the irrepressible G. Bernard Shaw, in a more laudable light than anything of his previously presented here. It was written some years ago, for Mr. Robertson and his wife, but never saw the footlights until now. In the imperious Cæsar, Mr. Shaw found ready to his hand one of the most masterful and at the same time most prepossessing of human characters, so that he could not go very far wrong. Moreover, it diverted his mind temporarily from paradox, polemics, and immodesty, thus giving him unwonted range in the realm of pure comedy. There are moments of nobility, and even of poetry, in this unique work of imagination — as in the second scene of the first act, where Cæsar in the gloaming desert faces the mysterious Sphinx, and finds nestled to its stony breast the impulsive, kitten-like girl queen, Cleopatra; or, toward the end, where the world's conqueror, with the stoical reflection that "one who has not hoped can never despair," speaks a kindly word for Fate, and peers toward the future with the same half-wistful, half-ironical gayety as when looking into Cleopatra's eyes. It is indeed "almost human," which is more than can be said for Shaw plays as a general rule. Perhaps it might even have been questioned if this play really were written by the G. Bernard Shaw we used to know, but for his unmistakable sign

in the recommendation to critics, conspicuously printed on the New Amsterdam Theatre programmes — that before criticising "Cæsar and Cleopatra" they shall read up "Manetho and the Egyptian Monuments, Herodotus, Diodorus, Strabo (Book 17), Plutarch, Pomponius Mela, Pliny, Tacitus, Appian of Alexandria, and perhaps Ammianus Marcellinus."

Poetic drama, of American authorship, came to the front early this season, with "Mizpah" and "The Prince of India." The first-named proved to be the Biblical story of Esther and King Ahasueras, done into facile Ella Wheeler Wilcox verse for the stellar exploitation of Elizabeth Kennedy and Charles Dalton. As a pompous stage spectacle, it did not wholly disappoint the audiences at the old Academy of Music; only, as they have been accustomed to pictorial melodrama of the most pronounced type, one could not help feeling that a comic villain or two would have helped out "Mizpah" wonderfully.

"The Prince of India," a massive verse-dramatization, by J. I. C. Clarke, of the historical novel of that name written by the late General Lew Wallace, was magnificently staged at the Broadway Theatre, apparently in the hope that it might prove another "Ben Hur." It is hardly that, though a very stirring and dazzling action-panorama of the fall of Christian Constantinople, with the legend of the Wandering Jew threaded through it. The scenery almost swamps the poetic drama, however, and in the marshalling of vast supernumerary legions — more than five hundred persons are on the stage at once, in some of the scenes — too little room for development is left such finely impersonated characters as Emmett Corrigan's "Prince" (the Wanderer), William Farnum's Mahammed the Conqueror, Boyd Putnam's Emperor Constantine, and Adelaide Keim's Princess Irene.

Neither Richard Mansfield nor Sothern and Marlowe have reached New York with their new and rich offerings, as this number of THE FORUM goes to press. But the verdicts of Philadelphia, Chicago, and Cincinnati have been pronounced in such strongly eulogistic terms that there is no likelihood of their being reversed; and we may look forward to a veritable dramatic festival with Mansfield in Ibsen's "Peer Gynt," E. H. Sothern in Suderman's "John the Baptist" and Hauptmann's "Sunken Bell," Julia Marlowe as Salome and Jeanne d'Arc, and Sothern and Marlowe together in such brand-new poetic or romantic plays as Henry Walcott Boynton's "Guenever," D'Annunzio's "Daughter of Jorio," and Mæterlinck's "Joyzelle" — all these in addition to their splendid Shakespearean repertoire. The author of "Jeanne d'Arc" is Percy MacKaye, son of the late Steele MacKaye, and the author of several published dramas in verse; while Mr. Boynton, who has in

"Guenever" made an original version of the old Arthurian legend, is a well-known Boston littérateur. Mr. Sothern evidently believes in the existence of the American dramatist, and not "on paper" only.

The visit of Henry Brodribb Irving, younger son of the late Sir Henry Irving, revealed a young actor of marked distinction, who not only resembles physically his illustrious father, but has the ability to play some of his rôles, besides creating new ones of his own. His "Charles the First," especially, is a worthy perpetuation of the elder Irving's best traditions in the part. Stephen Phillips's "Paolo and Francesca," a one-act adaptation of Robert Louis Stevenson's "Markheim," and a translation of a French comedy by Mr. Irving himself, under the title of "Mauricette," were the novelties he brought. In the light, Parisian scenes of the last-named piece, Mr. Irving, and his wife, Dorothea Baird — a young actress of a delicate Pre-Raphaelite style of beauty, and elusive ingénue charm — together with their excellent all-round English supporting company, appeared to such advantage as to assure their hearty welcome on a promised return visit.

A splendid succession of Shakespearean revivals has bridged this first half of the theatrical season, with every prospect of well-sustained continuance. First came the opening of the Astor Theatre with "A Midsummer Night's Dream," Annie Russell an inimitable, Peter-Pan-like Puck, and John Bunny the best Bottom the present generation has seen. The Athenian costumes in this production were of academic correctness and taste, and the principal scenes produced a sense of æsthetic satisfaction quite in keeping with the lovely spoken lines.

This was followed, at the same house, by "Cymbeline," a play unfamiliar to the new generation of theatre-goers, though Imogen is generally regarded as one of the sweetest and most appealing of all Shakespeare's heroines. Viola Allen finds in this character scope for her best qualities as woman and actress. Joyousness and despair, the gentleness and courage of a pure heart, girlish ingenuousness, vivacity, and pensiveness contrasted with the flashing indignation and scorn of a high-bred nature under outrageous insult, or its pathetic calmness in despair — these, and the whole changing tumult of fleet emotions which crowd such masterpieces of the romantic drama, were all protracted by Miss Allen and her well-selected company of players with an effect that remains memorable in a year of bounteous artistic yield.

Robert Mantell's ever-strengthening hold on the popular heart as a full-statured, legitimate, heroic, and tragic actor is a gratifying sign of the times. Reassuring, also, is William Crane's return to classic English comedy, in "She Stoops to Conquer." Opportunity of comparing the scholarly Hamlet of Forbes Robertson with the presentments of that

immortal rôle by Sothern and Henry Irving may be afforded ere the winter is over. Ben Greet's Players, also, are touring this country again, and will come to Broadway with a repertoire expanded by "All's Well That Ends Well," the whole of "Hamlet" (unknown as such in these days of elaborate but time-consuming sets of scenery), and both parts of "Henry IV."

The cycle of Ibsen productions and revivals planned for New York and other principal American cities this season bid fair to surpass those of any European capital, with the possible exceptions of Christiania and Copenhagen. Besides Mansfield's epoch-marking "Peer Gynt," the list includes "Hedda Gabler" by Alla Nasimova, "The Wild Duck" by Wright Lorimer, "The Sea Lady" by Grace George, "Ghosts" and "Rosmersholm" by Mary Shaw, and perhaps the latter also by Bertha Kalich.

Alla Nasimova is the singularly attractive young Russian actress who, as "Mme. Nasimoff," played brilliantly the leading female parts in Paul Orleneff's all-Muscovite company last year. She has now learned English, and, with her racial subtlety expressed in beauty of person as well as through the most modern and progressive kind of stage training, will undoubtedly be welcomed as a timely acquisition to our theatre.

And what a play! what a character is Hedda, as thus lit from within by the baleful fires of an exotic genius! She is as poignant and unchangeable as Electra, as beauteous in fateful courage as Antigone, as overwhelming in tragic truth as Clytemnestra. Surely this creation of Ibsen, when fully interpreted and understood, must rank high above his merely fanciful, symbolistic, argumentative, or didactic dramas, and stand as a monument to his enduring fame. Hedda is fully accounted for as a perverse, morbid woman of the nineteenth century, the spoiled child of indulgence and self-will; but the whole dramaturgical conduct of the set of people and the circumstances in which she is placed is as sane, deliberate, inexorable, and overpoweringly impressive as the natural and divine laws of life and death. How she shines in moral dignity and true aristocratic pride by contrast with the craven and infamous Judge Brack, who basely covets her! She has vastly more firmness and self-control than the good but insipid Thea Elvsted; and, when it comes to the fatal crisis that only to a cowardly nature could mean anything else than death, she proves herself the possessor of a more exalted bravery than even the high-strung and desperate Eilert Lovborg, whom she could love only to destroy.

This intensely modern tragedy has drawn forth the deepest resources of two actresses so diverse in temperament and genius as Minnie Maddern Fiske and Alla Nasimova, with the identical result in both cases

— the fixing of “Hedda Gabler” as a record-mark of “furthest North” in the exploration of the human soul.

In the present rising tide of interest in the poetic drama, it was certain that the dormant question as to Browning would come up again. Why not play those things of his which were written for, or at, the dramatic stage? It is true, Macready tried that, contemporaneously, in London, at the cost of a flat failure or two. The late Lawrence Barrett gave a convincing demonstration, on this side of the Atlantic, of the utter unsuitability of “A Blot on the ‘Scutcheon” to the purposes of acting. But a new and inexperienced generation has sprung up since then, and must be shown all over again. Four or five years ago, Mrs. Le Moyne, Otis Skinner, and Eleanor Robson combined their energies and skill on the one-act sketch, “In a Balcony,” and, with the aid of scenery and music more exquisite than anything Browning had ever dreamed, got through it with appreciable artistic effect. Grace Elliston has made, and will repeat, a similar experiment as Mildred Tresham.

This season, under the energetic managerial guidance of Henry Miller, Mrs. LeMoyne bore the brunt of a thorough and admirable production of “Pippa Passes,” in eight scenes, with special music setting by William Furst. She “doubled” the rôles of Ottima in Part I and Monsignor in Part II; while Mabel Taliaferro (the ingenuous Lovey Mary of “Mrs. Wiggs of the Cabbage Patch”) did the monologue of Pippa, William Beach officiated as Sebald, and several other ladies and gentlemen devoted conscientious efforts to a tangle of unyielding verbiage. The ambitious novelty of this entertainment drew to the Majestic Theatre a number of matinée audiences representative of New York’s most literary playgoers. But what these audiences were regaled with was really a species of illustrated lecture, or elocutionary recital, rather than a play.

Browning conceives of Pippa not as a girl of flesh and blood, but as a symbol. She is a sort of impersonal vehicle, useful for carrying heavy burdens of philosophical bricks and mortar, which cannot be loaded upon real living dramatis personæ. He gives the poor child a soliloquy of over two hundred lines as soon as she awakens on the morning of her New Year’s holiday. Her pretty lips, made for kisses, are forced to pronounce fifteen-minute speeches filled with jaw-breaking verses and ridiculous rhymes, such as:

“Say not ‘a small event!’ Why ‘small’?
Costs it more pain than this, ye call
A ‘great event,’ should come to pass,
Than that? Untwine me from the mass
Of deeds which make up life, one deed
Power shall fall short in or exceed!”

'Tis a case for the Gerry Society — especially when, instead of letting her enjoy the day rationally with the other girls of the silk mill, he causes her to trudge alone up the hillside, singing:

“ God’s in his heaven,
All’s right with the world.”

This cryptic utterance smites the ears of various unrelated groups of persons engaged in an assortment of crimes and villainies, proving that all’s wrong in Asolo, as far as they can make it so. However, they are startled and set to thinking and talking to themselves à la Browning — and that is the whole “dramatical poem” of “Pippa Passes.”

It must occur to the reader, in glancing over the large number and variety of dramatic doings recorded in these notes, that already we possess, in scattered and incoherent form, the main elements or impulses to be combined in the new national art theatre, the practical realization of which ambitious and altruistic project is yet an affair of the future. But American drama, to be to this country in the twentieth century what the Elizabethan drama was to England in the seventeenth, must go far afield from the latter’s romantic, feudalistic, and exoteric teachings.

The rescue of the English-speaking stage from the control of commercial speculators and amusement syndicates is only preliminary to the great campaign of education necessary to compel its due recognition as a social force, and its permanent establishment on the basis of an art. “I would suggest,” said Prof. G. P. Baker, of Harvard, at a meeting of the League for Political Education, held in the Hudson Theatre, New York, a few weeks since, “that the institutions in which our boys and girls are being trained should teach them that plays are plays, and not merely literature or poetry.” Such an expression, from such a source, is the more significant in view of the fact that as professor of English literature at Harvard University, Prof. Baker has already taken a radical departure from such academic traditions as prevail at Oxford, for example, in giving his students a course of modern plays.

It was at Harvard, also, that Henry Arthur Jones, in his broad and stimulating lecture on “The Cornerstones of Modern Drama,” in November just past, frankly expressed his doubt that his own plays would enjoy the welcome accorded them here, were national American drama already an accomplished fact. But if, as the author of “The Hypocrites” regrettfully owns, there is a chance of our having a national theatre and a national drama while the English are still putting up with the futilities of French adaptations and the imbecilities of musical farce, in a larger sense all our modern Anglo-American drama is in the same boat. Its intellectual degradation and puny growth, as compared with the

drama of France, during the past two hundred years, are the direct result of that Puritan wave of fanaticism which swept over England in the wake of the golden Elizabethan age. The holy horror of the theatre then implanted in the favoring soil of our naturally religious race is the real though impalpable obstacle which has stood in the way of either England or America developing an art of the drama at all worthy the dignity, the resources, and the self-respect of a great nation.

The "cornerstones," then, of a new and national drama pertinent to the spirit of our age and country are: 1, an enlarged conception of "literature," which shall recognize the living drama as its highest form; 2, the establishment of some sane and consistent notion of morality, so that the dramatic author shall not be rebuked for dealing sincerely with the paramount passions of humanity, while the covert indecencies and vulgarities of musical and farcical comedy are condoned and applauded; 3, the disentanglement of the drama from popular entertainment, *per se*; and, 4, the marking of reciprocal relations, as well as definite boundaries, between the art of the actor and that of the author.

It is hard, perhaps futile, to ask playgoers to take their theatre so seriously as all this. Indeed, it is not to them so much as to their would-be purveyors that Mr. Jones addresses his earnest and manly appeal. Still, it is eventually "up to" the playgoers to vote at the theatres as intelligently, and as patriotically, as they do at the polls. The playgoers are "the public," whose opinion is all-powerful. Actors and authors pass before their tribunal. They pass sentence upon the play, and from their judgment there is no appeal. They are supposed to hand out the reward of merit — if "sparingly with fees," at least "lavishly with laurels." So that, after all, even though the average hard-worked American may go to the playhouse to enjoy, he must remain to think — for it cannot possibly be a matter of indifference to him whether his nation's permanent record in the phonograph of history be spoken by a poet or by a clown.

HENRY TYRRELL.

INEXPENSIVE RECIPROCITY.

THAT policies should change as conditions do so, is the major premise of all sound reasoning concerning the problem of protection. Two new facts have transformed American industry in a way that affects this problem, and the first of these is the growth of monopolies. The selling of products at high prices at home and at lower ones abroad has become a general practice with the corporations that have command of our markets, and this single fact has everywhere raised a doubt as to the wisdom and justice of retaining the duties which make the practice possible. To the average mind it looks like taxing Americans in order to assist foreigners; and that corporations which are not too well loved should impose this tax adds an element of hostility to it. The people feel entitled to the benefit of what is called the "most favored nation clause," at least in their dealings with their own government, and they feel doubly entitled to it in dealing with the industries whose power and wealth they have themselves built up at a great and undoubted cost.

There is, indeed, an answer to the complaint of discrimination against our own people — the goods exported constitute an extra product, or an excess above what could otherwise be sold. After all has been made that will be taken in the home market, it is possible to manufacture more and sell it abroad — provided always that it is sold more cheaply.

Moreover, in the companies' book-keeping the goods exported, though they are identical with the others, cost much less, and it is made to appear that the manufacturers can continue forever to make articles for foreigners much more cheaply than it is possible to make them for Americans. With a mill in running order, but having a capacity for a larger output than it is making, it is only necessary to put new laborers into the force, buy more raw material, and do a little advertising through salesmen or otherwise, in order to make and sell the further output.

This part of the product is actually cheaper than the original part, if the book-keeping just described is valid; and from the producer's point of view it is valid. He is justified in reasoning thus:

"I am making a million cases of these goods for the American market, and the conditions here enable me to sell this amount at a profit, even though I charge against it all possible costs of manufacture. If I wish

to make more and sell it elsewhere, there is no need of reckoning as a cost of this further and special output, any of those outlays which my American patrons are now defraying. How much will the extra production add to my present outlay? is the only question I have to ask; and it is clear that the addition will be small, and that if the foreigners will pay anything over and above this small cost I shall do well to sell to them. Moreover, there is nothing in this which will make me charge Americans any more than they are paying already. At present they bear the entire fixed cost of my business, and if I can gather in a penny or two from the foreigner above 'variable costs'—the additional outlay which the additional production involves—I shall not have to tax Americans any more heavily."

We may concede that a typical trust which enjoys a more or less complete monopoly in America will get in the home market what it now charges, in any case. The power which it has to crush competitors at home, and the protective duty which keeps the foreign producer from its American preserve, are together sufficient to insure this. The margin that it makes on its foreign sales puts something into its own pocket, but takes no additional tribute from the American consumer.

The claim, however, that this entire condition should be allowed to continue, is valid only on the supposition that the protective policy is so just and necessary that it must not be touched even though monopolies thrive by means of it. What the hard-headed American voter is beginning to see is that if the protective duty were not removed, but only somewhat reduced, the monopoly in its own market would be broken up. If prices became exorbitant the foreigner would interfere. He would sell his goods in America, not for less than it costs to make them here—for we should be certain to keep a sufficient duty to prevent that—but for less than the specially high price which a trust is now able to get.

The plan that is taking shape in many minds involves no abolition of the protective system. The general arguments in favor of that have too strong a hold on our people to be shaken, and it is not clear that they ought to be shaken. What is becoming perfectly clear is that there is a difference between a duty of a certain amount and one of a much greater amount. The one may do good and the other harm. One may introduce and foster an industry till it reaches independence—it may enable the "infant" to grow up; but the other may foster a monopoly within the industry, which is a very different matter. Overdoing protection in a way that is too obvious to be disclaimed—annulling by one part of our duties what we gain by the other—this is our present practice.

There is a definite part of the duty on an article made by a great

trust and sold at an exorbitant price which can be thrown off without wresting from the industry any profit that it has a right to. Its more extravagant profits, indeed, it will have to make over to the public that consumes its goods. It would have had to do this in any case if it had not crushed competition at home. Exposing it to the rivalry of foreigners, not on equal terms, but on terms which greatly favor it, would help to end its monopolistic charges but would leave it still in full possession of its present market so long as it should charge only what is fair. It could make ample returns and even thrive on the prices that would rule under a moderate duty. Demanding more is asking the people actually to legislate in favor of monopolies which would tax them in consequence of the legislation.

What is needed is that the American corporation should be exposed to the merely potential competition of the foreigner. Much actual competition he does not need to encounter. The mere fact that the foreigner *stands ready* to enter the territory whenever prices become exorbitant will prevent them from becoming so. As long as he stops short of such demands, the American producer can keep the foreigner out of his market; but if he makes the extortionate demand the foreigner steps in. This is a condition of fair dealing with the consuming public and of fair returns for the producer; and it is also a condition that insures technical progress in the methods of production.

With foreigners ready to compete with him unless he keeps his prices at a reasonable level, the producer must be alert in utilizing new machinery as it appears. He must at least keep pace with foreign rivals in perfecting the art of making goods. Very vital is the difference between the condition of a country which is full of secure monopolies charging high prices at home and low prices abroad, and resting on their oars in the matter of technical improvements, and that of one in which the corporations sell their goods reasonably and improve their methods rapidly. The difference between the former state, which is intolerable, and the latter, which is nothing less than inspiring, may be caused by changing exorbitant duties to reasonable and scientific ones — duties which will protect an industry as such, but not a monopoly within the industry. .

That many a duty now in force is composed of two perfectly distinct parts, of which one does the former of these things and the other does the latter, is the striking fact of the present time, and it sets at naught all question of dealing with the tariff in its entirety as either evil or good. One part can justify itself, while the other stands condemned in every eye except that of the man who thrives from illegitimate gains. For free trade we are not ready; but the policy that would "stand pat"

convicts itself of demanding the retention of the pernicious half of the protective system with its results—the taxing of Americans, the favoring of monopolies, and the retarding of technical progress.

If the growth of trusts were the only important change which has recently called for a modification of our protective policy, the thing to be done might be to throw off at once the injurious portion of the duties and keep the beneficial one. We spoke, however, of two recent changes that must be taken into account, and of these the second is the new attitude of foreign nations. We are discovering that they as well as American purchasers can be made weary by the insane length to which we have carried the protective policy. The tax that we put on their products is something that they can reciprocate if they will, and they are now inclined to do it.

Such retaliation is one kind of reciprocity—the returning of injuries—and very much of this now looms up as a possibility. We are beginning to discover a new meaning in our favorite statement concerning a protective duty, "The foreigner pays the tax." If this is true, we pay it when it is Europeans who impose the duty and we are the "foreigners" in the case. When our own duties are in question, the action of the principle is pleasant enough, but it is far otherwise when theirs are in question. We are beginning to take account of the prospect of paying taxes in this way to foreign nations.

As the growth of monopolies calls for a scientific trimming and pruning of our own rank protective system, the impending action of other nations points to a plan which will make this reduction still further beneficial to us. It may induce concessions on their part, and that means the other kind of reciprocity—the mutual conferring of benefits. The benefits we may hope for will be widely diffused, for whenever a foreigner lowers the duty on our foodstuffs, it is farmers who get a full share of the benefit. Those who suffer more than most classes from monopoly will gain more than most from reciprocity.

We are no longer where we can think merely of our own protective duties and what they do for us. We must take into account the duties imposed, or likely to be imposed, by other countries in retaliation for ours. If the option that is offered to us is reciprocity in injury or reciprocity in benefit, it would seem that the latter would have a clear preference, even though the concessions we might make would cost us something. It happens, however, that a large amount of benefit can be counted on from a policy that will cost the country as a whole less than nothing, though it may reduce the gains of certain monopolies.

The whole system of protective duties requires re-examination, and this should go not merely to the length of considering what small modi-

fications in our system of duties we can make without abandoning the principle on which the system rests. We need to know whether this very principle itself does not require a scientific division of duties into the two parts we have described, and the abolition of the evil part. We shall, in fact, actually find that the very motive which originally impelled us to impose duties, now requires that we should reduce them.

The fact which is emerging into view has to do with the relation between the traditional argument for free trade, on the one hand, and the prevalent argument for protection on the other. We now see that they are not inconsistent with each other. They do not meet and contradict each other and force us to abandon one of them. They are, as we may say, on different planes, and we may adhere to one without throwing away the other. In accepting the plea for the fostering of "infant industries," we find that this very policy requires us to make and apply the separation of duties into the part which protects an industry as a whole and that other part which protects a monopoly within it. The monopoly is hostile to the industry as such, and whatever fosters monopoly is not protective, but destructive. The principle on which we acted in imposing the duties, now requires us not to abolish them, but to make them smaller.

An intelligent discussion of protection begins by conceding what free-traders claim as to the wastefulness of it. This affords a starting point for an effective defence of the protective policy. Again, the complete acceptance of what the protectionist claims as to the fostering of new industries carries with it an unanswerable demand for the reduction of excessive duties. The argument for free trade is what may be called a *static* argument. It would be conclusive if the conditions of to-day were destined to continue forever without change. A protective duty which now causes us to make a particular article instead of exchanging another article for it inflicts a loss upon us. With no duty, we choose the method of procuring the article which gives us the largest amount of it as the fruit of a day's labor. We have the option of using N units of labor in making the commodity A, or using them in making the commodity B and exchanging it for A. If we get more of the A by the indirect process we naturally resort to it.

Forcing ourselves to do otherwise is accepting a loss; and if the conditions of to-day are the abiding ones — if no new features will enter into the situation — this loss will be permanent. That is saying that if the conditions of the various countries are static, and if the methods of producing different things are so — if no alterations occur in the processes of making them — the waste and loss which come from interfering with profitable exchanges will continue to the end of time, and

will always be as large as at the outset. Offsetting gains will not accrue, and the protective policy will involve a permanent sterilizing of industry. This fact is as clearly established as any proposition in physics.

The protective argument, on the other hand, has rested on what we may call *dynamic* grounds. Important changes in the methods of production will take place, and some of them will be induced by the protective policy. We force ourselves to make something which at first we produce in an expensive way; and, with our eyes open, we forego some of the natural return for our labor. We make one blade of grass to grow where two grew before, in that we make one article in a day's labor where formerly we secured two such articles in exchange for the product of that day's labor. We consciously cause ourselves to suffer the loss which this misdirection of energy involves, and which the free-trader has from time immemorial pointed out.

In the end, however, it comes about that we can and do make the article with greater economy. We first master and then improve the technique of the industry which, in so costly a way, we introduce. We invent machinery, apply cheap motive power, place our mills in favorable localities and cause them to grow to enormous size. We organize and consolidate the industry, until, in the end, a day's labor signifies twice the product that it originally did. Now the wastefulness of the policy ceases. We get the two blades of grass which we got originally, instead of the one with which, for a time, we forced ourselves to be contented, and we live in the hope that we may ultimately get three.

This means that a day's labor spent in making the protected goods already gives us as many such goods as a day's labor spent in making something else to exchange for them. The growth of the industry in size and economy has put an end to the waste and loss which the policy originally entailed, and a further growth will probably yield a profit. In the end, as we believe, we shall be able to make more of the goods by the expenditure of a unit of labor than we could get by spending it in making other goods to barter for them.

The intelligent protectionist accepts the static argument in favor of free trade. He admits the wastefulness of protection and concedes that if the conditions of production never changed, the waste would never disappear. He points, however, to the fact that the conditions will change. Instead of taking a stationary state as a premise he takes a progressive one, and this invalidates the former conclusion. The state to which industries in America have now attained justifies this claim; but if we cast a backward glance over the entire history of manufacturing on this continent, we find that a part of the claim of the free-trader has also been justified. The iron industry, the perennial infant of the

protective system, has cost an immense deal in the introducing and developing. Yet who would now be willing to be without it? The waste and loss have been suffered up to a point at which the industry has attained a certain growth and perfection. This waste has become less with time, and, in the case of some branches of industry, it has given place to an undoubted gain.

From Alexander Hamilton's first protective duties, few and insignificant as they would seem to a protectionist of the present day, down to the Dingley tariff, with its drastic curtailment of natural exchanges, burdens and losses have attended the system; and yet the policy has already brought us to a point where many of the wastes have shrunk to *nil* and others are shrinking. More mills and larger and better ones than we should otherwise have had have come into existence under the costly forcing process. Mechanical genius has devised new machinery, and has put the whole process of manufacturing goods on such a plane of economy that a protectionist may plausibly argue that the labor of the country is already more productive than it would have been if trade had always been free.

Much capital and labor which would have been forced to employ themselves in mining and agriculture have betaken themselves to the mills. Mining and agriculture are subject to a law of diminishing returns. Overwork the land and you get less and less out of it; and we should have worked the land much harder than we have done if it had not been for the manufacturing. The mills, on the other hand, have become more productive with time, and the comparisons between the results gained in the mill with those that might have been gained on the farm have grown steadily more favorable to the mill.

No one can now intelligently claim that protection has from the start enriched the country; but, on the other hand, no one can intelligently deny that its after-effects may enrich the country. There has already come an increase of productive power. An increase has come in the recent years during which machinery and organization have given to manufacturing an efficiency not before attained. It is all due to the changes that have come about in production—to "dynamic" causes. It is of vital consequence that these changes should continue. It is not reasonable to expect that they will fully continue under duties which foster monopoly.

With no reference to any one particular duty, we have defined the general change that most needs to be made in our protective system. It is, for the country, a cheap reform, since it costs less than *nil*; but there is some loss connected with it for those who are now taxing the country unduly. These monopolists, however, can make no plea for

the sparing of gains so secured, and the measure lets them keep all lawful ones. It would be the easiest bit of essential reforming that a people could be asked to carry through — if only it would prove to be as feasible politically as it is economically. What particular powers are apt to defeat measures which have corporate interests arrayed against them, this article does not undertake to say, and there is little need of saying. There is a clear policy before the country — a scientific treatment of protective duties, which means justice for all, and a gain for all, limited only by a rule of justice. The thing first to be done is to put the facts before the public and ask for a verdict on them.

The reduction of duties which sustain monopolies is not, indeed, the only change that the interests of the people call for. There is another type of protective duty which has no valid claim to continuance. It differs from the excessive duty on manufactures in two respects. First, it does not, as a rule, foster monopolies, but is designed to benefit a class which is as hostile to monopoly as any that the country contains, namely, the farmers. Moreover, most of the duties of this kind do not accomplish very much for good or for ill. Putting a duty on a product which, without a trace of protection, we should create and export, has, as a rule, only minor effects of any kind. It is not needed for the sake of diverting labor and capital to the occupation thus fostered, for they go there in any case. Moreover, the infant-industry argument usually counts in an adverse way in the case of products of agriculture. We nurse a branch of manufacturing through its years of helplessness for the reason that it will afterward become independent; but in a branch of agriculture the early years are usually those of greatest productivity.

Producing foodstuffs and such raw materials as cotton, wool, hides, hemp, lumber, etc., grows costlier as time goes by. These are industries of diminishing returns, and the lessening of their productivity is brought about by two causes. First, many of these products are created by a process that has been called "land butchery." For a term of years it is allowed to sap the fertility of the soil, and when the lean years come and the elements of fertility have to be artificially supplied, the production becomes a costly operation. These effects are very well illustrated by such lands as have been exploited for cotton, tobacco, hemp, or wheat.

Denuding the land of forests is, of course, a reckless exploitation; but scarcely less so is the tillage of hillsides on a plan that lets the loam make its way to the valleys. On all sides the earth is yielding not its produce, but itself, to the daring hands that are taking out its phosphorus, nitrogen, and what-not — cutting pounds of flesh near the heart by selecting and abstracting the most vital elements.

Again, the mere crowding of the land, even though its fertility were

not impaired, would reduce the returns of labor spent on it. One man on ten acres can get a much larger product than he can on five, and the growth of population, which steadily enlarges the number of men on the square unit of tillable land, reduces in this way men's products. If manufacturing begins as an infant and grows to full strength, agriculture begins in strength and goes on to something resembling decadence, or at least to a state in which the returns from it become smaller for each unit of labor expended.

It follows that the argument by which protection usually justifies itself has no application to duties on agricultural produce. If any branch of tillage begins its career as a weakling, it will be weaker still thereafter. Moreover, the free-trader's objection to duties which call labor from more productive occupations to less productive ones has here the fullest force. The waste which protection entails, whenever it does thus divert labor to unproductive fields, bids fair in some branches of agriculture to be permanent. To the end of time we can get more sugar for a day's labor by making goods and exporting them to regions where cane-growing flourishes than we can by raising sugar beets, and the loss which the protection of raw sugar entails on the country will grow larger rather than smaller with advancing years. The effect of a duty on lumber in hastening the destruction of American forests and sparing the Canadian will become clearer and more deplorable as this destruction becomes more and more complete.

In the case of most produce of the soil such evil effects are not experienced, for the reason that duties on them are nearly inoperative. They are worth little to the farmer, and do little harm to other classes. How much would the farmer gain and the country lose by a duty on cotton? The price would remain essentially the same, whether duties were put on or removed. On a few things duties have been imposed which have somewhat benefited farmers and considerably harmed the remainder of the people; and the injury from such duties will continue indefinitely. On more kinds of produce duties have been placed which have little effect for good or for ill.

There is a chance for a large transaction in the line of what we may term internal reciprocity — an exchange of benefits by two classes of our own people. A "deal" of an unhappy kind has won the farmer's assent to exorbitant protection. He lets manufacturers have the duties they ask for, on condition that his own produce be also protected. Duties such as now prevail on products of the mill mean somewhat monopolistic prices for goods, and they thus really and seriously burden the farmer; while duties on his own product amount to little in the way of increasing his revenues. That this should seem to the farmer a fair exchange

of favors is strange. It is a bargain whereby the farmer gives a dollar and gets a dime, and either considers the bargain even or accepts it as such for lack of power to do better.

Now, there is a chance for another kind of reciprocity between farmers and manufacturers. Let the farmer give up the duties on his own products, which do him little good, and make the monopolistic manufacturers yield the unnecessary portion of the duties on their products, which does the farmer very considerable harm. The balance of effects will be in favor of the farmer. He will gain by the curbing of monopoly far more than he will lose by the free admission of foreign produce. Throwing off a duty on wheat will not greatly affect him; but curbing the monopolies which control the prices of implements, fuel, etc., will greatly benefit him.

There are, then, two concessions which we can readily make to foreigners whose markets we seek to win. Each of them means a removal of duties which ought to be removed in any case. Simply to abolish them would be one gain, and to induce the foreigner to unbar some of his doors would be another gain. They are, first, the unnecessary parts of duties on articles produced by monopolies; and secondly, nearly all duties on farming products. To the country in its entirety, parting with both of these is a good riddance.

Whatever we can thereby win from foreign countries will do us a further good; and an important fact is that such gains will accrue very largely to these same farmers. They will thereby win markets abroad for their own special products, and this will be an addition to the gain that will come to them from the curbing of monopolies. On this ground the farmers could afford to sacrifice all the duties on their own produce if in return the manufacturers would sacrifice the excess of the duties on theirs. Through the opening up of foreign markets both the farmers and the manufacturers are the gainers. Whether such reciprocal benefits between different classes at home will reconcile either to the surrender of duties may be somewhat doubtful; but it should more than reconcile the country to the abolition of them.

Will such a thing be done because the interests of the country require it? Yes, if the people perceive this fact and act on it; but not otherwise. Even the reduction of the exorbitant duties on manufactured goods will be impossible so long as a little minority shall have its way. This element will surely "stand pat," and the country itself may be forced to do so until the effects of so doing become still greater and clearer.

An opposition of interest between the few and the many is often decided in favor of the few. Now and again it may be said by the people

as a whole, as was once facetiously said by President Lincoln concerning his own administration, "We have little influence." If this is the case, all effort to secure reciprocity will fail, as it will, of course, if the people do not perceive the effects of the duties which need removal. There may be at some time a need of purchasing a freer outlet for our exports by concessions that will actually cost us something; but those which are here advocated are of the kind that cost less than nothing. It remains to be seen whether we shall be unwise enough or impotent enough to lose the double benefit which such concessions would secure.

JOHN BATES CLARK.

THE REHABILITATION OF CHINA AND THE AMERICAN INTEREST IN THE ORIENT.

OF the nations of antiquity, renowned for civilization and humanity, for literature and philosophy, for arts and industries, and for trade and husbandry, the Chinese alone, having survived the vicissitudes of time, stand forth to-day intact and compact. "Go back," says a writer, "into the darkness of time, long ere the birth of the Christian era, and you find the Chinese a great nation; go back still further, to the very confine of history, to a time prior to the birth of the mighty and now dead empires of Egypt, Assyria, and Babylon, to say nothing of Greece and Rome, and still you find the Chinese an established people." The Great Wall of China, a marvellous monument of human skill and industry — which through all the time since its erection has been accounted one of the seven wonders of the world, which has stood for two thousand years, and which stands to this day for the world to see — bears eloquent testimony to the antiquity of the race and to its advanced state of civilization in ages long gone by.

The Chinese have not always been the same exclusive "foreign-devil" hating people that they have been of late years. Under the Ming dynasty, which ruled over China before the present one, foreigners were made welcome rather than otherwise. Franciscan monks were received with marked favor by the great Kublai Khan at Peking in the middle of the thirteenth century, about the same time that the famous Marco Polo was making his journey through the country. Since 1644 A.D., however, when the present Manchu Ta-Tsing dynasty became established, the policy of seclusion commenced to obtain in China. The Manchus, being numerically insignificant in the midst of the teeming millions of China, deemed it advisable to keep their subjects from outside influences and thus to ensure the safety of their throne. On the other hand, the early European visitors to China were by no means the best specimens of their race, and often caused trouble to the Chinese government.

The first European people who appear to have established themselves in direct trading relations with China were the Portuguese, who have possessed a factory at Macao, at the mouth of the Canton River, ever since 1557. Other nations followed suit. The British East India

Company came upon the scene in 1625 and opened a branch agency at Amoy. Trade with China in those days was an exceedingly profitable thing. The Europeans, curious to say, submitted to all Chinese formalities, though humiliating in the extreme, for the sake of trade, and continued to do so for nearly two hundred years. When the British hold on India became strong, they introduced Indian opium into China and reaped enormous profits from it.

Before long the Chinese statesmen realized the fact that the traffic in that soul-destroying drug was undermining the morals of the people and draining the precious metals out of the country; for all the money the English merchants paid to the Chinese for silk and tea was a trifle in comparison with what they received for opium. So the Chinese government prohibited the sale of opium in the Celestial empire and confiscated all chests of that deadly drug belonging to British merchants. This was the cause of the war England waged upon China in 1840, in which the Chinese were ultimately defeated and obliged to cede Hong-Kong to the English, while opening five ports, Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo, and Shanghai, for the residence of British merchants and their families.

From this time dates the commencement of European aggrandizement in the Flowery Kingdom and of the humiliation of the Celestials. The Chinese statesmen had hardly had time to reflect upon the altered conditions and prepare themselves to meet the new situation when there broke out within the Empire, in 1850, the terrible civil war known as the Taiping Rebellion. This domestic struggle was a grave crisis in the history of China, as it lasted till 1864 and resulted in the destruction of six hundred towns and the loss of millions of lives. While the Taiping Rebellion was fiercely raging, England again availed herself of an opportunity to steal a march on China, and declared a war against her in 1856 which lasted until 1860. It was through this fresh humiliation that the government of the Son of Heaven was forced to create the Tsung-Li-Yamen, corresponding to a ministry of foreign affairs, by virtue of which European powers were placed upon an equal footing with the government of the Celestial empire.

In August, 1861, in the midst of the Taiping Rebellion the Emperor of China, Hsien Tung died. His death left the field open for the Empress Dowager, Tsu Hsi, to seize the reins of supreme authority in the Empire, which she promptly did and has ever since held them in so tight a grasp that her authority is absolute to this day. The Emperor's son, Tung Chin, was but a tiny child at the time of his father's death, so the Empress Dowager and his mother, who was also an Empress, appointed themselves regents and took the control of the government

in their hands. They held the regency till 1873, when Tung Chin came of age and married. Tung Chin, who was addicted to fast living, also died in 1875, leaving a widow expecting to become a mother, but otherwise with no children.

The two Empresses looked about for the youngest relation they could find, in order thus to obtain the longest possible period of power for themselves as regents. Their choice fell on a nephew of the Empress mother, Ah-Iu-Ta (whose sister had married one of the late Emperor's brothers), a child four years of age named Tsaitien (the present Emperor), who was forthwith appointed Emperor with the new name of Kwang Hsu (Glorious continuity). Shortly afterward both the Empress Ah-Iu-Ta and the other Empress Coadjutor of the Empress Dowager disappeared, one after the other, from the scene, leaving the whole to the Empress Dowager, Tsu Hsi.

While the imperial household was thus engaged in intrigues for the usurpation of power, the European powers, under the lead of England, were busy in undermining the sovereignty of the Chinese government and scheming for the final partition of the Middle Kingdom. As Great Britain had obtained the legalization of the opium traffic in the Chinese dominions at the cannon's mouth in 1860, the Emperor of China dispatched, in 1868, a letter to Queen Victoria, both as a queen and as a woman, to concert measures for the suppression of the hideous opium curse, offering anything that might be desired in the way of concessions to British trade, if only this one curse might be removed. In spite of repeated efforts on the part of his Celestial Majesty to get a reply to the imperial request from the Queen of England, no response at all was received by the ruler of China.

Again, in 1877 the famous Li Hung Chang, for the Chinese Government, agreed at Chefoo, among other things, to open several additional ports to British commerce, only asking in return the privilege of increasing the import duty upon opium from thirty-six cents to about fifty-five cents a pound. The British Government promptly sent consular officers to the new ports, and then repudiated that part of the convention which allowed China to increase the opium duty. France in her turn tore away Cochin-China first from the Celestial dominions, and then established herself in Tonquin, ever pushing her aggressive policy into the Middle Kingdom from the south.

The last decade of the last century has been productive of more events in China—events of far-reaching consequence, of internal and external troubles, of reactionary and revolutionary movements, and of national humiliation and territorial loss — than a century of the previous history of the empire. In 1889, Emperor Kwang Hsu assumed the reins of govern-

ment formally, the Empress Dowager, his aunt, still continuing to be the real power behind the throne. His Celestial Majesty, being possessed of clear intellect, temperate nature, and a strong desire to do good to his subjects and his empire, resisted all the temptations placed in his way and closely watched the events that were taking place in rapid succession. The Chino-Japanese war of 1894-95, and the consequent discomfiture of China, caused a rude awakening in the imperial observer.

Although the war was undertaken by Japan simply to bar the on-rushing wave of European aggression from Far Eastern regions, as a matter of fact, through the cruel irony of fate, it afforded greater facility to the European powers in the scramble for Chinese territory. It will be remembered that victorious Japan demanded, as one of the conditions of peace, the cession by China of the Liao-Tung peninsula to Japan, with the object of blocking the way of the Russian advance on Corea and to the Yalu Sea. But Russia, with the co-operation of France and Germany, frustrated Japan's plan and persuaded her to accept £5,000,000 in addition to the £30,000,000 of war indemnity.

Then followed the season of persuasion and coercion of China by the European powers. In 1895 Lord Salisbury coerced China to cede to Britain the Shan territory of Kokung on the upper Salween River and to give a perpetual lease of certain territory west of the Schweelee River, a tributary of the Irrawady. In addition, several important commercial concessions were demanded by England and obtained. Later on, Germany acquired Kiao-Chau; Russia, Port Arthur and Talienwan; France, Kwangchau; and Britain, Wei-hai-wei. Nay, the great powers of Europe, having come to a point of agreement, even went so far as to decide upon the partition of the Chinese Empire, and the spheres of influence to each power to be appropriated at an opportune moment. These stirring events, as they occurred, made a deep impression upon the observant mind of the Emperor Kwang Hsu, as well as upon thinking men among his subjects.

The Emperor thereupon sent for Kang Yu Wei, a most wonderfully enlightened Chinaman, and asked his advice on many points. The reformer recommended reforms of a sweeping nature, and the Emperor began to move too fast for his conservative people in effecting these reforms. Classical essays as a necessary part of examinations were abolished June 23, 1898; Western arms and drill were talked of for the Tartar troops; agricultural schools were to be established; patent and copyright laws were to be introduced; special rewards were offered to inventors and authors; trade was to be assisted; and even journalists were to be encouraged to air their views on politics. On September 7, 1898, the great Li Hung Chang and Ching Hsin were dismissed from

the Tsung-Li-Yamen; the governorships of three provinces were abolished as a useless expense; and a week afterward the two presidents and four vice-presidents of the Board of Rites were also dismissed.

This wholesale weeding out of old officials created consternation in the ranks of the reactionaries. They made common cause with the Empress Dowager and succeeded in deposing the Emperor, Kwang Hsu. The Empress Dowager again took the reins of government into her own hands, and went to the other extreme in abolishing all the reforms the Emperor had introduced.

The retrograde policy of the Empress Dowager after the deposition of the Emperor in September, 1898, in the first instance, and the scramble after Chinese territory by the European powers on the other hand, aroused patriotic indignation among the educated Chinese. The political agitators got busy in propagating revolutionary doctrines among the populace. In the matter of the organization and formation of secret societies, the Chinese have the experience of thirty centuries, which makes them past-masters at the business. Moreover, China is a most fertile land for crops of newspapers. The two societies, the I-ho-Ch'uan (commonly called the "Boxers," but which, literally translated, means "Fist of Righteous Harmony") and the Ta-Tao-Hui, or "Big Sword Society," at last precipitated the rising of 1900, which was in reality as much anti-dynastic as anti-foreign.

When the danger of the overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty became imminent, the Empress Dowager, realizing the gravity of the situation, at once showed sympathy with the rebels and turned their attention to the foreigners. The humiliation suffered by the fugitive Imperial Court during the Boxer rising, and the excesses committed by European troops upon the helpless Chinese, coupled with the consequent diplomatic pressure for political and commercial concessions, produced a revolution in the views of the Empress Dowager. A strong pillar of the old régime, and the main-stay of reaction as she had been in former years, the Empress, convinced by the logic of events, and impelled by the instinct of self-preservation, became at last an ardent champion of modernizing China, and the zealous partisan of reforms.

With 1901 commenced the inauguration of a new era in the history of modern China. A great many important plans for the improvement of the fiscal and military organization of the Empire have since then been elaborated and put into practice. It has been decided that the land tax should be applied to the establishment of a regular civil service, the construction of a powerful navy, and the forming of an army of 500,000 men to begin with. The total estimated amount of land tax in China is 400,000,000 taels, or \$248,000,000, from which 276,000,000 taels

would be taken for the above plan. Fifty million taels have been set aside for the repurchase of the railways, and concessions for their construction, now in the hands of foreigners, and for the subsidizing of lines of merchant steamers. The remaining 74,000,000 taels are to be applied to sanitation, hospitals, famine relief, canalization of rivers, the reorganization of justice and its administration, and for war.

It has become a regular custom of late to send yearly a batch of Chinese cadets to Japan to learn military art according to the modern science of warfare. In addition to this, several hundred young Chinamen belonging to good families are being sent to study other arts, as well as those of war, till the Japanese government has found itself obliged to impose certain restrictions in order to prevent its own youth being crowded out of the schools. Moreover, Japanese officials are already engaged in training and drilling Chinese troops in China itself. The military manœuvres between Peking and Tientsin performed by the newly organized Chinese troops last fall were in many ways exceedingly interesting and suggestive to the military attachés of the European powers who witnessed them.

In this work of regenerating the Celestials, their cousins, the Japanese, have rendered and are rendering valuable assistance by migrating into and settling in every important part of the Empire. Those Japanese immigrants, when settled in China, devote themselves to their various callings in life, as priests, teachers, editors, and so on. They have started newspapers in the Chinese language. Even the Japanese Buddhist monks have begun to arrive in China with the object of uniting the various Buddhist sects in that country. The Buddhist monasteries in Kalon have already placed themselves under the protection of the Japanese flag, and have become branches of the great Pen Yuan Thue monastery of Tokio. At Swatow (province of Iwangtung) Japanese monks have rented a temple, over which the Japanese flag has been hoisted, and they already have a large following.

The recent Japanese victories on the battlefields of Manchuria have really altered the political situation over the entire continent of Asia. The flash of a million rifles and the booming of two thousand big guns were to Asia the trumpet of resurrection and raised four hundred million dead Chinese from their graves of lethargy. Now there is life and motion in the Far East, and the yellow man has girded his loins to try conclusions with the rest of mankind in the fields of science, industry, and commerce. Woe unto those who would try to put any obstacles in his way! The Son of Heaven and the deified Mikado are brothers now, and have sworn to maintain the birthright of every member of the

Mongolian race to enjoy life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness on this planet of ours.

The first indication of this resolution on the part of the Celestials was given to the world at large in the form of the boycotting of American goods in China as a retaliatory measure against the ill-treatment of Chinese in the United States of America. Moreover, the recent growth of anti-foreign feeling both among the Chinese officials and the people is not a matter of sentiment alone, but is the logical result of the intolerable situation created by the foreign diplomat and merchant in China in recent years, which is now incompatible with the dignity and interests of China in her awakened condition. The foreign negotiator of a treaty generally presented himself in a more or less beseeching attitude, and China assented generously, as she thought, to his prayers for treaty relations. But, ratifications once exchanged, what China had granted as treaty privileges forthwith became, in the hands of the other party, treaty rights.

It has thus come to pass that Chinese officials have felt themselves belittled and inconvenienced by treaties. Again, the advent of the foreign trader, on the other hand, has been a death blow to old and long-recognized native interests and, notably, to China's own shipping trade and junk owners. The coasting trade, which fleets of junks carried on fifty years ago, has been all but destroyed between New-Chwang and the southern ports, and much of the southern trade has likewise passed from native to foreign bottoms; while on the Yangtze, an inland water, an ever increasing home trade has been during the last few years more and more attracting foreign-flag steamers.

Consequently, the native capitalist of former days is a beggar now, and the crowds of junkmen he employed are as angry with their government for permitting the foreigner to step in and seize such local trade as with the foreigner himself for doing so. Does any other country in the world allow foreign flags to participate in its coasting trade and throw open its inland waters to outsiders, and that, too, to outsiders who are not merely enjoying special commercial advantage, but who are also by treaty, extra-territorialized?

The question of the extra-territoriality of foreigners, which has ever been and is to-day the real source of chagrin to the Chinese politically, commercially, and socially, has been lately occupying the minds of both Chinese government and people, and they seem to have made up their minds to abolish it, as they have decided to give no more concessions to foreigners.

The Shanghai riot of December last forcibly illustrates the case in point. The widow of a Cantonese official who had died in western

China was on her way home down the Yangtze River with several little slave girls procured there, as is customary in China. A waiter on the steamboat, thinking his gratuity inadequate, revenged himself on her by telegraphing to Shanghai that the lady had with her kidnapped girls. She was arrested upon arriving at Shanghai by the Municipal police and taken to the mixed court before a British Assessor. No evidence being at hand, the lady was ordered detained, the Municipal police being instructed to take her to the Settlement, and the mixed court runners ordered by the Chinese Magistrate to keep her where she was outside the foreign jurisdiction. This conflict led to a fight, in which the Sikh police struck the Chinese Magistrate over the head, greatly exasperating the sober Chinese, who, not unnaturally, considered the case as having no real relation to foreigners at all, and as in origin nothing less than blackmail. Each party formulated an ultimatum, and the execution of international justice came to a sudden end, pending the decision of the foreign Ministers in Peking. When it appeared certain that this was unjust and partisan, an organized riot broke out, differing in essential particulars from anything yet seen in China, in which about twenty Chinese were killed.

These inconveniences, and this indignity and exasperation, caused by foreigners, China has determined to put an end to. China, says a writer, is at last wide awake, and, like other too sound sleepers, when aroused, is not happy either in mind, body, or estate. The visit of the Imperial Chinese Commissioners to this country and Europe must convince even the most skeptical as to the reality of China's determination to turn over a new leaf.

The boycotting of American goods in China which has already tied up the Far-Eastern trade of this country is really caused by the American boycott of the Chinese, by discrimination against them, and keeping them out of this republic. It is time that this land of the free, where the rights of man have been recognized as the basis of its constitution, should remove the stigma it bears among the nations of indulging in racial prejudices, and be ever in the van of progress and civilization. The time has arrived when the American people should take into serious consideration the chances of gaining the huge markets of the East, as the United States of Europe have already inaugurated an era of resistance to the commercial aggrandizement of the United States of America, under the hegemony of Germany, through the new arrangement of interstate treaties.

The development of Manchuria by the Japanese will attract, to be sure, the Chinese coolies there and keep them employed in their own country for a long time to come. This country could supply material for

railroad construction, machinery, and implements for husbandry and other lines for years to come to develop the resources of Manchuria. In the case of China proper, these supplies will be needed many times over when the work of the eighteen provinces of the Middle Kingdom is undertaken in earnest by the Chinese themselves.

The construction of the Panama Canal, upon which millions are to be expended, will lose its object if the Eastern markets are not to be secured beforehand through the good will of the Orientals. The sending of American troops from the Philippines, on the other hand, to coerce China, as it was rumored had been suggested, might merely result in doing a good turn to the commercial rivals of this country. Moreover, the forcing of foreign trade upon the unwilling Chinese will not succeed; for, let it be clearly understood on the authority of those who know the country well, that China needs neither imports nor exports, and can do without foreign intercourse. A fertile soil, producing every kind of food, a climate which favors every variety of fruit, and a population which for tens of centuries has put agriculture, the productive native industry which feeds and clothes, above all other occupations, — China has all these and more, and foreign traders can only hope to dispose of their merchandise there in proportion to the new tastes they introduce; the new wants they create, and the care they take to supply the demand which really exists.

The Chinese have the best food in the world, rice; the best drink, tea; and the best clothing, cotton, silk, and fur; and, possessing these staples and their innumerable native adjuncts, they do not need to buy a cent's worth elsewhere, while their Empire is in itself so great and they themselves so numerous, that sales to each other make an enormous and sufficient trade, and export to foreign countries is unnecessary. Let those who still preach the gospel of force hear what John Chinaman says, and which, in the opinion of this writer, is soon to be realized:

“Yes, it is we who do not accept it that practise the Gospel of Peace; it is you who accept it that trample it under foot, and — irony of ironies! — it is the nations of Christendom who have come to us to teach us by sword and fire that the Right in this world is powerless unless it is supported by Might. Oh, do not doubt that we shall learn the lesson. And woe to Europe when we have acquired it. You are arming a nation of four hundred millions — a nation which, until you came, had no better wish than to live at peace with itself and all the world. In the name of Christ you have sounded the call to arms: in the name of Confucius we respond.”

MOHAMMAD BARAKATULLAH.

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The Forum

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AMERICAN POLITICS.

THE most significant and important contribution to the literature of American politics in recent times is the address delivered by Mr. Elihu Root, the able and distinguished Secretary of State, before the Pennsylvania Society in New York City, a few weeks ago. In that address, it will be remembered, Mr. Root emphasized the growth of federalism in this republic, and indulged in much thoughtful speculation as to the future of the States under our dual system of constitutional government. So forcefully were his ideas expressed, so plainly did he picture the tendency of the times, so rudely did he awaken the public mind into a consciousness of a menacing situation, that the echo of his address has by no means died away.

At semi-public functions, in the halls of Congress, and in the editorial columns of nearly every newspaper in the land, Mr. Root's words have formed the text for comment and discussion. Indeed, he may be said to have created a political issue; for the Democrats, following in the footsteps of Jefferson, are still ardent advocates of States' rights, and their leaders have openly welcomed a contest over the question of whether the federal power shall be still further enlarged. It is appropriate, therefore, to discuss in this issue of THE FORUM, even at some length, the development and growth of federalism in the United States, and to consider what problems the future has in store. The subject is one of intense interest to every student of American politics.

It is impossible, of course, to present Secretary Root's speech in all its interesting detail. We must content ourselves, therefore, with a mere exposition. He asserted, first of all, that the conditions under

which the clauses of the Constitution, distributing powers to the National and State governments, are now and henceforth to be applied are widely different from the conditions which were or could have been within the contemplation of the framers of the Constitution, and widely different from those which obtained during the early years of the republic. He emphasized the sparseness of the population at that time, the difficulties and hardships of long and laborious journeys, and, above all, the very natural fear that as the States grew more and more self-sufficient they would fall apart, and that the Union would resolve itself into a number of separate confederacies. Owing to the marvelous progress of our civilization, the point of view has entirely changed.

"Our whole life," said Mr. Root, "has swung away from the old State centres and is crystallizing about national centres"; and he added that "in the wide range of daily life and activity and interest the old lines between the States and the old barriers which kept the States as separate communities are completely lost from sight." The political changes have been responsive to these altered material conditions. According to Mr. Root, the people of the country are realizing that laws which were adequate enough for the due and just regulation and control of the business which was transacted and the activity which began and ended within the limits of the several States are inadequate for the due and just control of the business and activities which extend throughout all the States, and that the power of regulation and control is gradually passing into the hands of the national government.

In other words, from Mr. Root's point of view, the national government is simply undertaking the performance of duties which the States are no longer adequately capable of performing. At the same time, he insists, many of the States are totally ignoring even the duties which were within their province. This has led to a curious anomaly, which, although not emphasized by Secretary Root, actually exists. In States where there has been a failure to enact desirable legislation, a feeling of discontent against State control has been engendered; while the very fact that other States display a progress not universally enjoyed stimulates the tendency toward the beneficent exercise of the federal power.

I shall quote only one portion of Mr. Root's speech, namely, the concluding paragraphs, which read as follows:

It is useless for the advocates of State rights to inveigh against the supremacy of the constitutional laws of the United States or against the extension of national authority in the fields of necessary control where the States themselves fail in the performance of their duty. The instinct for self-government among the people of the United States is too strong to permit them long to respect any one's right to exercise a power which he fails to exercise. The governmental control which they deem just and necessary they will have.

It may be that such control could better be exercised in particular instances by the governments of the States; but the people will have the control they need either from the States or from the national Government, and if the States fail to furnish it in due measure, sooner or later constructions of the Constitution will be found to vest the power where it will be exercised—in the national Government.

The true and only way to preserve State authority is to be found in the awakened conscience of the States, their broadened views and higher standard of responsibility to the general public, in effective legislation by the States in conformity to the general moral sense of the country, and in the vigorous exercise for the general public good of that State authority which is to be preserved.

Secretary Root's forceful presentation of the present supremacy of federalism, or centralization, as the exercise of enlarged powers by the general Government is sometimes designated, might easily be dismissed without consideration were it not for the fact that it presents a picture that is absolutely accurate. Every one who has watched the trend of national legislation during the past ten or fifteen years, as the writer has done, has noticed the encroachment of federal authority, sometimes by gradual steps and sometimes by leaps and bounds, along lines which, to say the least, were of dubious constitutionality, especially if the Constitution be construed with any degree of literal interpretation.

It is true that this enlarged power has been always exercised for the public good and was invariably demanded by conditions which could not, apparently, be otherwise remedied. None the less, the tendency toward congressional jurisdiction over matters which, half a century ago, would have been considered as wholly within the jurisdiction of the States has been steadily increasing, and, as will be shown later, is more rampant to-day than ever before.

A thorough discussion of the situation carries us, therefore, beyond the point reached in Mr. Root's address. He contented himself with asserting that if the States failed in their duty national control would, indeed, become supreme. It is easy enough to go a step further and consider whether it is possible for the States to grant the relief from existing evils which is so imperatively demanded; and if it shall be shown that reliance upon State legislation will be hope deferred, we must consider how far we are destined to drift away from our old moorings. We realize now that we accept complacently a condition of federal control beyond the wildest imaginings of Alexander Hamilton. Into what situation shall we be led ere the end comes?

No adequate appreciation of the difficulties attending our national situation can be obtained until we realize the fact that, even while we talk of the present tendency toward federalism and discuss Secretary Root's address as though it related to some new and menacing feature, we

have been steadily advancing in our federalism for more than two hundred and fifty years. Our nation has passed through three stages. The first was the union of the colonies, an alliance temporary in its nature and formed for the purpose of accomplishing a specified result. Confederation, which meant a surrendering of some of the local rights of the sovereignties in order that the entire people might be benefited, was the second stage; but even in this we find that the States jealously retained and guarded their individual supremacy. Finally came federalism, wherein the largest measure of power was surrendered by the States to the general government, while the latter, instead of being the creature of the sovereignties, became the creature of the mass of people that compose the sovereignties.

In this distinction between confederation and federalism lies the whole germ of the development of the United States. Viewed in this light, the opening sentence of the Constitution presents a significance not otherwise perceived. "We the people of the United States," declares the Constitution. Some of the men who framed the Constitution appreciated the full purport of this phrase. Patrick Henry, returning to Virginia and presenting the immortal document to his State for ratification, pointed out that it should have declared that "we, the States of the United States," etc. He was a States' Rights advocate, and he saw plainly that in the phrase, "We the people of the United States," there was an elimination of State boundaries. If the phrase meant anything at all, it signified that the Constitution was framed for the benefit and guidance of the entire people of the nation, a homogeneous mass who dwelt together under one flag, even though their respective habitats might be separated by arbitrary lines.

It is hardly necessary to point out that a step so advanced as this could not have been taken unless the public mind had long been prepared for such action. There had been, in fact, a century and a half of evolution. The very first step toward federalism on American soil was taken in the year 1643, when certain colonies of New England combined to protect themselves from the Indians or any hostile invasion. There were four parties to this union, Massachusetts, New Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven. The articles of agreement upon which the consolidation was based form the germ of the American Constitution, because even then, in the initial union which existed in this country, the provinces agreed not to make war without the permission of the other parties to the union unless suddenly invaded, and that no two of them should combine into one jurisdiction without the consent of the others. Herein was a surrender of certain rights hitherto enjoyed independently. It was the first step timidly taken and apparently with

much mental reservation. Indeed, lest there should be too large an exercise of the powers thus granted to the union, it was expressly stipulated in one of the articles that the confederation as a whole could not intermeddle with the government of any other jurisdictions. Even this stipulation could not wholly disguise the fact, however, that where a union was necessary, the whole became stronger than any of the integral parts, and that the latter suffered in consequence. It may have been the very fact that these four provinces were attached by such attenuated bonds that led to the dissolution of the union in less than twenty-five years.

As the years progressed, the necessity for a larger degree of union between the colonies became more and more apparent. Concerted policy was essential in the treatment of the Indians, while only by mutual agreement could the citizens of one colony entering the domain of another colony receive equitable consideration. The regulation of commerce between the colonies also became a most important question, while it was equally desirable that criminals should not find undisturbed refuge outside of the province in which their offences had been committed.

In 1696 came Penn's plan for an American Congress — the first use, by the way, of the name which now attaches to our national legislature — and under this plan a further step in the direction of federalism was suggested. It is not necessary to present in detail the numerous other plans for union which were from time to time proposed. It is worth while to refer, however, to the plan which Franklin offered in 1754, because it shows the advanced position of the public mind even at that time, in the matter of federalism. Franklin proposed that the representative body of the colonies should have the "power to lay and levy general duties, imposts, or taxes" on the colonies, "considering the ability and other circumstances of the inhabitants in the several colonies, and such as may be collected with the least inconvenience to the people."

The significance of this declaration lies in the fact that three decades before the adoption of the Constitution it was seriously proposed that the colonies, which had hitherto sacredly preserved to themselves the right of taxation, should authorize a general government to collect the money of their citizens to be used for the general welfare. It is true that Franklin's plan did not receive immediate endorsement; but the fact remains that it paved the way for the articles of confederation which were finally adopted in 1778, and which, in turn, were superseded by the American Constitution.

The Declaration of Independence forced upon the colonies a larger degree of federalism than had hitherto even been contemplated. They

were dependent upon themselves; and union, more or less complete in its nature, was absolutely essential to their continued existence. The point to be emphasized, however, is that this union was along federal lines, a recognition of the rights of the people rather than the rights of the States. In the articles of Confederation, although an advancement had been made along these lines, there was still a great lack of federal power — a lack which resulted in a government so weak and inefficient as to threaten the stability of the new republic and compel the adoption of a Constitution wherein federalism was the basic principle.

In brief, therefore, from the time of the New England union in 1643 to the adoption of the federal Constitution in 1787, the development of federal power had not only been persistent and well-defined, but it was evident that the people realized more and more that, in order to secure permanent, effective, and harmonious government, the rights of the colonies and the States would have to be continually abridged and the federal authority correspondingly increased. This fact, so plainly demonstrated then, is interesting now because it corresponds with the situation which presents itself to the nation to-day. Our forefathers yielded to federalism because their separate communities were powerless to conquer the problems which confronted them. We are face to face to-day with the necessity for the largest exercise of federal power for the same reason; nor is the force of the parallel weakened by the fact that the difficulties which confronted them were not the same as those with which we are now called upon to contend.

I have thus presented, in a necessarily brief and imperfect manner, the conditions which led the colonies and then the States to surrender a larger proportion of their powers to the federal Government. It was inevitable, however, that the language of the Constitution should contain some ambiguities, some phrases capable of double construction. For the first ten years of our national life there was much uncertainty, disputes were numerous, and, except in a few courageous minds, a doubt existed as to the outcome of the new experiment.

It is difficult to tell what might have been the ultimate outcome if it had not been for the appointment of John Marshall as chief justice of the United States by President Adams. He went upon the bench in the critical and formative period of our existence, and with great ability and courage uttered forth his federalistic views. For a quarter of a century he read into the Constitution every possible enlargement of the federal powers. No wonder that Jefferson denounced and hated him; no wonder that one of his colleagues on the bench was forced to exclaim that "the American people can no longer enjoy the blessings of

- a free Government whenever the State sovereignties shall be prostrated at the feet of the general Government."

Throughout all the adverse criticism which his decisions created, Marshall pursued his undaunted way. Larger and larger were the powers and authority which he gave not only to the Supreme Court of the United States, but to the President and the Congress, all of them the agents of the federal Government. There were strict constructionists in those days, as there are to-day, but Marshall brushed them aside with little consideration. He scorned their reasoning, under which, to use his own words, the Constitution would still be a magnificent structure to look at but totally unfit for use.

Nothing could better illustrate the growth of the spirit of federalism in this country than to note the character of the questions which the Supreme Court under Chief Justice Marshall was called upon to decide. So accustomed have we become to the atrophy of States' Rights that the problems which confronted the nation-builders in those early days seem hardly worth a moment's consideration, much less the exhaustive industry and research which Marshall devoted to his lengthy opinions. We must remember, however, that in those days the States were still very much alive to their freedom and independence, and the national character of our government was not so fully accepted as it is to-day.

Take, for instance, the privilege conferred by legislative enactment by the State of New York to Livingston and Fulton exclusively to operate their steamboats upon the navigable waters in that State. Over in the port of Elizabeth, New Jersey, was a steamboat owner, whose vessel was licensed under a federal statute. He persisted in trespassing upon the New York waters. All the courts in the State, from the lowest to the highest, enjoined him; and not until he successfully appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States did the State of New York learn how insignificant and futile were its enactments when they conflicted with the expression of federal will. The merest schoolboy would to-day decide off-hand an analogous question. In the first twenty-five years of our national life, however, the federal instinct was not so firmly implanted as it is now.

It is impossible to overestimate the importance of Marshall's opinions in developing this federal instinct. He taught the doctrine of "the subordination of the parts to the whole, rather than the complete independence of any one of them." He believed in the people more than he did in the States. "The people of the United States," he declared, "have been taught by experience that this government would be a mere shadow that must disappoint their hopes unless invested with large portions of that sovereignty which belongs to independent States."

He insisted always that it was the people and not the States that had framed and adopted the Constitution. To his mind, the "supreme and irresistible power" resided in the whole body of the people, not in any subdivision of them. "The American people," he declared in another opinion, "did not design to make their government dependent upon the States." His decision denying the power of a State to tax an institution which flourished under Congressional sanction is well known. In fact, he persistently and forcefully asserted the supremacy of the federal Constitution over the constitutions and laws of the States, and established federal authority upon a foundation which remains not only unshaken but actually undisturbed after a lapse of nearly one hundred years.

Marshall may have been building better than he knew, but certainly he was not building ignorantly. He appreciated with the mind of a seer the far-reaching effect of his emphatic and eloquent declarations of federal supremacy. In beginning one of his decisions, he said:

The Constitution of our country, in its most interesting and vital parts, is to be considered; the conflicting powers of the government of the Union and of its members, as marked in that constitution, are to be discussed, and an opinion given, which may essentially influence the great operations of the government. No tribunal can approach such a question without a deep sense of its importance, and of the awful responsibility involved in its decision. But it must be decided peacefully, or remain a source of hostile legislation, perhaps of hostility of a still more serious nature; and if it is to be so decided, by this tribunal alone can the decision be made. On the supreme court of the United States has the Constitution of our country devolved this important duty.

In this reverential and solemn spirit, which is the spirit which must actuate the Supreme Court to-day, he approached and decided the questions which were to determine whether the United States were to be a league of independent republics or a nation bound together from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from Canada to the Gulf and with State lines almost entirely obliterated. No wonder that he gave to the federal instinct a tremendous impetus.

Still more important is the fact that his mantle has ever since rested upon the court. The latter has invariably stood upon the side of the federal Government, and it is interesting to note that in one of the latest cases decided by the court — the case affecting the legality of the merging of certain railroads in the Northwest — the words of Marshall in more than one opinion were repeated with hearty endorsement and satisfaction. In analyzing the development and growth of federalism in the United States it would be impossible to ignore the important factorship of the Supreme Court of the United States. It has been and is a federalist body — dealing equitably with the States, to be sure, but always upholding what Marshall called the strong arm of the federal Government. The

significance of this position is all the more impressive, because, as will be shown later, we are entering upon an era when the Supreme Court will be as important a factor in the settlement of grave constitutional questions as it was in the days of John Marshall.

Having thus reviewed the period wherein the colonies or States voluntarily surrendered portions of their rights in order to achieve a mutual benefit, and having hastily sketched the second period wherein the authority of the States was further restricted by judicial decisions from which there was no appeal, we come now to the consideration of the most important period wherein the people, through their duly elected representatives in the national legislature, undertook to disregard State rights and do for themselves what the States either negligently ignored or were incapable of accomplishing.

There is neither necessity nor desire to avoid full consideration to the part which the Civil War played in stimulating the national spirit and in accustoming the people to acquiescence in the exercise of federal power. I do not believe, however, that it is an exaggeration to assert that the commercialism or materialism which has developed in this country so remarkably during the past two or three decades has done more to stimulate the federalistic spirit than did the Civil War. More than this, it is important to realize that the manifestation of this spirit has been in the direction of affording greater protection to the great mass of the people. There has not been, with possibly rare exceptions, any effort toward official aggrandizement. Power has been thrust upon, not involuntarily sought by, federal executives.

A review of the legislation which has been enacted since the close of the Civil War affords a most conclusive demonstration of the fact that the growth of the federal power in this nation is in response to popular demand. Take, for instance, the federal law which taxed State banks out of existence and substituted therefor the national banking system — a law made inevitable by the uncertainty and danger in financial circles for which the old State institutions were responsible. A banking system, organized under and controlled by federal authority, offered the only relief from an aggravating and unendurable situation.

In later years the people realized that the existence of the Louisiana Lottery Company was a menace to public morals. It was a State institution, pure and simple, but it was quite evident that the Louisiana legislature would not molest it. Even if it had been driven from Louisiana, however, there is no reason why it could not have found an asylum in some neighboring State. The federal Government undertook to exterminate it by prohibiting the transportation of lottery tickets by either

mail or express. The memory of the bitter legal controversy which ensued is still fresh in the public mind; and the decision of the United States Supreme Court upholding the legislation was in thorough harmony with the almost invariable position of that tribunal.

When the federal Government sought to stop the circulation of obscene literature through similar legislation, there was another contest, which, as might have been expected, resulted in another victory for federal power. Still more striking is the instance of the national quarantine law, a measure made necessary by the fact that the quarantine regulations of the States were conflicting and ineffective, causing endless annoyance and failing to accomplish desired results. No one has yet attempted to contest the constitutionality of this law, simply because its necessity is self-evident; and yet no law affords so striking an example of the invasion of States' rights or undertakes to regulate by federal control a matter which comes so totally within the province of State legislatures.

The oleomargarine law is still another instance of the exercise of federal authority in a matter which might well be regarded as within the competency of State enactment; and yet the people accepted it and the Supreme Court sustained it because it was manifestly for the public good. The pure-food law comes within the same category. Not only have we reached the point where there is federal control through federal legislation of our meat and drink, but thousands of advertisements, announcing that certain establishments are operating under federal permit, are doing their effective work in influencing the public mind toward accepting and even being grateful for federal supervision.

The fact is that the very conditions of our civilization stimulate the onward march of federalism. Corporations have waxed so powerful and monopolies have become so aggressive and exacting that the State, to say nothing of the individual, cannot successfully cope with them. The people instinctively look to the omnipotent federal authority for protection. It is this situation which has led Congress to enact laws which stretch to the utmost the constitutional limits of federal power. Nearly twenty years have elapsed since the first federal anti-trust law was enacted; and although Mr. Bryan insists that the control of corporations is wholly within the province of the State, the Supreme Court differs with him and the people do not seem inclined to wait for the slow and dubious process of State legislation.

The latest and most conspicuous example of this character of legislation is the railroad-rate bill. Made necessary by enormous combinations of capital which control an essential public utility, this railroad-rate law is a measure which, constitutional or unconstitutional, had to be enacted.

Conditions forced it upon the country; and as long as these conditions continue, the federal authority will continue to be exercised in larger and larger measure. The employers'-liability bill and the bill shortening hours of labor on the railroads are additional examples.

It is useless, as Secretary Root suggests, for the advocates of States' Rights to inveigh against this situation. The demand of the people upon the national Government for the relief which the States are powerless to afford makes the growth of federalism inevitable. With all these object lessons before it, is it any wonder that the public turns again to the federal Government for the regulation of insurance and of marriage and divorce? How is it possible to check the growth of federalism when the people witness the accomplishment of great and desirable results through the operation of federal authority?

This question might especially apply to the river and harbor bill, a measure similar to which was vetoed by Madison on constitutional grounds in 1817, and which President Pierce as late as 1852 declined to approve because he also believed it to be unconstitutional. The fact that the river and harbor bill enacted during the last session of Congress carried with it a direct appropriation of over \$37,000,000, with authorization for contracts aggregating \$50,000,000 additional, indicates that there is no disinclination on the part of the people in the States to receive largess from the federal treasury.

It is not surprising that this question of the extension of the federal powers should have been the most important topic discussed during the session of Congress just closed. It was a very vital and important question in connection with the exclusion of Japanese children from the schools of San Francisco, an exclusion insisted upon by the State of California, and combated on the ground that it was in contravention of the rights possessed by Japan under a treaty with the United States. The whole subject was made the text of earnest discussion, a compromise being finally agreed upon whereby the Japanese children were to be afforded an education at the expense of the State, but in separate institutions.

In this connection, it is interesting to state that the Californians secured an important concession in a law designed to restrict the importation of Japanese coolie labor. The wording of this law, however, marks a distinct advance in the delegation of power to the federal executive, for it declares that "when the President shall be satisfied that passports issued by any foreign government to its citizens to go to any country other than the United States, or to any insular possession of the United States, or to the Canal Zone, are being used for the

purpose of enabling the holders to come to the continental territory of the United States, to the detriment of labor conditions therein," the President may refuse to permit such citizens to enter this country.

This unique legislation was not adopted without a protest. In the opinion of Representative McCall, a republican member from Massachusetts, it was equivalent to placing in the hands of the President a discretion whereby he could at any time restrict immigration altogether; while Representative Williams, of Mississippi, the minority leader, opposed it because it shifted the entire responsibility from the legislative body of the nation and placed it upon the shoulders of the executive. The fact that the legislation was enacted shows how the largest delegation of power to the federal executive is now accepted as a matter of course.

The advocates of States' Rights in Congress took their stand upon a resolution offered by Senator Whyte, of Maryland, which read as follows:

1. *Resolved*, That the people of the several States, acting in their highest sovereign capacity as free and independent States, adopted the Federal Constitution and established a form of government in the nature of a confederated republic, and for the purpose of carrying into effect the objects for which it was formed delegated to that Government certain rights enumerated in said Constitution, but reserved to the States, respectively, or to the people thereof, all the residuary powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the States.

2. *Resolved Further*, That the extension of the Federal powers beyond those enumerated in the Constitution can only be rightfully accomplished in the manner provided by that instrument, and not by a strained construction of the Constitution, which shall obliterate all State rights and vest the coveted, but not granted, power where it will be exercised by the general Government.

It will be observed that in these resolutions Senator Whyte announces a proposition distinctly opposite to that enunciated by Chief Justice Marshall and by the eminent federalists who had preceded him; for Mr. Whyte's resolution declares that the Constitution was adopted by the people of the several States "acting in their highest sovereign capacity as free and independent States." This view was elaborated by him in an able address, the first part of his argument being devoted entirely to proving that the federal character of the United States was not in the minds of those who proposed the union of the colonies.

It would be interesting if space permitted to present in detail Senator Whyte's argument upon this subject. Suffice it to say that he endorsed the principle laid down by Madison, who explained that the words in the preamble of the Constitution, "We the people of the United States," referred not to the people as composing one great society, but the people composing thirteen sovereignties. Senator Whyte would not concede that the opposition to the federal usurpation, as he terms it, has abated

one jot or tittle from the intensity felt in the days of our fathers. He emphatically challenged Secretary Root's assertion that "we are urging forward in a development of business and social life, which tends more and more to the obliteration of State lines and the decrease of State power," and added that "no proposition is more hostile to the wishes of the great masses of the people than that of extension of the powers of the general Government and for consolidation or accumulation in the federal Government of the powers properly belonging to the States."

The question of federal control and States' Rights also came before Congress in connection with the bill of Senator Beveridge, of Indiana, to prohibit interstate commerce in the products of factories and mines where children under the age of fourteen years are employed. Mr. Beveridge argued for his bill on the ground that a widespread evil existed which should be remedied; and, inasmuch as the States could not, or would not, enact the necessary legislation, it was incumbent upon the federal Government to exercise its supreme authority. He asserted, as another reason for federal interference, that even where States had passed child-labor laws, they had failed properly to enforce them.

His views were, of course, combated by those who insisted that the regulation of child labor was entirely a State affair. Senator Overman, of North Carolina, for instance, pointed out that if the principle embodied in Mr. Beveridge's proposition were a sound one, Congress could regulate the ages of the laborers in the wheat fields of the Northwest, because a very large portion of the wheat grown and harvested is shipped out of the State and frequently into foreign countries. He asserted that several of the States had already enacted laws regulating child labor, and this, in his opinion, was the only method whereby such labor could be regulated. He admitted the existence of many evils, explaining that he would like to see uniformity in the divorce laws and in the insurance laws, but claimed that uniformity could be obtained without Congressional action and without usurpation of the reserved powers of the States.

"Where the evils exist," he said, "the States can and will correct them"; and with almost passionate eloquence he asserted that the integrity and autonomy of the States should be upheld, inasmuch as centralization would be a constant menace to the representatives of the people, breeding corruption and oppression. Then, after elaboration of the argument against the Constitutional power of Congress to enact the proposed legislation, he said:

And again, Mr. President, the law which will suit one State might not prove satisfactory to the people of another State, where conditions are entirely different, and the regulation should be left to each State, which knows its own conditions best. The power to pass such a law is exclusively in the State. The State never

surrendered to the general Government the power or its rights to legislate upon questions affecting the life and liberty of its citizens. It never surrendered its right to legislate upon the rights of person or property or upon questions affecting the good order of society, the public health, or upon any of its internal, industrial, or domestic concerns. It never surrendered its police power, and it never will. These rights they not only did not surrender, but the people have always jealously guarded them and reserved them. This was clearly understood when the Constitution was adopted, and to properly safeguard them was the reason for the adoption of the ten amendments.

There is basis for much felicitation in the fact that a similar view is expressed, but in even stronger terms, in the report of the House Committee on the Judiciary, upon the question whether Congress had any jurisdiction or authority over the subject of women and child labor. The report is emphatically in the negative. It declares that the question is not even debatable and says:—

The jurisdiction and authority over the subject of women and child labor certainly falls under the police power of the States, and not under the commercial power of Congress. The suggestion contained in the resolution shows how rapidly we are drifting in thought from our constitutional moorings. Undoubtedly it is the earnest wish of all who desire the prosperity of the nation that the proper line should always be drawn between the power of the States and the power of the nation. Certainly there is no warrant in the Constitution for the thought or suggestion that Congress can exercise jurisdiction and authority over the subject of women and child labor. If those performing such labor are abused, and conditions are such that the same should be improved, it rests for the States to act. The failure of the States to act will not justify unconstitutional action by Congress.

Unquestionably Congress has the power to investigate conditions, ascertain facts, and report upon any subject. In the opinion of your committee, there is no question as to the entire want of power on the part of Congress to exercise jurisdiction and authority over the subject of women and child labor.

The uncertainty which is thus shown to exist as to the constitutionality of measures designed to improve social conditions through federal control might be removed by the adoption of a new constitution. A proposition to this effect has emanated seriously from Representative DeArmond, of Missouri, whose suggestions deserve consideration because he is an able and conservative Democrat, whose judgment is respected and who is a candidate for the minority leadership in the next Congress. A convention to amend the Constitution can be called by Congress whenever application therefor shall be made by legislatures of two-thirds of the States.

As previously pointed out in THE FORUM, the legislatures of nearly two-thirds of the States have already petitioned for the assembling of a constitutional convention for the purpose of adopting a provision which shall result in the election of United States Senators by popular

vote. Mr. DeArmond, however, would not stop at this one subject, but would invite consideration of all the topics which, in the past, have been considered as proper amendments to the Constitution. The great fear hitherto has been that a constitutional convention, even if called to consider only one topic, might undertake to revolutionize the document and thus open the door to endless ills. Mr. DeArmond does not share this pessimistic view. "I believe there is enough of wisdom and patriotism and justice in the American people," he says, "enough pride in their past, interest in the present, and hope of the future, to protect us against any possible danger that the Constitution might be impaired by the adoption of an unwise amendment."

Even admitting that this view is correct, although it seems to be based more upon sentiment than upon reason, there is still to be considered the question whether, if the Constitution should be amended, the changes would be in the direction of according larger authority to the federal Government, or whether the rights of the States would be declared with greater latitude and clearness. In the consideration of this question, it will be instructive to glance at the efforts which have been made to secure amendments to the Constitution and, from the subjects which they include, to note the tendency of the popular mind.

Of the fifteen amendments to the Constitution, twelve were adopted in the formative period of the government, while the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth were forged in the heat of the reconstruction. The tenth amendment, which especially safeguards the rights of the States, was added in order to appease the element which regarded federal control with great jealousy. The failure to amend the Constitution to any greater extent has not been due to lack of suggestion. More than two thousand amendments have been proposed since the Constitution was ratified, some being unquestionably the product of only individual minds, while others indicated a general trend of popular sentiment.

It is significant to note the fact that not one of the amendments which had anything like popular support has suggested enlarging the reserved powers of the States. All of them have, in some form or other, indicated a desire for a greater degree of federalism. In addition to this, it is also noteworthy that nearly every proposition for this enlargement of federal power has been based upon an effort to secure a betterment of social conditions. This is especially true of recent years. Take for instance the amendment which would give Congress the power to adopt a uniform marriage and divorce law for the entire United States; the amendment authorizing Congress to establish uniform hours of labor in manufactures throughout the United States; and the amendment giving Congress the authority to regulate the traffic in intoxicating liquors.

It is most significant, however, that the amendment which has received the largest degree of popular support is one that strikes directly at the principle of States' rights and is, in other words, an expression of popular sovereignty as against State sovereignty. I refer to the endeavor to secure the election of United States Senators by popular vote. It is hardly necessary to recall the fact that the Senate was designed to be the representative body of the States, wherein each State should have equal representation and therefore equal authority and power. The Senators, it is provided, shall be elected by State Legislatures, an arrangement which, in the minds of the framers of the Constitution, was designed to secure freedom from the possibility of error in the expression of popular will during times of great excitement or clamor.

Nothing is more indicative of the growth of the federal spirit in this country, and the consequent diminution of interest in the sovereignty of the State, than the fact that nearly two-thirds of the State legislatures in the Union have, in response to popular demand, adopted resolutions asking for the calling of a convention to amend the Constitution so as to authorize the election of United States Senators by popular vote. This proposition, if adopted, would strike at one of the fundamental principles upon which this government is founded.

Now, as a matter of fact, there is no immediate danger of a constitutional convention, and no likelihood that any amendment will soon be adopted. The American people have shown themselves particularly averse to tinkering with their sacred charter. But, reasoning from analogy, and appreciating the federalistic trend of the public mind, it is a fair presumption, should a constitutional convention be held, that a document would be evolved which would be more federalistic than the one under which we are now governed. Federal control would be sought and probably obtained in almost innumerable directions. There certainly would be a clause providing for the levying of a federal income tax, while the question of controlling and restricting trusts would be placed beyond the question of unconstitutionality by a definite provision applying to this important subject. The distinctive character now enjoyed by the United States Senate as a body representing the States in their sovereign capacity would disappear; and we would have federal jurisdiction authorized over many subjects which now come solely within the province of the States.

It is barely possible that the tidal wave of federalism might frighten the people into a stricter construction of States' Rights. There is no evidence, however, upon which to base this assumption, nor is it logical to believe that the growth of the federal idea would receive a summary check after flourishing for two centuries and a half.

If we are not to amend the Constitution, and it be unconstitutional and dangerous for the federal authority to be exercised in opposition to the rights of the States, then we must look to the States for a remedy for the evils which admittedly exist. But, are the State legislatures inclined to afford the remedy, and have they the power to do so? It is happily true that since Secretary Root uttered his warning many of the governors, in their messages to their respective legislatures, have indicated that they were awake to the need of upholding the federal Government in certain well-defined directions, particularly in social and charitable reforms.

It is noticeable, also, that Governor Cummins, of Iowa, in his inaugural speech, stated his belief that the failure of the States to bring their legislation into harmony with existing conditions would lead to government usurpation of the States' functions. We find, therefore, that in New York, Massachusetts, and Missouri, the enactment of laws prohibiting the employment of child labor were expressly recommended, while the regulation of State municipal railway affairs is urged by the executives of Wisconsin, Nebraska, Illinois, Michigan, and Massachusetts. The governors of Oregon, Idaho, and Indiana are also among those who asked their legislatures to create new railroad commissions or to increase the powers of those already existing. Governor Pennypacker, of Pennsylvania, advocated uniform divorce laws to be adopted by the various States, a subject also taken up at length by the governors of New Jersey, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Delaware. Governor Woodruff, of Connecticut, urges a committee to report on a practical employers' liability act, a subject which has already engaged the attention of Congress.

The list of recommendations made by State governors, along the line of subjects suggested to Congress, as proper for federal control, might be almost indefinitely extended. We are still brought face to face, however, with the fact that there is a long and tedious road to travel before unity of legislation can be secured through the legislatures of forty-five States. What impresses me, as it unquestionably impresses the people of the United States, is that a result can be attained almost immediately and effectively by a single enactment by the Congress of the United States; and, realizing this, there is a prevalent feeling that in order to accomplish results it is perfectly justifiable to strain the federal Constitution to the utmost degree. In other words, if federal control is not accepted, the existence of evils, which even the advocates of States' Rights do not deny, may be continued indefinitely.

It is true that there is a difference of opinion on this point. Personally, the writer is and always has been an advocate of the exercise

of the largest degree of rights by the States as against federal control. At the same time, any observer of events and any student of the tendencies of the American people must be wilfully blind not to recognize the fact that the great mass of the people are becoming more and more federalistic in their spirit. We are living to-day in a civilization which is not only complex, but which has brought us face to face with conditions beyond the imagination of the men who framed the Constitution. The fact that Congress promptly responded to a demand for legislation to restrain conspiracy and monopolistic combinations in trade, when the constitutionality of such legislation was by no means determined, indicates its willingness to respond to a popular belief that nothing less than the strong arm of the federal Government, to quote again the words of Chief Justice Marshall, is able to cope successfully with great monopolistic corporations.

Mr. Bryan may be right when he declares that "no assault upon the authority or contraction of the sphere of the State can be justified on the ground that it is necessary for the overthrow of monopolies," and when he asserts that federal remedies should supplement State remedies and should not be substituted for State remedies; but the trouble will be to bring the people to the same point of view. They want action and results; and in the effort to improve social conditions and break down monopolies, they are not likely to split hairs over fine constitutional points concerning the reserved powers of the States.

The situation would seem to be more accurately presented by President Roosevelt, when he says:

I would rather have the State authorities work out such reforms when possible; but if the State authorities do not do as they should in matters of vital importance to the whole nation . . . then there will be no choice but for the national Government to interfere.

In the nature of things we cannot stand still. We must either progress or retrograde. It is no exaggeration to assert that, in the present condition of the public mind, there will be no retrogression if the backward step lands us in conditions out of which we have evolved ourselves. Who, for instance, would return to the old State banking institutions, with all their uncertainty and danger, which were taxed out of existence by federal enactments, and in the place of which there stands to-day the national banking system which places federal control over the financial operations of the entire country? Who for a moment would favor the effort to break up conspiracy in trade by such feeble enactments as State legislatures might place upon the statute books; and who would consider it possible to regulate the vast railroad interests of the country for the benefit of the people if such regulation were restricted to State authority?

Who will plead for the autonomy of the States if that autonomy is powerless to cope with national evils like the lottery and inadequate quarantine and impure food? Is there a single alleged usurpation of federal power which we, as a nation, would willingly overthrow? Who is willing to rely upon the indifference or incompetency of State legislatures or who believes that these legislatures will act promptly and with uniformity upon necessary measures?

These are the questions which present themselves to those who, like myself, would like to see a curb placed upon federal control, but which, unfortunately, the advocates of States' Rights somehow fail to answer. We must remember, too, that, in the days of Hamilton, federalism was founded on a distrust of the people, while to-day it is an expression of the people against conditions which they and the States are impotent to rectify. Then federalism was not democratic; to-day it is democratic, in the genuine sense of the word.

It is due, also, to the cosmopolitan character of the people. The millions who travel from one end of the land to the other pay no heed to State lines. They are apt, indeed, to regard with a sense of humor the conflict of State laws which makes it illegal at one moment to purchase intoxicating liquors, while a few miles further on the same action is not forbidden. The very protest against this incongruity is a manifestation of the federalistic spirit; and the fact that this spirit is so universally imbued in the popular mind makes the problem all the more difficult of solution.

It being evident that we are not to amend the Constitution or yield to the States any portion of the power obtained and exercised by the federal Government, we may naturally anticipate more laws in the future which, like those already enumerated, will strain the Constitution and will be contested in the Supreme Court of the United States. That body occupies a position in our political economy to-day as important as in the early period of our government. We must rely upon it to steer us safely between Scylla and Charybdis. It will undoubtedly follow the footsteps of Marshall and read into the Constitution much that is not specifically written therein, but which, let us hope, will still be in harmony with the spirit of that immortal document.

With the momentum of federalism which has been evolving for 250 years; with the object lessons which have been presented to the people in the shape of beneficent federal control; and with a popular belief that nothing less than the strong arm of the Government can successfully cope with the problems of our complex civilization, there will be more and more a tendency to obliterate State lines and emphasize the federal character of the Government. Upon the Supreme Court, therefore, a

tremendous responsibility rests; and even though that great tribunal has always enunciated the largest powers for the federal Government, we must rely upon it for proper conservation of the right of the States. Let us indulge the hope that this reliance will not be in vain.

There was little of general political interest in the session of Congress outside of the important question already fully discussed. What is known as the Brownsville incident — the summary discharge of three companies of colored soldiers by the President for alleged participation in a fatal riot — excited some discussion and led to an inquiry into the facts which is still in progress. Among the new enactments was a law to prohibit corporations from making money contributions in connection with political elections, and punishing a violation by a fine of \$5,000 or imprisonment. This legislation is the outcome of the revelations as to the amounts paid by corporations to political parties in the past, and will, no doubt, have some effect upon future campaigns.

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FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

To make or mend the House of Lords has long been the ambition of a certain school of British politicians. The advanced Liberal has regarded the upper chamber as an archaic institution entirely out of keeping with modern requirements and opposed to the best interests of the people, antagonistic to genuine democracy and tending to keep alive class distinctions and hereditary privileges. Ever since England became a genuine democracy, roughly speaking since the passage of Lord John Russell's first reform bill, which marked the beginning of authority centred in the people and deprived the aristocracy of their great power to control Parliament, there has always been an agitation in favor of depriving the hereditary legislators of their few remaining privileges and making the House of Lords a chamber merely to register the will of the Commons. This agitation always gains increased force after a Conservative government has been long in power and is succeeded by a Liberal ministry of advanced views. When in opposition, the Liberals countenance measures which they are not always prepared to enact when given power; but having made them issues, they are forced upon them when they are clothed with responsibility. In England, similar to the United States, men and parties play politics, the result being that Tories swallow a measure proposed by a Tory government; but let a Liberal government propose a similar measure and the Tories will resist it, partly on political grounds and partly because they believe it is an insidious attempt made by "republicans" to deprive them of the rights of their order.

Illustrative of this was the folly of the Irish members in opposing Mr. Wyndham's limited measure of home rule when he was Chief Secretary for Ireland in the last government. The Irish bill could have been put through Parliament at that time; and while it did not give Ireland all that she believed she was entitled to, it would have been at least a step, a long step, in the right direction. But the same measure now proposed by the Liberal government meets with strenuous opposition on the part of the Tories because they fear the Liberals will eventually go much further in the direction of complete home rule and the independence of Ireland than would have been countenanced by their own party. Irish independence, that is the government of Ireland by Irishmen in Dublin,

instead of the government of Ireland from Westminster, is, in my opinion, not a question demanding the immediate attention of practical politicians; but a change such as the Tories believe is foreshadowed, the control of Irish local affairs by Irishmen, must come.

To make or mend the House of Lords is a good and popular battle-cry. It is almost as popular now in England as a certain "sixteen to one" was in the United States a few years ago, and like that cry here it is an appeal to the masses and an incitement to their imagination to believe that many evils complained of can be cured by giving the "people" more power. The attack on the House of Lords is not at all dissimilar to the perpetual assaults made on the Senate in this country; and whenever the Senate does that which at the moment is unpopular, or does not do that which popular clamor demands, there arises immediately a cry that the Senate no longer represents the people, that it stands as a bar to progress, and that a fundamental change must be made in the method of its selection.

Between the power possessed by the Senate and that wielded by the House of Lords there is no comparison. The Senate not only has equal power with the House of Representatives in the control of taxation and national expenditure by being able to amend any taxing or appropriation bill passed by the House, but it also is able to exercise a check on the President by refusing to ratify his treaties or confirm his appointments. The Senate has rightly been termed the greatest legislative body in the world in the power it possesses. In no other country, in no other constitutional form of government, does any legislative body possess a tithe of the power of the American Senate. No other constitutional ruler can be so hampered by one branch of the legislature as the President of the United States can be by the Senate.

The House of Lords has no such power. In a constitutional government the great power of government is the control of the purse, the power to tax the people for the benefit of all the people and to determine how taxes thus raised shall be expended. Under the English constitution that is a power that resides solely in the House of Commons and with which the House of Lords may not in the least interfere. All bills raising revenue and bills expending the revenue thus raised, the so-called "money bills" of English writers, originate in the House of Commons and after having passed that body are sent to the Lords for their concurrence. The House of Lords may, if it sees fit, reject or amend money bills in the same way that it may reject or amend all other bills, as for instance it amended the educational bill of the last session and rejected Gladstone's home rule bill. But as a matter of fact, the Lords never reject a money bill, and if they should amend a bill of that character so as to make the amount to be raised by taxation or the sum to be expended

conform to their views in opposition to that of the Commons, it would be an unconstitutional act.

So jealous is the House of Commons of its great prerogative, the absolute control of the public purse, that when a bill originates in the Lords and to carry its provisions into effect an appropriation is necessary, or when a bill passed by the Commons is amended by the Lords and the amendment requires an appropriation different from that provided for by the House, or an additional grant, the financial provision inserted by the Lords is written in the bill in red ink to signify to the Commons that it is not a part of the bill but is merely a suggestion; and the House of Commons then deals with the financial features of the bill precisely as if it had originated them and without feeling in any way that the Lords have inserted a proviso which is mandatory on it or which it cannot reject or modify without imperilling the measure. It will be seen from this how feeble the power of the House of Lords is compared with the dominating influence of the Senate in all legislation. Of course, it need hardly be added, the House of Lords has no power of confirmation. Nominally all appointments are made by the sovereign, actually they are made by the Prime Minister.

Although the functions of the House of Lords are limited, it still possesses certain important powers that make it a force to be reckoned with in legislation. So far as finance is concerned it is non-existent, but in all other legislation it has coördinate authority with that of the Commons. In England, as in America, a bill is passed by one house and goes to the other, and, generally speaking, all important measures, that is measures to which the government of the day stands committed, originate in the House of Commons and then go to the Lords for their approval. If, as frequently happens, as is the case to-day, the majority of the House of Commons is of an opposing political party to that of the Lords, and the Lords consider that motives of patriotism or policy shall require their rejection of a measure, they can throw it out or they can amend it so as to rob it of all vitality.

In case of a disagreement between the House and the Senate in Washington, an attempt is made to reconcile differences by compromise; and as both houses have equal legislative powers and the whole business of the session is more or less contentious between the two houses, it follows as a matter of course that differences are always compromised, and not for years has there been a serious deadlock. In the British parliamentary system there is no such a thing as a conference committee. If the House of Commons has passed a bill and the House of Lords has rejected it, or if it has been so amended as to make it impossible for the Commons to accept it, the government may again pass the bill in its original form,

and send it back to the Lords, who may for the second time reject it. In that case the government, using that word in the English sense and meaning by it the Cabinet and not the King, may let the bill drop for the time being, or may, if it feels sure of its position, dissolve Parliament and appeal to the country. If its appeal is sustained, if the government is returned to power with a substantial majority and again passes the bill, it is more than probable that the Lords would cease their resistance and accept the measure, as they would feel bound to comply with the popular mandate.

There is nothing in the unwritten constitution of Great Britain to prevent the Lords from continuing to remain contumacious and again rejecting the bill and forcing the government to retreat or to another dissolution. That, however, would come very close to the fine dividing line of parliamentary revolution. Should a serious attempt be made to abolish the House of Lords, as some of the radical supporters of the present government have insisted must be done, or should any plan be devised to rob the Lords of their legislative veto, the Lords for self-protection might go just as far along the line of resistance as they would consider safe or politic. But that need not be feared at the present time. Agitation, of course, there will be, discussion will go on, threats against the House of Lords will be made, but the upper chamber is not in danger of being extinguished.

In a speech recently made by the Attorney-General, he went further than any of the responsible ministers of the crown have yet gone. He said that before the reforms advocated by the government could be carried into effect, it might be necessary that there should be "two or three dissolutions"; but the danger to every government is that after every dissolution it is weaker than it was before, and that dribbling away of the majority in the Commons is justification for the Lords to say that the country does not approve of the government's policy. Should that party after a dissolution come back to the Commons with an increased majority, it might very well give the Lords pause for thought and make them doubt the expediency of continuing to thwart popular will. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman was swept into office less than two years ago with a majority so phenomenal that it would be simply the marvellous in politics if that majority should not be measurably decreased if he appealed for a vindication. This the Tories know, and that is one reason why they feel safe in opposing the government and defying it to adopt the constitutional method to overcome opposition.

The great bill of last session was the educational bill, which the Lords amended so as to make it impossible for the Commons to accept. That

bill has not been withdrawn but has been temporarily shelved until the Prime Minister shall determine the best course to pursue. In the mean time another bill equally as important will be as fiercely contested, and on its fate may hinge the tenure of the present government. The King's speech, which is always written by the Cabinet and is the official legislative programme for the session, referred to the proposals to be brought forward by the government in regard to Irish legislation in these words:

Your attention will be called to measure for further associating the people of Ireland with the management of their domestic affairs, and for otherwise improving the system of government in its administrative and financial aspects. Proposals will also be submitted for effecting a reform of University education in Ireland, whereby I trust that the difficulties which have so long retarded the development of higher education in that country may be removed.

In the course of the debate on "the address in reply to the gracious speech from the throne," the Prime Minister said:

Are you prepared to deny that the Irish people are entitled to manage their own domestic affairs so long as they do not interfere with ours, and so long as nothing is done to infringe the supremacy of Parliament, and, therefore, the integrity of the connection between the two countries? It does not make any difference whatever in the proper sense of the word in the solidity of the Empire that the Irish people should have what every self-government Colony has — the power to manage their own affairs. That is the larger policy that I am supporting, but we cannot all at once admit that demand to be feasible, and I should not desire to do it all at once. But let us remove the more obvious objections to the present system, and let us do it in such a way to be consistent with the production of that large policy. I do not think I need say anything more; there is no ambiguity whatever about it. It would be quite impossible to reform the administration of Dublin Castle by sending over one or two dozen administrators, and I do not think you can find abler men than there are in Dublin Castle. Besides that would be concentration of administration, and what we want is to enlist the Irish people, and for my part I should not be too fastidious as to the particular manner in which that was done so long as it was an effective scheme for bringing the Irish people into play in the management of their own affairs.

The details of the government's scheme have not yet been made public.

When last December the Kaiser dissolved the Reichstag because it had rejected the supplementary credits for the South African War, a great many people believed that the Kaiser was riding his chancellor Prince von Bülow to a fall, and that the result of the election would be a larger and even more hostile majority to the government, in the Reichstag. The Centre, the Catholic group in the Reichstag, numerically the most important body, had deserted the government and it was

believed that the election would send back the Centre stronger than ever and also increase the strength of the Socialists. The result has been a complete surprise not only to Germany but to all the rest of the world.

Instead of having increased their strength, the Socialists have lost heavily, and this is all the more remarkable because everything seemingly favored the cause of Socialism. The high price of meat amounting almost to a famine, a well-defined reaction against imperialism, the scandals that made a change in the head of the colonial office necessary, the expensive and profitless war in southwest Africa, the general unrest prevailing among Germany's near neighbors, Austria, Hungary, and Russia, and a growing feeling among a great many Germans that the autocratic power of the Kaiser should be curbed and the people should exercise greater power — all these things made the Socialists believe they would poll an increased vote. But instead of having increased their strength they lost heavily, and for the first time since the Socialist party became a power in German politics Socialism has received a severe check.

Various explanations are offered. The election proved that in Germany as in the United States there is a reserve vote, what the Germans call the "arm-chair" vote, that is brought to the polls only on rare occasions. That vote in Germany, as in the United States, is normally anti-Socialistic; it is the vote of the upper middle and property classes, who take the trouble to go to the ballot box only when they fear their interests are threatened. It was much the same vote that saved Mr. McKinley in 1896 and contributed so much to Mr. Roosevelt's phenomenal majority three years ago. In Germany last January this class undoubtedly believed that a further Socialist triumph would be a menace to the welfare and prosperity of Germany, and casting off its accustomed inertia gave a severe blow to Socialism.

Socialism in Germany during the past twenty years has lived through many phases. It began distinctly as a war of classes, and its leaders preached war as the necessary prelude to the revolution which was to sweep away kings and aristocrats and bring about that social utopia which was the dream of Marx and Engels and the other fanatical visionaries who believed in the purification of the sword. Bismarck regarded them as traitors to the state and persecuted them relentlessly. The Socialists at that time waged almost open warfare against the constituted authorities; and as the blood of martyrs is the seed of the church, so Bismarck's persecution had the sole effect of solidifying the Socialists and making them hold aloof from contact or alliance with other parliamentary groups. Gradually they saw the folly of these tactics. They now have become parliamentarians and are willing to form alliances for the time being if by combination they can harass the government or

advance those reforms which they believe to be essential. Believing at first that Socialism was merely a passing whim of the moment and could have neither substance nor vitality, the German government, that is the Kaiser and his advisers, refused to pay the least heed to those demands for legislation which was the *raison d'être* of the socialistic party; but a more enlightened policy of recent years has brought the Kaiser to realize that some of the things at least which socialism demanded were in themselves good and for the benefit of the state.

In some directions Germany has enacted more advanced social legislation than any other country in the world. The mere thought of compulsory life insurance and old-age pensions is terrifying to the American mind, and even in England, which is far ahead of the United States in social legislation, its legislators have not yet gone as far as has Germany. These and similar measures, of course, are merely the fringe on the garment of socialism, but they have deprived Socialists of some of their political ammunition and made the conservative Socialists see that there is after all some virtue in organized government. Furthermore, they have resulted in toning down socialism and making it more practical and less utopian. In German politics there is a Radical party entirely distinct from the Socialists. In England, until the last election, there was a small Radical party; but since the success of labor at the polls, the English workingman, similar to the German, has shown a disposition to become either a Socialist or a Radical. Some of the advanced labor leaders openly avow themselves to be Socialists and assert that Socialism is the only remedy to correct class abuses. In the United States the Socialist party, if such a party really exists, has been too insignificant a factor to exercise any influence on politics, and a Radical party is too nebulous for any one to segregate it from the two great parties of which it is merely a division. But in Germany there is a Radical party which will have nearly fifty members in the next Reichstag, and will slightly outnumber the Socialists.

It is not improbable that there will be, if not a merging of the two parties, at least a better understanding between them, and that the Socialists, instead of being a revolutionary party, will join the Radicals in becoming a party of constitutional republicanism. This must not be interpreted as meaning that the writer has any belief that there is a place in German polities for a Republican party as the expression is understood in this country; but rather the idea is sought to be conveyed that an effort will be made to give Germany a more truly representative government, and that eventually Germany will witness a bloodless political revolution by which in Germany as in England the real power of the government will be transferred from the King to the people.

One thing is certain, and that is, for the present at least, the Emperor is more strongly entrenched than ever. August Bebel, the great leader of the Social Democrats, may carry on his campaign for a responsible government and agitate for a government that is responsible to the Reichstag and not to the Emperor personally; but that time has not yet come when the government of Germany will cease to be the Kaiser, and it makes little difference whether Bülow or another is the titular chancellor. The nominal issue on which the Kaiser went to the country was whether money should be voted to carry on the war in Africa, and judging by the result the country approves the government's military policy. At least that is the interpretation the Kaiser and his chancellor put on the result, and which they are justified in doing. After the ballot had shown a government victory, Prince Bülow made a speech in which he quoted Bismarck's words, that if the German people got into the saddle they would know how to ride; and he added that the German people were now firmly in the saddle and would ride down everything that came in the way of their welfare and greatness, a challenge to the Socialists and Radicals that they have not failed to notice. The Emperor, in addressing the people assembled before the palace on the night of election, said:

I thank you, gentlemen, with my whole heart, for the demonstration of loyalty which you have accorded me to-day. It springs from the consciousness that you have done your duty to your Fatherland, and the words which the Imperial Chancellor spoke to you are true: "Germany can ride if she will." (Loud cheers) I am most firmly convinced that if, as in the past, all classes, high and low, and all creeds — (renewed cheering) — stand united together, we shall not only ride, but shall ride down all that stands in our way. (Prolonged cheers.) I will now conclude with the words of the great poet Kleist in "Der Prinz von Homburg," when Kottwitz opposes the great Elector: "What concern of ours is the policy by which the enemy is guided? If only he falls before us with all his flags, the policy that beats him is the supreme policy." We have now learned the art of vanquishing him, and are full of eagerness still to exercise it. Therefore this must be not merely a momentary and transient patriotic impulse, but a firmly rooted determination still further to persist in this course.

The Emperor's success has naturally excited apprehension both in France and in England. In both countries the belief prevails that the future policy of Germany will be more imperialistic than ever, and feeling that the country has sustained his policy and that he has nothing to fear from the Reichstag, the Kaiser will pursue a policy of aggression and endeavor in every way to spoil the plans of England and France. In the eyes of his neighbors William II has always been a ruler dangerous to the peace of the world and endeavoring always to foment discord. To a certain extent perhaps this is true, when it is necessary for him to forward his own ambitions, but although he has been twenty years on the throne

of Germany he has not yet broken the peace of Europe. Probably he will continue to remain at peace although the fear of the rest of the world.

The Czar dissolved the first Duma because it was too radical and too little disposed to be subservient to the crown, and hoping that the second parliament of Russia would take warning from the fate that overcame the first, it would prove a more pliant instrument in the hands of the autocracy. Nicholas II has shown before this that he is incapable of understanding the temper of his people or heeding the voice of wisdom. Despite the terrorism exercised by the government and the illegal methods employed to prevent the people from exercising their free choice, the second Duma is even more radical than the first and contains a larger opposition majority. The Czar has gained nothing from having nullified his own constitution. Instead of having secured a majority more favorable to the present *régime*, there is a majority more determined than ever to destroy bureaucracy and centre real power in the hands of the national representatives. It is more than probable that the new Duma will share the fate of its predecessor and be crushed out of existence the moment it shows its purpose to represent the people and make the throne responsible to the people. That, however, will not end the irrepressible conflict now waging in Russia; that conflict must go on until either the Czar recognizes the right of the people to govern themselves or the Romanoff dynasty is overthrown. There can be no middle ground.

The Radicals and Socialists control the Duma, having wrested supremacy from the Constitutional Democrats, the so-called "Kadets," who derive their name from the initials "K. D." of their party, and who in the last Duma were in a majority, and exercised a restraining influence. In the present parliament the Radicals will have a majority over all, with the Constitutional Democrats holding the next strongest position. To a certain extent, but to a certain extent only, they may be regarded as the supporters of the government and will perhaps try to sustain the government so as to maintain the existence of the Duma; but it is not at all improbable that if the Czar should again attempt the policy of repression and by the well-known Russian methods endeavor to stifle free expression in the Duma, the Kadets will join hands with the Radicals and deprive the government of even the semblance of parliamentary support.

The Russian people have shown themselves apt political pupils. When the first Duma met, a majority of the deputies belonged to no recognized political party and became party men only after their election and when they had taken their seats in the Duma. Now practically every deputy has been elected as an adherent of a recognized political party

and the political affiliations of men are no longer open to question. It is also to be noted that the present Duma is intellectually of a higher order than that which preceded it. In the first parliament many men were sent to St. Petersburg who were deficient in mental requirements and whose intellectual poverty gave little hope of constructive statesmanship. Many of the deputies now elected, especially the members of the Left, are men of limited education whose lives have been spent on farms remote from the sharpening influence of cities; but, as a whole, the average is certainly higher than it was a year ago, and the intelligent manner in which the deputies have been selected and the people have voted notwithstanding the illegal methods resorted to by the government to prevent a free ballot speaks well for the future of parliamentary government in Russia. It was a stock argument of the Russian autocracy that the Russian people were unfitted for parliamentary government and that the experiment would prove a colossal failure. So far the experiment has been justified. It has, of course, been too limited for any one to pronounce it a success, but within its narrow scope it has vindicated itself and gives promise of even better things in the future if the people shall be allowed to exercise their power untrammeled by the autocracy.

Count Witte is again being discussed as the coming man of the empire. It is characteristic of Russia that, absolutely poverty-stricken in great men, without a statesman worthy of the name, with one exception, that one exception, at the time when his services were most needed, was driven out of office and practically forced into exile. Detested and feared by the autocracy because he had the perspicacity to see that only in liberal reforms lay the future of Russia and the safety of her reigning house, and suspected by the Liberals because he countenanced moderation and opposed force, Count Witte's position became untenable and he gave way to Stolypin as Premier. Stolypin has done nothing to lift him above the ruck, and the suggestion has now been seriously made that once again the Czar should place Count Witte at the head of affairs. The Czar's entourage will do everything in its power to prevent this, and Nicholas, as usual, will back and fill and temporize before he reaches a decision; but Stolypin will face a hostile Duma, and if the Czar really means to bring about a working arrangement between the Duma representing the people and the ministers representing the crown, he must find somebody more acceptable to the people than Stolypin and his colleagues.

Even Witte, great as are his power and ability, may not be able to bridge a gap so wide as that; but certainly Stolypin cannot, and if Witte should again attempt the task and fail then the effort is wellnigh hopeless. Of course, the arrangement by which the Czar hopes to retain power

and by a subterfuge pretend to give it to the people is unworkable. A ministry solely responsible to the crown and in no way responsible to parliament is merely a burlesque on representative government. There can be no peace between the Russian people and the Russian sovereign until the Russian ministers are subject to the will of the Duma, or if not that, at least the power of the purse, the control over taxation and expenditures, must be a power vested in the parliament.

But the Czar shows no disposition to give to the people this power, rather the reverse. Last January the Czar constituted himself the President of the Council of Imperial Defence and terminated the separate existence of both the ministers of war and of marine. By this simple device the entire military system of the empire is removed from the scope of the Duma's authority and thus precludes the Duma from raising any questions touching the military or naval defences of the country or the internal administration of the army. The power of the army is the power that holds Nicholas on his throne. Before the army civil authority is impotent. In all parts of Russia men and women are tried by summary courts martial and sentenced for long terms of imprisonment; from the decisions of these courts there is no appeal and a sentence has merely to receive the approval of the district commander to be carried into effect. By thus bringing into his own hands the absolute control of the army, the Czar has again shown how little trust he places in his people and the cynical disbelief he has in political reforms. So long as the army is subject to no will except the unrestrained will of the Czar, the Duma will possess no real power in governing Russia.

If anything was needed to prove that the Russian army should be taken out of the hands of the autocracy and put into those of the people, the publication of General Kuropatkin's history of the war with Japan would remove the last remaining doubt. It is a ghastly recital of inefficiency, incompetency, and corruption. Much of the blame for the defeat the commander-in-chief puts upon his chief lieutenants, and they, doubtless, if they are forced to defend themselves, will shift the responsibility on the shoulders of their subordinates. But the fault rests with neither one man nor any group of men; it is the fault of a vicious system. The army was unprepared and officers were ignorant of their profession, the organization was bad, and this was only what might have been expected because the army for years had been the plaything of Grand Dukes and other men of influence who refused to take life seriously; it was the prey of thieving contractors and their associates in high places, some of them in grand-ducal palaces, who used the army as a cover to rob the people.

No wonder that the people, through their representatives in the

Duma, have become convinced that the control of the army must be passed over to them if it is to be reorganized and made really a means of defence. Stern and humiliating as was the lesson that Japan taught Russia on the plains of Manchuria, it is to be doubted if that lesson has left the slightest impression upon the men who were responsible for Russian defeats, and who with a light heart sent thousands of Russians to their death while they added to their ill-gained fortunes.

France remains unshaken. For a moment toward the end of February the Clémenceau cabinet approached perilously close to shoal water and was in danger of shipwreck on the rocks of Socialism. The Socialists were bent on having the government display the utmost harshness in dealing with the Vatican and bringing the rebellious clergy to terms.

Had Clémenceau yielded there would have been almost open war between the Catholics and the supporters of the government, which is the very thing Clémenceau has been anxious to avoid and has avoided with consummate tact; displaying firmness where firmness was necessary, but manifesting no petty spirit of persecution.

On a question being put in the chamber of deputies as to the contracts to be entered into between the government and the bishops for the leasing of churches, M. Briand, the Minister of Public Worship and Education, explained that the government had no intention of persecuting the church or not to recognize the right of the Catholics to worship; that it was the determination of the government to keep the Catholic churches for the use of the Catholics and no one else. The rights of the Catholics would be safeguarded as would also the rights of the state, and contracts would be entered into permitting the use of the churches under proper legal restrictions. In a word, a *modus vivendi* had been reached between church and state which removed all danger of conflict. He pointedly rebuked the extreme Left for its intolerance, and by a majority of 370 the chamber approved the policy of the government and voted confidence in the cabinet.

M. Briand, not only by his speech, but also by the tact he has displayed, is the man of the hour in France. The French perhaps more than any other people are peculiarly susceptible to the influence of oratory, and M. Briand's magnetism, his restraint, and his evident desire to promote concord all had their effect. He stands to-day an impressive figure in French politics. He has for the moment at least cast his chief in the shade, and if Clémenceau should be unhorsed, Briand would no doubt be put in the saddle. The student of French politics will do well to watch the Minister of Education.

The Pope declares that the present French government is atheistic

and that it wages war not only against the Catholic Church but against all religion. The Pope looks upon Clémenceau and his colleagues as men to whom the spiritual is abhorrent, who would, if they had their way, deprive men not only of the right to be Catholics, but also to be Christians, who would destroy the living God and substitute the four winds of heaven. The clerical press sustains the sovereign head of the church. Into the mouths of ministers are put expressions showing their contempt for religion and the hope that the day is coming when the "Christian idea" will be thrown into the lumber-room with other relics of a worn-out past. These men, according to one clerical newspaper, have outraged humanity "by spitting in the face of Jesus Christ" and making a mockery of his works.

Yet the facts hardly sustain an indictment so grave, and it would be difficult to convince any unprejudiced person that the men who brought forward the separation law and who are now entrusted with its execution are animated by feelings of hostility toward the church, or that they are irreligious, or that they would like to destroy all religion. In the course of a speech delivered by M. Clémenceau, he said:

It is the union of church and state that we have striven to abolish. But while it has taken time and incessant effort to alter the state of the law, it has proved an infinitely greater labor to change the state of minds. The proclamation, the realization of the principle of liberty of conscience, implies a new state of mind. Dogma, from its very nature, aims at possessing the mind of man entirely, dominating it, ruling it in every aspect of life. The daily practice of liberty, implied in a system of separation of church and state, calls for a spirit of tolerance from which dogma has striven for centuries to turn the mind of man. We cannot, therefore, be surprised if we fail to find in our opponents such a transformation of mind as will be brought about in them, beyond a doubt, by the beneficent system of freedom of conscience.

In these words surely there can be found no evidence of irreligion, of intolerance, of a desire to deprive men of the consolation of religion or the right to worship their God in their own way. What the "atheists" of the Third Republic have endeavored to do is to liberate France from the slavery of superstition and the dangers of a political priesthood. They have taken the United States as their example. America has no religion, but all religions; she acknowledges no God, but recognizes the God of all. In the United States the influence of the church over the state has been the influence of precept and example, not as in France, the exercise of the influence of the church over things temporal.

Every well-wisher of France as well as every person who has respect for the Catholic Church has rejoiced in the divorce of religion and politics, believing that it is for the welfare of France no less than that of the church. In the United States, the Catholic Church, similar to every

other church, suffers no persecution; it shows no sign of decay; it needs not to indulge in political intrigue to retain its hold over its congregation; it appeals to conscience. In France the same conditions are approaching.

Nothing is more difficult than "to change the state of minds," as M. Clémenceau phrases it; nothing is more difficult than to tear down a conventional fallacy and substitute for it pure reason. To ask a majority of the people of France — a majority of that majority being people of little intelligence and limited education — to look upon the church in a way differing from that to which they have always been accustomed, to force upon them "the realization of the principle of liberty of conscience," is as if one were to say to little children they must no longer go to their mother for love and comfort and help. To the great mass of the French people the church has been mother as well as bride; in the church they have found their consolation in their hour of sorrow, their exaltation in their hour of triumph; the church has been inseparably interwoven in their lives, to an extent that no American who has not lived in a Catholic country can really comprehend; to them it never seemed possible that the church was a thing separate and apart from the things of this world. It comes as a shock to them to be told that the church has certain functions, but it has no function to interfere in the political or social affairs of individuals. It will take time to adjust the French mind to the new point of view; but gradually the focus is being enlarged, and with the enlargement is coming a clarity of vision that makes men understand that real religion is the religion of conscience and not the "God of the syllabus."

It is typical of the spirit of the age and of the universal desire of the civilized world for the largest expression of freedom of conscience that a resolution should have been adopted by the House of Commons, by a majority of one hundred votes, in favor of the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of England in England and in Wales. The adoption of this resolution by such a large majority does not mean that the state church will cease to exist in England or in Wales, but it is significant of the trend of the times. It is to be noted that this is the first time the House of Commons has adopted such a resolution. In 1871 a similar resolution was brought forward in the House and was rejected by a large majority. In supporting the present resolution, Mr. Augustine Birrell, Mr. Bryce's successor as Chief Secretary for Ireland, made this momentous déclaration:

I fail to see how continuing an established church can be justified. The church has done the state no good, and the state has done the church nothing but harm. Personally, I believe that disestablishment, far from harming the church as a spirit-

ual body, would restore it to a position of spiritual authority throughout the land. The Government's hands, however, are already too full to assume any responsibility in the matter.

Conservatism is too deeply rooted in the House of Lords for any consideration to be given to the resolution adopted by the House of Commons at the present time, but it perhaps marks in England the beginning of an agitation in favor of the separation of church and state that ultimately will result in complete separation. In England the Protestant Church has exercised no such interference in politics as the Church of Rome has in France, and yet in England the feeling has been growing that it is unjust to those people who do not subscribe to the doctrine of the Church of England that that church alone should be supported by the state and not, as other churches are, by the voluntary contributions of their congregations. The Church of England is the established religion, and the sovereign is not only the head of the state, but the head of the church, and archbishops and bishops owe their appointment to the sovereign's grace. England has long ceased to be agitated by religious controversies, although one reason for the passage of the educational bill was the desire on the part of the Nonconformists, that is, the people who are not members of the Church of England, to secularize the public schools, and a desire equally as great on the part of the members of the Church of England to retain their control over the schools and make religious training part of the educational system. The Nonconformists pertinently say that denominational religious teaching has no proper place in a system of state-aided education, and that the place for religious instruction is either in the home or in churches, or in other places supported by the members of the faith whose creed is taught.

Although the mass of French people are undoubtedly in favor of the maintenance of the *entente* with England and believe that their safety lies in regarding Germany as always to be looked upon as a possible foe, and of taking measures of safety accordingly, a certain number of persons and a not unimportant section of the press in France take the stand that a *rapprochement* with Germany offers greater security to France than the rather frail support of leaning on England for protection against her neighbor across the Rhine. The advocates of a Franco-German *entente* base it solely on the frank admission that France alone is militarily so much weaker than Germany that to save herself from destruction she must rely on the military strength of her allies, and the only allies to whom France could turn in the hour of extremity are Russia and England. But Russia is no longer regarded as a military power of the

first class, and serious-minded Frenchmen do not believe that the assistance Russia could render, even if she were disposed to do so, against Germany, which is at least doubtful, would be of much value. England, it is admitted, could send a hundred thousand troops to the aid of France within a week after the declaration of hostilities; but even that help would be trivial compared with the overwhelming force that Germany could call into being within twenty-four hours after the call to arms had sounded.

On both sides of the Rhine, in Berlin no less than Paris, military men believe that if Germany should for a second time invade France, the issue would be decided in the first two or three decisive battles, and it is believed those battles would be fought in the first week of hostilities. It would, of course, take the victorious German army many weeks before it again thundered at the gates of Paris, but by that time France would be brought to her knees. Her resistance could be prolonged, but she could not prevent the inevitable surrender, and she would be forced to accept any terms that Germany might impose.

The opposite view is advanced, however, by M. Alfred Naquet, a former senator of France, in a recent article in the "Fortnightly Review." Even if France should be victorious by an alliance with Germany, M. Naquet thinks, the ultimate effect on France would be as disastrous as defeat. His reason for so believing he thus explains:

The English alliance is our best guarantee against war, if a general disarmament, which I should prefer, but to which France possibly might not assent, be impossible. The *entente* with England is not only the best guarantee against war itself, but in case of war it protects us against the worst consequences of war, and must assure us of the possibility of continuing without a break the economic, political, and social evolution of our country. I maintain, however, that, if England has a strong motive to uphold the *entente cordiale*, France has a still greater. Defeated at sea, temporarily invaded, England might be ruined, but nevertheless she would retain her national existence, and her internal liberty would suffer no restriction. France, on the other hand, bound to Germany, would be ruined by victory as completely as by defeat; her liberty would be a step away, her independence compromised.

For England it might possibly be more advantageous to be victorious with Germany than defeated with France as her ally. For France, I believe, in the event of a Continental *entente*, it would be better for her to be defeated by England than to conquer with her allies — so fraught with future dangers would such victory be.

Muzaffar-ed-Din, the Shah of Persia, died last January and was succeeded by his son Mohamed Ali Mirza, the Valihad or Crown Prince. In the early years of his accession to the throne, the late Shah was almost under the complete domination of Russia, which was constantly engaged in thwarting the influence of England at Teheran, and by the lavish use of money and other means the prestige of England steadily

declined. For years Russia attempted to obtain a port on the Persian Gulf, and all the diplomacy of England was directed to prevent Russia from gaining her end. Of recent years England has regained her ascendancy, and since the Japanese War, which pricked the bubble of the invincibility of Russia's military strength, England has no longer feared Russian intrigue.

In August, 1906, the Shah startled the civilized world by the announcement that he intended to grant a constitution to his people and create a national assembly. This was the outgrowth of a determined agitation for reform that had been carried on for some time. In Persia, the mullahs or clergy, who, besides their religious functions are charged with the administration of justice, constitute a caste by themselves and are possessed of great influence. The demand of the mullahs for reforms not being granted by the Shah, their chiefs, as a protest, left the capital in a body, while their adherents, fearing the government would resort to drastic measures to quiet the agitation, took refuge in the grounds of the British Legation.

The right of sanctuary is a sacred institution in Persia and cannot be refused. When at first the Persians sat themselves down on the grounds of the British Legation, the British Minister merely regarded it as incidental to the day's work in Persia; but day after day the number of refugees increased until at last there were no less than 16,000 Persians in security under the protection afforded by the British flag. The situation was unparalleled and required exceedingly delicate handling on the part of the British authorities to prevent serious trouble with the Persian government. The refugees who camped in the grounds of the British Legation were orderly and had simply gone on strike so as to bring the Shah to terms. When the bazaars were closed and business was practically at a standstill, the Shah, like an American manufacturer who finds his factory closed down because his men have gone on strike and their places cannot be filled, deemed it the part of wisdom to make terms with the strikers. After the strike had lasted for three weeks, the Shah agreed to an elective national assembly, and promised to institute certain reforms in the administration of the country. Then the priests returned to the capital and the strikers quietly left the British Legation and returned to their ordinary avocations.

The new Shah is said to be a much more enlightened and progressive man than his father, and to possess a keener knowledge and appreciation of European civilizations and institutions, although it is only proper to say that some authorities have represented Mohamed Ali Mirza as a reactionary, and that instead of being in favor of the constitution and

the parliament that his father granted to his people, he would like to see both abolished and the old *régime* of absolutism restored by which the word of the Shah is the word of the law and there is no one to question either its justice or its execution. But even if he should attempt to overturn the new order of things, it is doubtful if he would succeed.

The Persian people look to their new parliament to protect them from the despotic system under which they have so long suffered; and, having come to understand the power which the parliament will give them, it is not likely they will surrender it without a determined resistance. The desire for liberty and the means of obtaining it through the exercise of constitutional government cannot be eradicated. That desire is the history of the world, and marks the ever advancing tide of civilization. We have seen it in Europe, we have seen it in America, we are to-day watching it in Russia, and from Russia we now turn to Persia. The twentieth century is the age of popular government.

It is almost like fiction to read that General Botha, one of the most distinguished of the Boer commanders in the South African war, is to be the first prime minister of the responsible government of the Transvaal. Only a short time ago England was bending all her energies to subdue the Boers led by Botha and his colleagues: to-day Botha is a minister of a self-governing colony, the same colony that was formerly the republic Botha fought for. In all history there is perhaps no parallel to this.

The constitution granted to the Transvaal by the present Liberal government provides for a bicameral legislature, consisting of a legislative council of fifteen members who shall hold office for five years, and a legislative assembly of sixty-nine members. The members of the first council are appointed by the governor, who is the nominee of the crown, and the members of the assembly are elected. All white males, who have attained their majority, who have resided in the Transvaal for six months, and who are not members of the British military garrison are entitled to the suffrage. It shall be lawful at any time after four years from the date of the first meeting of the council for the legislature to pass a law providing for the election of the members of the council, whereupon the council shall be dissolved and its members thereafter shall be elected in accordance with the provisions of the law. A certain veto power is exercised by the governor acting as the representative of the crown; but in effect the legislature is the government of the Transvaal, and the new constitution, patterned to some extent after the British constitution, provides for a ministry. But in one

respect at least it is more liberal. In England a minister may sit and speak only in that house of which he is a member; but in the Transvaal the constitution permits a minister to sit and speak in both houses, but he may vote only in the house of which he is a member.

The election of members for the first assembly resulted in a victory for the Boers, their party, the Hetvolk, capturing thirty-seven of the sixty-nine seats; and, as they can depend on the coöperation of the Nationalists and Labor members, Hetvolk will have a majority in the Assembly of twenty-two, their opponents being the Progressives, the British party. The English claim that they are in a majority in the colony but that the distribution of the seats has given an advantage to their opponents.

The Boers are now given an opportunity to show that they have accepted the situation and that the British flag means as much to them as it does to Britons. So long as there is an upper house appointed by the British government, no law can be passed that will discriminate against the British or other "Outlanders," and the legislative council will remain as a safeguard until the last vestige of apprehension has ceased to exist. The time when even the nominal exercise of control by the British government shall end rests entirely with the Boers themselves. The theory on which the present British cabinet has proceeded in granting a constitution to the Transvaal is that the Boers have loyally accepted the fortunes of war, and see that their best interests lie in forgetting the bitterness of the past and working with the British for the development and progress of the colony and its people. That the Boers do realize this is made manifest from the remarkable election appeal issued by Hetvolk, which among other things says:

The fundamental object of Hetvolk is a policy of reconciliation, the avoidance of causes of distrust and division, the prevention of the ascendancy of one white race over the other, and the union of all white inhabitants of the State into a great South-African nation, contented, prosperous, and united, regarding South Africa with patriotism and pride as its home, and working with united forces for its future greatness and glory.

Hetvolk recognizes that the guardianship by a white community over the aboriginal population imposes solemn duties and responsibilities on the whites, and Hetvolk aims at the discharge of those duties and responsibilities in a spirit of justice, wisdom, and humanity, so that embitterment between white and colored may be prevented, and all may coöperate for the welfare of South Africa.

A magnificent appeal this to patriotism, a fitting response to the generosity of England to her former foe but now her friend.

Signor Tittoni, the Italian Foreign Minister, has given an official denial to the frequent rumors that Italy is tired of her alliance with

Germany and Austria. Addressing the Chamber of Deputies, Signor Tittoni said:

I am pleased that my statement follows the remarks made by the German Imperial Chancellor, Prince von Bülow, as it enables me to associate myself in his cordial eulogy of the triple alliance and those who made it. The Triple Alliance will continue to form the basis of our policy, and this is sufficient to show that those who, from simple appearances, think they see a weakening of the triple alliance and predict its approaching end are mistaken.

It has been said that the triple alliance has been modified, or transformed, and that it has become essentially a peaceful alliance.

The alliance has always been peaceful. Its most precious feature is that it is an efficacious instrument of peace, and the more so since its existence has been generally known. But this does not prevent the most friendly relations with outside powers. Doubts have been cast on the advantages which Italy received from the triple alliance. In this connection it may be pointed out that it was the triple alliance which allowed us to follow an independent policy and thus saved us from the bitter surprises which many nations, including the Italians, have had when isolated.

The cordiality of the relations existing between Italy and England and the good understanding between Italy and France, which led to the Anglo-Franco-Italian convention regarding Abyssinia, was believed to have been resented by Germany, who saw in this friendship between her ally and her possible foes an inclination on the part of Italy to destroy the efficacy of the triple alliance. Signor Tittoni showed that there was no intention to desert Germany, but at the same time he made it obvious to Wilhelmstrasse that Italy was a member of King Edward's league of peace and would give Germany no support in case she engaged in a policy of aggression. He continued:

If war should break out among the great powers, the consequences may be summarized in the statement that it would result in the general bankruptcy of Europe. Therefore, the programme of the Italian government is to maintain and consolidate the triple alliance, and maintain and consolidate her friendship with France and Great Britain. The success of this programme is assured on condition that we exercise the greatest loyalty in our relations with Germany and France. This statement is identical with declarations I have made to representatives of those two powers, without reserve, without concealment, and with no ambiguity.

In Great Britain ambassadors of the powers have had occasion to see how the name of Italy is sympathetically received in token of the solid friendship felt for Great Britain in Italy. The position occupied by our ambassador in Great Britain enabled me to have the honor of approaching frequently the British sovereign, who is profiting by the immense popularity which he enjoys at home and throughout the world to distinguish himself as a most noble apostle of peace.

Some persons had remarked that the danger of political and economic antagonism between Germany and Great Britain was creating an untenable position for Italy. The powers who form the triple alliance took into account in the interests of Italy the necessity for constantly maintaining friendly relations with Great

Britain, but in the event of an Anglo-German conflict Italy would not be the only one in a delicate position. Austria, having relations of a cordial nature with Great Britain dating further back than those of Italy, would also be preoccupied. Friendship with Great Britain has been the constant basis of Austria's policy since the eighteenth century.

It was in the supreme interest of both Italy and Austria to do everything possible to prevent an Anglo-German conflict, and this places them to the fore in facilitating the movement which seemed likely to bring about an approach between their ally, Germany, and their friend, Great Britain. This movement had the support of all the eminent statesmen in Germany and Great Britain, whose opinions had been publicly expressed, which was a certain index from which to judge present relations between the two nations and also to predict future developments. That the relations between Germany and Great Britain were improving could be seen in many incidents, including the meeting between King Edward and Emperor William.

Several prominent European journals last month announced that a complete understanding had been reached between Russia and England, thus practically bringing all the great powers into an alliance of peace with the exception of Germany. Official announcement of this momentous alliance has not yet been made, but there is every reason to believe that it is in substance correct; and, although the relations between England and Russia may not be as intimate as some European journals believe, they more nearly approach intimacy than they have at any time in the last fifty years. The present British government is essentially a peace government and is willing to go to very considerable lengths to avoid all danger of war. Since its accession to power it has given Russia more than one hint of its amicable intentions, and it only remains for Russia to demonstrate whether she has statesmanship enough to take advantage of a peculiarly favorable opportunity to establish her relations with England so that she can devote all her energies to purely domestic affairs. It is because of the domestic condition of Russia that she has ceased to be regarded as a power of the first class, and that statesmen feel uncertain that any agreement made with her will be lasting. A nation in a continual state of anarchy is as unstable as a storm-tossed sea and as dangerous. If the Duma were an institution in Russia and possessed of real power, the voice of Russia in the councils of Europe would carry much further.

A. MAURICE LOW.

APPLIED SCIENCE.

IN the course of these reviews mention has repeatedly been made of the practicability of applying electricity to the propulsion of trains for regular railway traffic. The extensive development of the hydraulic-power resources in various countries has also been made a subject for comment. Until very recently, however, there does not appear to have been any suggestion to conserve all the water power of a country to drive *all* the railroads of the same country. Yet this is what it is now proposed to do in Switzerland.

That thrifty little country possesses no coal, but does contain many Alpine streams, these latter, for the most part, being of small volume, but readily capable of direction so as to render high heads available for power purposes. A number of these streams have already been utilized both for local power and lighting, and also for the operation of mountain railways, usually for the purpose of conveying tourists to popular resorts and summits. Now, however, it is seriously proposed to develop the hydraulic power of Switzerland as a whole, and apply it electrically to the propulsion of the trains on the existing main-line railways, thus avoiding the necessity for importing any coal for railway transport purposes, and developing the power resources of the land itself.

Such an undertaking necessarily demands most careful preliminary investigation and planning, and a portion of this work has already been done by a Government commission. A careful study of the railway service of the country has been made, and the actual amount of power required, both for the daily average and for the maximum temporary effort, has been carefully determined. It seems that the mean requirement, taking the average of the winter and summer service, calls for a continuous development of 100,000 horse-power, while the maximum load may become five times this amount. This latter estimate assumes the provision of the best storage methods available, such as the construction of reservoirs for equalizing the supply of water, and the installation of electric storage batteries for meeting the daily load fluctuations, so that it will be necessary, for the success of the scheme, that 500,000 horse-power of hydraulic energy be developed.

It does not yet appear that the water powers of Switzerland are capable of meeting such a demand, and the commission has this side of the

problem under investigation at the present time. Should the plan be found feasible, it will form in its execution a remarkable example of public ownership and operation of national resources for government control of transport, the problem thus involving interesting economic as well as engineering questions.

A far greater scheme than the above is that laid before the American Institute of Electrical Engineers by Messrs. Stillwell and Putnam, this being nothing less than the conversion of the entire motive-power system of the railroads of the United States from steam locomotives to electric traction and stationary power-houses. This paper includes a complete analysis of the present operating costs of the railroads under existing conditions, comparing these with a careful estimate of the corresponding costs for complete electric traction.

As a consequence of this investigation, it appears that if the single-phase system, as adopted by the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad, were installed on all the railroads of the United States, with generating stations such as are now in actual service, the aggregate cost of operation, now about \$1,400,000,000 per year, would be reduced by about \$250,000,000. This result would require the installation of power plants delivering about 12,500,000,000 kilowatt-hours per annum; and assuming a radius of transmission of 150 miles, it appears that a maximum output of about 2,800,000 kilowatts would be enough to operate the entire railway service of the United States as it existed in 1905. Compared with this magnificent scheme the proposition under consideration in Switzerland appears trifling. The smaller plan, however, may and probably will be put into execution first, and it may furnish experience by which the later and greater undertaking will be guided.

In noting the present status of transportation problems, the progress which has been made in the completion of through communication from the African Cape to Cairo may here be noted. I have already given a general account of this work in these pages, and emphasized the fact that a complete through railroad has not been under contemplation. The route includes railways, lake navigation, and river boat service; and bearing this in mind, it will be seen that a large part of the route has already been developed.

Thus last summer, the all-rail route northward from Cape Town reached Broken Hills, which is 260 miles northeast of the Victoria Falls of the Zambezi. This included the construction of a bridge 1,700 feet long over the Kafue River, making the total length about 2,000 miles from the Cape. It will take 500 miles more of railway to reach the southern end of Tanganyika, this long and narrow lake extending

almost due north and south for a length of 400 miles, forming an important section of the waterway. From the northern end of Tanganyika there then will remain 600 miles of road to Lado, which is the head of navigation on the Nile. This will permit the use of 1,000 miles of navigation to Khartum, from whence rail and water connections to Cairo are already complete. There thus remains only about 1,100 miles of the 6,000 miles between the Cape and Cairo to be completed.

I have already noted the fact that such a route, while opening up the interior of the continent very effectively, cannot expect to compete with sea-borne transport for through traffic. At the same time it will connect with a number of lateral branches to the eastern coast, and thus form a backbone which cannot fail to strengthen the hold of Great Britain upon the heart of Africa.

Another step forward in the improvement of transport conditions appears in the proposal to inaugurate a train-ferry service between England and the continent. It is proposed to construct special cross-channel steamers arranged with tracks on the main deck to receive freight cars and thus permit the trans-shipment of merchandise without unloading and reloading the cars. The plans include specially designed platforms at the landings, to enable the trains to be shipped and unshipped at all stages of the tides, and the details of the system appear to have been very fully worked out. Train ferries are by no means new, and it is altogether possible that such a system may be put into operation on the Channel. It must be remembered, however, that, as compared with the large installations of a similar character in the United States, the greater tidal movement and the much rougher water form obstacles against which existing precedents give little guidance.

Mention has recently been made in these pages of the effort to improve the incandescent electric lamp, both as a source of a satisfactory illumination and also as a more efficient device for the conversion of energy. In the last of these reviews I spoke of the progress which had been made with metallic filaments as substitutes for carbon, and especially of the development and manufacture of the tungsten lamp. The economy of the new filaments is noteworthy. Thus, the carbon-filament lamp now in general use requires about four watts per mean spherical candle-power of illumination produced, while the tantalum lamp has double the efficiency, consuming only two watts per candle. The osmium lamp gives a candle-power with 1.5 watts, while the tungsten lamp is claimed to require but one watt per candle-power, or one-fourth the amount of electrical energy now consumed by the carbon-filament incandescent lamp.

The latest candidate for favor as an incandescent lamp is the so-called "helion" filament lamp. This name has been given by the discoverers, Messrs. Parker and Clark, to a lamp made with a non-metallic filament, the constitution of which is not yet fully disclosed, but which is said to consist mainly of silicon. The current consumption of the new lamp appears to be about the same as that claimed for the tungsten lamp, that is, one watt per candle-power; but in addition to its efficiency the helion lamp is stated to possess other valuable features, such as an extreme whiteness of light, a long life, and a maintenance of a high efficiency up to the end of the life of the filament. The extent to which these advantages will be maintained in commercial service remains to be demonstrated, but the appearance of another vigorous candidate for favor confirms the feeling that a practical successor for the carbon-filament lamp will be found.

In the course of his efforts to direct the great sources of power in nature to the use and convenience of man, the engineer sometimes finds that he has undertaken problems which either refuse to be solved, or else which oppose very serious resistance to direction and control. A notable example appears in the break in the Colorado River, resulting in the flooding of the Salton Sink, and the interference with an important part of the work of irrigating the Imperial Valley, in Southern California.

The original plan of the company undertaking the irrigation of the Imperial Valley was to utilize the channel of the Alamo River as a canal, this stream running parallel to the Colorado River for several miles. In order to facilitate the delivery of water from the Colorado into the Alamo, a cut was made through the bank dividing the two channels; but this cut was rapidly enlarged by reason of a sudden rise in the river, and the overflow of water flowed over the sloping plain beyond until it began to fill the depression in the lower part of the valley, 300 feet below the level of the sea. The result was the formation of an artificial lake, having an area of about 500 square miles, with an average depth of 78 feet, the water flowing through a break in the river bank nearly 3,000 feet wide, at a rate of more than 10,000 cubic feet per second.

Six different attempts have been made to close the gap, and turn the waters back into the channel of the Colorado River. After most strenuous efforts, the opening was successfully dammed early in November, only to be followed by a fresh break further down, and through this opening the water again flowed into the valley. The damage caused by the break includes the washing of some 30,000 acres of fertile land into the newly formed Salton Sea, the destruction of about fifty miles of

track of the Southern Pacific Railway, and the wiping out of the salt industry formerly existing in the Salton Sink.

The importance of closing the breaks and controlling the flow of the Colorado River to its proper channel will be seen when it is understood that the homes and farms of 10,000 inhabitants of the Imperial Valley are imperilled, while the work of the United States Reclamation Service is also jeopardized. The task is one for the engineer, and he will doubtless prove equal to it, even though the first attempts at control have proved discouraging.

As one of the essential elements in the control of traffic between the Atlantic and the Pacific across the Isthmus of Panama, the Panama Railroad has necessarily been included, and the road passed into the hands of the United States Government at the same time that work on the canal was begun. Notwithstanding the existence of this railroad, the Mexican Government has proceeded with the construction of the Tehuantepec Railroad, and with the opening of this new line an important route of traffic has been placed at the service of the public.

The terminal ports of the Tehuantepec Railway are Coatzacoalcos, on the Gulf of Campeche, and Salina Cruz, on the Pacific, these points being 125 miles distant in a straight line, or about 190 miles by the route of the railway. The maximum elevation is about 850 feet above sea level, and the line has been thoroughly well built and equipped and is in excellent shape to handle the traffic already available. In addition to the construction of the railway the improvement of the harbors was also a necessity, and this portion of the work has already been effectively carried out. The result is a road, which, by reason of its advantageous location, is able to compete with the Panama Railroad and also with the transcontinental railways of the United States; and it is possible that for some classes of merchandise it may be able to meet effectively the competition of the Panama Canal itself, when that great waterway is opened for traffic.

An interesting feature of the Tehuantepec Railway is the fact that oil fuel is used on the locomotives instead of wood or coal, the local supply rendering this a most desirable system, insuring independence of imported fuel.

Reference has been made in these reviews to the efforts to develop the capacity of internal waterways, especially in Central Europe, and notwithstanding the growth of railway transport the greater economy of the canal and the canalized river has enabled it to hold its own, and even to increase its traffic. Recent data concerning the traffic on the

Rhine may be cited to show that water-borne transport has steadily increased. Thus the traffic on the Rhine has grown from 750,000 tons to 17,500,000 tons in the past fifty years, and of this 16,000,000 tons is coal, towed up-stream from the Ruhr district. The river has been so improved that boats of 1,500 tons burden can go up as far as Mannheim.

Some of the recent barges on the Rhine have been equipped with suction gas producer plants and engines, driving screw propellers, and satisfactory service is secured by this motive power instead of steam. The present charges of about one-half pfennig per ton-kilometer are considered rather low, and higher tariffs have been considered; but the river traffic has to compete with railways on both banks, and so it is more probable that the effort will be made to develop the more economical form of motive power to meet the competition.

I have referred more than once to the fact that the efforts which have been directed toward aerial navigation in the past few years have been largely due to the development of the light and powerful internal-combustion motor. In this respect the automobile has doubtless stimulated effort which has led to important results in allied lines of work. At the recent exhibition of the Aero Club in New York this important feature was emphasized by some of the exhibits. Thus the eight-cylinder air-cooled Curtis motor, of thirty horse-power, weighed only 125-pounds, or 4.16 pounds per horse-power, while the four-cylinder engine designed by the Wright brothers for use with their new aeroplane weighed 160 pounds for thirty horse-power. So far the lightest motor yet built is the machine constructed in 1903 by Professor Langley, this being a five-cylinder water-cooled gasoline motor which weighed 200 pounds and developed 52.4 horse-power, 3.8 pounds per horse-power.

It may be practically accepted that, in designing aeronautical apparatus, motors weighing four pounds per horse-power are available. With the provision of such motors, and stimulated by the various prizes which have been offered for successful aeroplane flights, it seems that positive results should soon be recorded.

In discussing the effects of the earthquake and the fire at San Francisco, I called attention to the capabilities of reinforced concrete for resisting vibration, and emphasized the importance of using such construction in rebuilding the damaged portions of the city. It is very evident that many of the new buildings will be designed in reinforced concrete, and already some important structures of this type are under way in San Francisco. According to the report of the National Board of Fire Underwriters, less than five per cent of the reinforced-concrete

floors in the city were damaged, and the few complete buildings of steel and concrete came through the ordeal practically unscathed. It is reported that already there is hardly a single block in the burned district of San Francisco in which there is not one or more reinforced-concrete buildings in course of erection, so that confidence in the value of the system appears to be fully established.

One of the most important building undertakings at present under way appears in the huge structure in the lower part of New York City forming the terminal of the Hudson Companies' tunnel system. The tunnels themselves extend from the station of the Pennsylvania Railroad in Jersey City to the block between Fulton and Cortlandt Streets, on Church Street in Manhattan, these tunnels being two independent tubes, forced through the mud by the shield system, and diverging as they approach the New York side so that one tunnel enters at Cortlandt Street and the other at Fulton Street. This arrangement renders it practicable to arrange the tracks in a multiple loop in the basement of the terminal building, there being five tracks running under the building across from Cortlandt to Fulton Street.

The terminal, to all intents and purposes, above ground, will be a pair of great office buildings, twenty-two stories in height, the base having an area of 400 feet by 180 feet, the foundations extending seventy-eight feet down to solid rock. These buildings will contain 4,000 offices, and it is estimated that 25,000 people will be housed in the structure during business hours, the population of a large city. The vertical transport of this population is to be effected by thirty-nine elevators, and probably the greater portion of the occupants will travel daily to and from the northern part of New Jersey through the tunnels and be transferred vertically by the lifts to their respective floors.

Structurally, the most important portion of the building is the foundation, since it has not only to support the structure, but also to form the railway station; and as the soil is permeable to water it was found necessary to enclose the entire base in a concrete wall forming a box, pierced at the ends with five openings to provide for the entering and departing trains. This concrete wall is eight feet thick, built in sections fifteen feet long in caissons, the joints being dowelled together with cylinders of rammed concrete. This building is doubtless an example of what may be expected in the design of modern railway terminals. The great train shed, with its high arched roof, intended to provide for the escape of steam and smoke, is no longer required when electricity is the motive power; and since, in nearly every case in the future, railways may be expected to make their entrances into large cities below the surface

level, the whole of the valuable area above ground will be available for commercial purposes.

The development of electric traction, therefore, with its application to main-line service, is evidently destined to work many other changes than those which immediately appear; and among the early effects of the abolition of the steam locomotives from the limits of the larger cities will undoubtedly be the disappearance of the great terminal railroad station as such, its identity becoming merged in that of the business buildings of which it will form only a portion.

The success which has attended the trials of the British battle-ship *Dreadnought*, and the preponderance which the possession of vessels of such speed and armament has given to the British Navy, have caused other naval powers to make plans for similar and even more powerful fighting machines. The designs of the Bureau of Construction and Repair of the United States Navy Department provide for a battle-ship of 20,000 tons displacement, or 2,000 tons more than the *Dreadnought*, the speed being the same, the length being ten feet more, and the beam three feet greater. Since the armament is planned to be the same, consisting of ten twelve-inch guns, it follows that the additional displacement will be available for greater armor protection, and for the provision of increased stability.

Japan has also entered the lists with a new battle-ship of increased displacement and power; the *Satsuma*, recently launched, being of 19,200 tons displacement, and the proposed speed twenty knots. This vessel, it is stated, will have an armament of four twelve-inch guns and twelve ten-inch guns, these latter being mounted in six turrets of two guns each.

In Germany the increase in the power of the navy is a more difficult matter than with other powers, mainly on account of the shallowness of harbors, and because of the limitations of the Kiel Canal. There is talk of an increase of dimensions in the canal, an essential undertaking if larger battle-ships are to be built and handled promptly in either the Baltic or the North Sea; and this work, as well as the improvement of the North-Sea ports, must be carried through together with the ship-building, before the full benefit of an increase in the power and size of battle-ships can be secured.

Much has been said and written during the past few years about the so-called "high-speed" tool steels, the improved materials from which tools have been made enabling the machining operations upon iron and steel to be performed far more rapidly than had hitherto been possible. It has been realized that the full advantages of the new cutting tools

could not be attained unless the other elements in machine-shop operation could also be speeded up, and hence the introduction of the "high-speed" steel became necessarily involved in the broader problem of works management.

In his presidential address before the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, Mr. F. W. Taylor, one of the discoverers of "high-speed" steel, discussed the art of cutting metals in an exhaustive manner, giving the results of himself and his associates covering a period of more than twenty-five years in a number of the most important shops in the United States.

The mere possession of a cutting material of the highest capacity is of small value unless to it is added a knowledge of the best forms of tools for the manifold operations of the machine shops, together with the proper speeds and feeds for different materials.

When all the elements of the problem, including the cutting tool, the machine in which it is used, and the material to be cut, are considered, it appears that there may be as many as twelve variables to be taken into account. Ordinarily this would appear to render the problem indeterminate, but it has been found practicable to develop special forms of slide rules or mechanical computers by which the proper speeds and feeds may be found accurately and practically in the shop. The new system requires that the workman be given specific directions as to each task, the result being that the full value of the new cutting methods and materials is obtained without any uncertainty, and both employer and workman reap the benefit. Mr. Taylor maintains that by the adoption of these methods the output of almost any shop may be doubled, while at the same time an average increase of about thirty-five per cent in the earning capacity of the men for themselves is secured.

During the past year there has been an unusually large number of serious accidents on American railroads, and, in consequence, much criticism on the part of the general public as to the management and administration of the roads. In response the railway authorities have maintained, in some instances at least, that the public is to a certain extent responsible for the conditions which have led to many disasters, inasmuch as the demand for high speeds and frequent service compels greater risks to be incurred. There is much truth on both sides.

For several years the demands upon the traffic facilities in the United States have been increasing at a continually advancing rate. In the endeavor to meet these demands, the railways have extended their equipment, laid heavier rails, strengthened bridges, improved rolling stock, thus making obvious and earnest efforts to "catch up with the procession."

Fast trains, formerly considered rather as luxuries, and hardly expected to meet their expenses, have latterly been in such demand as to require duplication and repetition. That the public has demanded these things is undoubtedly true, and the railroads have made vigorous efforts to meet the demand. A rapid and continuous increase in capacity and equipment, however, is not sufficient in itself: there must be a corresponding extension in the personnel, a matter altogether different from the expansion of the mechanical equipment.

At the same time, there is one thing which may and should be done on the part of the railroads to restore confidence in some measure and give evidence of good faith. The block system, already installed on many of the great trunk lines, should be made a block system in fact as well as in name. So long as trains are permitted to pass block signals "under control" on any pretence, the block system becomes a source of danger rather than a protection. The block should be absolute and unconditional, and if it cannot be made so by human volition it can be made so by mechanical obstruction. If it cannot be made a moral impossibility for a train to be run past an opposing block signal it can be made a physical impossibility, and this much, at least, the public has a right to demand. If the higher speeds and greater capacities are furnished in response to the public demand, the demand for a positive and absolute block system should also be heeded.

It may well be conceded that a largely increased personnel of experience and reliability cannot be furnished at short notice, and in this respect the inadequacy of the railway administrations to meet the demand for higher efficiency of operation can be explained. That this should be construed into permitting recklessness by no means follows; at the worst an inadequate personnel should result only in delay, not in disaster.

Both in the United States and in Europe accidents have occurred by reason of failure to readjust the elevation of the outer rail on curves to meet the higher train speeds. The so-called "banking" of the track on curves was familiar to the general public a few years ago in connection with bicycle races; and everyone realized that the higher the speed and the sharper the curve, the greater the necessity for an inward inclination of the vehicle to meet the increased centrifugal action. Such a provision has been made on railway curves since the early days of railroading; but there is no doubt that in many cases the elevation of the outer rail has not been changed when a schedule of higher speeds has been put in force.

In any case the accidents have increased with alarming frequency, doubtless as the resultant of more than one cause, and it is the duty of

the engineer to seek out the causes and apply the remedies. That he can do so we are confident, and furthermore we are confident that it can be done without materially affecting the efficiency and capacity of the rail-ways. In fact, freedom from accidents and from the delays of which the accidents themselves are the causes should increase the efficiency of the whole railroad system.

Several months ago I described in these reviews the construction and operation of the Kjellin induction furnace for the electrical manufacture of steel, and showed the possibilities of the process. The views then expressed appear to have been confirmed by subsequent practical experience with the process, and it now appears that the Kjellin furnace gives a better electrical efficiency than furnaces making direct use of the electric arc. At the same time there are other features to be considered, and recent experience with the Héroult furnace, at Remscheid, in Bavaria, has shown some commercial advantages for the arc type.

It is generally understood that electricity cannot compete directly with the older process of the blast furnace for the manufacture of pig iron from the ore, under ordinary conditions. In some parts of the world, where fuel is scarce and expensive, and hydraulic power abundant and cheap, electric smelting may become commercially profitable; but at the present time the most satisfactory application of electricity in the steel works is for the refining of the highest grades of steel, the value of the product justifying the cost of the operation.

The Héroult furnace takes the molten steel from an open-hearth furnace, and after exposure to the intense heat of the electric arc in the presence of a neutral slag and of carbon, it is found to be almost wholly deoxidized. The carbon content of the product is then found by analysis and the proper mixture of iron and carbon introduced to give any desired composition to the final product. The high quality of the steel made in this way appears to depend both upon the very high temperatures employed, and the possibility of controlling accurately the constitution of the product, since nothing is introduced into the charge except by deliberate intention and in predetermined proportions. Commercially the success of the plant at Remscheid has been such that large extensions are required to enable the demand for the product to be met.

One of the closing acts of Congress was the completion of the legislation relating to the production of untaxed alcohol, this extending the permission from the great distilleries to the individual farmers, and enabling alcohol fuel to be made at any time and in any quantities, the product being delivered into locked tanks to await the official inspection

and denaturization. There appears to be now no good reason why cheap alcohol may not be freely made by any one, and this freedom should go far toward preventing an artificial limitation of the quantity and the price.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that a practical comparative test of the fuel values of alcohol, kerosene, and gasoline has recently been made, the trial including a run from Boston to New York by a Maxwell touring-car using denaturized alcohol entirely, and accompanied by a similar car on which the fuel was gasoline and kerosene. No change was made in the engines using the alcohol fuel, and hence high thermal efficiency was not to be expected; but the reliability of the alcohol was fully demonstrated, even in an engine manifestly unsuited for it.

As a matter of fact, the fuel consumption for the run of 250 miles was forty and three-fourths gallons of alcohol, as against twenty-four and three-fourths gallons of gasoline and thirty-three and three-fourths gallons of kerosene. At the price of thirty-seven cents per gallon for denatured alcohol and twenty cents for gasoline the alcohol fuel cost nearly two and one-half times as much as gasoline per car mile. It has been shown that in an engine of long stroke and high compression, the thermal efficiency of alcohol may reach ten per cent higher than that of gasoline; and under these conditions alcohol must be bought at twenty-two cents a gallon to compete with gasoline at twenty cents.

An interesting feature of the trial was the low cost of the kerosene as a fuel for automobiles, the consumption being only a little higher than that of gasoline, while the price is much lower. With the present methods of carburetting and in the existing forms of engines, kerosene is not burned to advantage, emitting much smoke and smell, and forming a heavy deposit of carbon. If, however, some modification of a high-compression engine, such as the Diesel motor, were employed, effecting a perfect combustion with a very high thermal efficiency, there is every reason to believe that kerosene would be largely used as a fuel for automobiles.

It must be remembered, however, that the fuel consumption is but one element in the operative cost of a motor, and usually not the most important element. The fuel cost, therefore, should be given only its proportional share of consideration in choosing the fuel for the machine. If alcohol can be shown to be reliable, convenient, and not excessively expensive, it is certain to come into extensive use, and there is little doubt that improvements in the engines, adapting them to the new fuel, will rapidly follow.

One method which appears to possess possibilities is the use of alcohol

and acetylene together. By spraying the alcohol through an atomizer, and passing the spray through a layer of calcium carbide, the water in the alcohol acts to produce acetylene gas; and the mixture of alcohol, acetylene, and air is drawn into the engine cylinder during the suction stroke and ignited in the same manner as gasoline. The violence of the explosion of the acetylene is modified by the alcohol, and the action of the mixture gives an effect in the cylinder similar to gasoline, while overcoming the sluggishness which is experienced with alcohol alone at high speeds. This method, which is due to Messrs. Barker and White, of New York, is but one of the attempts which have been made to render existing designs of motors suitable for alcohol. Another, to which reference has already been made in these reviews, is that of Dr. Schreber, the liquid alcohol being injected directly into the cylinder during the compression stroke, and volatilized by the heat of the compression.

Few persons realize the rapid growth which has taken place in the past few years in the use of the telephone as a means of communication. Statistics issued at the close of the year 1906 show that there were in use in the United States alone more than 7,000,000 instruments, while an aggregate of a little over 6,000,000 miles of wire was used for telephone service. The telephone industry gives employment to 90,000 persons in the United States, an increase of 171 per cent in six years, while during the same period the number of stations has increased 239 per cent and the wire mileage 349 per cent.

There is little doubt that much of this increase is due to the general adoption of the so-called "message-rate" system in place of the flat annual charge formerly in vogue. By making the charges proportional to the number of calls, the use of the telephone has been widely extended both because of the greater willingness of people to become subscribers under such conditions and because the system gives an incentive to the local telephone companies to give good service and encourage the use of the telephone.

Another cause for the increase in the number of telephones in use is doubtless the extending number of large business buildings in various cities, since the telephone is an absolute necessity in the modern tall building, making it possible to transact business as well from the twentieth story as from the ground floor. The installation of the telephone in every suite in the modern hotel and large apartment-house also accounts for a portion of the increase.

HENRY HARRISON SUPLEE.

FINANCE.

It is not often that general feeling in and around the financial market, regarding the financial situation, undergoes so sudden and violent a transformation as it did at the opening of the present year. In the situation itself there was no change whatever. Cautious financiers had pointed out, during many months, that an unwholesome financial position had been created; that our borrowings from Europe, purely for purposes of Wall Street speculation, had reached unprecedented figures; that the Bank of England had been driven to defensive expedients such as had not been adopted in a generation, except under stress of war or panic; and that it behooved both the financial and the industrial communities to move very carefully. All this had been said as early as last September, when the stock market was being stirred up to a new frenzy of excitement. It attracted little attention then for two reasons: first, that similar warnings, against a similar market a year before, had not been realized during 1906; secondly, that so long as the stock market continued to go up, and the bank positions to be maintained above a deficit, not only Wall Street but the business community persisted in declaring that the general situation was too favorable to be in any way upset.

At the close of 1905, under somewhat similar circumstances, the pressure to force up prices on the Stock Exchange continued up to the very last week of December, and in the face of a 125-per-cent rate for call money. Not only this, but when the distribution of capital in interest and dividends occurred in the first days of January, and the money market accordingly eased off, a short and decisive further advance occurred on the Stock Exchange. It was reasoned in Wall Street that the result at the beginning of 1907 ought reasonably to be the same, and the argument was reinforced by the fact that money rates did not tighten as severely at the end of last December as they had done in the December preceding. For instance, in the last week of December, 1906, the highest rate for call money was eighteen per cent, while the same week the year before the 100-per-cent mark was passed.

December was not over, however, before the Stock Exchange suddenly discovered that some factors were at work in the situation which did not seem to have operated a year before. The month was fairly well advanced

when stocks were still rising on news of large fresh issues of railway securities with a handsome bonus to shareholders. At the opening of the month, the Great Northern Railway had announced the issue of \$60,000,000 new stock, subscriptions from existing shareholders to be received at par, when the old stock was selling at 231 on the market, instalments being payable up to April, 1908. Northern Pacific had announced \$93,000,000 new stock, obtainable by shareholders at par, while the old stock sold at 224, instalment payments running up to January, 1909. On top of these two announcements the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul had announced \$100,000,000 new stock at par to shareholders, while the old common stock was selling at 199. Now, it was obvious that the terms of subscription in each of these three cases made what are called the subscription rights a matter of genuine profit to the shareholder, always providing, however, that the existing price was reasonable and likely to be maintained until the subscription rights should be marked off.

It was on the supposition that these "rights" would have an exceptionally large cash value that the price of the old stock had been pushed up to such extravagant figures, Northern Pacific and Great Northern both selling at prices which made their net dividend yield less than three per cent, and this in a market where six per cent and upward was ruling for almost every kind of money accommodation. Until these announcements had been made, the idea that the market ought to advance on the news of them seemed to hold sway in Wall Street. Within a very few days of the announcements, however, the Stock Exchange suddenly seemed to come to its senses, and to realize that whether a bonus was granted to existing shareholders or not, the placing of \$200,000,000 new railway securities on a market already notoriously short of capital could not possibly be a favorable development.

This new feeling was increased by the blundering policy of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul directors, the clumsiness of whose arrangements for their own stock subscription offset whatever favorable impression may have been gained from that of the other two railways. Although Great Northern and Northern Pacific had refrained from asking for any cash subscriptions until the new year, the St. Paul directors called for a \$10,000,000 instalment on the subscription for the new stock, to be made at the very time when the December strain on money was likely to be most severe. Not only this, but by an inexcusably careless arrangement, the privilege of stock subscriptions was denied to all shareholders except those who held "round lots" of stock, thus depriving the small investors of whatever benefit the operation might confer.

Whether it was this performance which caused the trouble, or merely a realization of what these new stock issues actually foreshadowed, the stock market, which had been thus far so stubbornly held up, suddenly gave way. Great Northern stock dropped twenty points in a single week and seven points more the next. One after another, stocks which had been inflated to an absurdly high level, during the autumn movement, gave way, and the entire market broke with more or less demoralization. The question instantly was asked in Wall Street, who were the sellers and why had they been forced to sell. It was well understood that up to that time the market had been largely, if not chiefly, under the guidance of the so-called "Union Pacific clique." Some very heavy selling on the rising market which followed the Treasury's announcement, early in December, of a further \$10,000,000 cash deposit in the banks, was assumed by many people as meaning that the so-called "inside" group had sold out then and left the market to itself. Elsewhere it was taken for granted that liquidation for this same account had started then and was continued up to the close of the year, and possibly longer. On the other hand, it was evident, as the December decline went on, that many other people besides the authors of the autumn "boom" in stocks had been confronted with loss by the sudden fall in values and compelled to sell.

I have spoken thus far of the situation as reflected in the stock market, because at that time all interest converged upon Wall Street. We shall now have to look at another side of the question, involving not only the stock market, but the money market generally, and the industrial situation as a whole. During the autumn, two somewhat conflicting predictions had been made regarding the month of January. It had been contended, largely in business quarters, that money rates were certain to continue very high during January; but, notwithstanding this, Wall Street had held to its expectation of a rise in stock on the basis of the January disbursements. Both predictions failed to materialize and the reason possibly was that the December market itself had moved contrary to almost all expectations. Tight money did not continue during January; instead, call-money rates eased off so rapidly that in the closing week of January the highest rate was three and one half per cent; but, on the other hand, efforts to cause an upward movement on the Stock Exchange failed entirely. This was not all, however. In place of the cheerful predictions which had marked the opening of 1906, the year 1907 began with forecasts and warnings in responsible quarters such as could hardly be described otherwise than as pessimistic in the extreme. I quoted in the last number of THE FORUM from James J. Hill's state-

ment of November regarding the railway situation. The January predictions went much further.

Prof. Laughlin of the economic department of the University of Chicago had this to say:

In conclusion, there seem to be no immediate evidences of a crisis in the very near future. But no reform of our currency, no combination of large financial interests, will prevent the inevitable overexpansion in due course of time, which must finally be followed by liquidation. Even now the materials for over-confidence may be gathering. The speculation in real estate, which is usually the latest phenomenon of a high range of prices, is already more or less apparent. But the production of new wealth salable to all the world goes on yet as a basis of general security.

Prof. John Bates Clark of Columbia diagnosed the situation thus:

The caution of 1903 is no longer so evident. A much more extensive assimilation of industrial and mining securities has taken place and speculation in land, usually the last feature before a crisis, has gained headway. . . . How exaggerated have been the estimates of future income and how great will be the corresponding shrinkage when the full facts shall become known? The prophet who could answer this question with authority might avert much evil, but the people have insight enough to know that some shrinkage will occur and that the sooner it comes the smaller it will be. Healthful caution now will probably avert the calamity which a wholesale collapse of values would otherwise bring. Recklessness now — general infection with the virus of a speculative fever — will cause the crisis to arrive at its scheduled date and with all needed severity.

This was the view of Prof. Andrew of the Harvard University economic department:

It is then simply because the United States has enjoyed a fabulous prosperity for an unusually long period, that one may conclude that the situation to-day only requires some sharp blow to the general confidence to precipitate a new movement of liquidation and reorganization.

Mr. Stuyvesant Fish, late president of the Illinois Central Railway, went still further, stating his opinion as follows:

In point of time a great industrial crisis is due, and there are many indications of its being imminent. Despite the unprecedented output of gold, money is dear the world over, and dear because of high prices and activity in trade. . . . Within the past year there have been tremendous losses of capital in the destruction of San Francisco, and in the less awful calamity at Valparaiso. . . . Prices of commodities are above the normal and rising. Labor all over the world is dearer than ever before; and the tendency is toward higher wages and shorter hours; conditions which are economically wasteful as regards product, whatever their effect may be on the laboring class.

And to this Mr. Fish added his conviction that the New York Stock Exchange had absorbed in its speculations such quantities of the capital of other markets, American and European, as to render the situation

precarious at New York, if it had to give up the money, and on the lending markets, if it did not.

These statements, published in the "Journal of Commerce," were accompanied by forecasts from other practical financiers, most of whom expressed belief in prosperity for at least the greater part of 1907, but all of whom urged caution and expressed doubts about what would occur next year. A few weeks later, President Stickney of the Chicago Great Western Railway publicly expressed this view of the situation:

Most of the railways have uncompleted work which will be finished and give employment to as many men this year as last. But all railways will be slow to commence new work, so that in 1908 they will give employment to fewer men. This will be the starting point of the unemployed.

President Truesdale of the Lackawanna, though expressing doubt over the more distant results of the increase in cost of doing business and in the public hostility to corporations, said somewhat later to his shareholders:

The present outlook for business of every kind continues most promising, and so far as can now be discerned, nothing is indicated for the coming year other than that the wonderful activity and prosperity of the year 1906 will be duplicated in 1907.

At the same time, Mr. James J. Hill supplemented his earlier forecasts by the following prediction:

The sails of prosperity are being reefed. The year 1908 may be a hard year, and many thousands of men may then be out of work. . . . General policies of retrenchment are under way. Less money is being spent on new works. The effect of this movement is being felt at present, especially by the manufacturing interests, in the falling off of orders. The beginning of this movement is very evident in Chicago. . . . In a way it is a good thing. It is better so, as the curtailment is gradual, otherwise there might be a sudden slump, with serious results.

To this, in his turn, Mr. Hill's railway rival, Mr. E. H. Harriman, added, as his own opinion, after the stock market had broken badly, the suggestion that, although the money disturbances will become dangerous, and with bad effect on finance in general, whenever hard times should reappear in this country, as they doubtless will in time, nevertheless:

There is nothing in the present situation which would lead me to believe that there is any danger in the immediate future. They may not come within the lifetime of any man now living.

I have quoted these various predictions, from both professional and non-professional experts, in order to show the somewhat remarkable drift of opinion in one direction. It requires only a very cursory glance to show that with the single exception of Mr. Fish's, the forecasts place

the era of trouble a considerable distance ahead. This is true even of such explicit forecasts of the three railway presidents, each of whom made his prophecy apply to 1908 and assigned some particular reasons for not expecting serious industrial trouble during 1907. But of a forecast of trouble due only in 1908, it must be said that neither the financial nor the industrial markets are apt to trouble themselves very seriously twelve months ahead. It has, in fact, been very generally conceded that 1908 will at least be a year of hesitation and cautious movement in American industry. If there were no other reason, the fact that a presidential election is scheduled for that year would provide sufficient reason for expecting a halt in business plans. As for the predictions of the economists above quoted — some of which went to show that the "twenty-year financial crisis" should be normally due and will probably arrive around 1913 — that is distinctly too remote a date to disturb the plans of industry. They would leave Wall Street's mind, at any rate, almost as calm as it is left by Mr. Harriman's prediction. Such forecasts are interesting chiefly for this reason, that if it be conceded that the twenty-year panic is due six years from now, it would equally follow, from the teaching of experience, that the general tendency of American prosperity would henceforth be slowly downward. But these are general considerations.

I have pointed out already that the two most prevalent predictions, at the opening of the year, were that the money market would continue high in January and that the stock market, nevertheless, would advance, for a time at least, as it did in January, 1905. The reason why both expectations were disappointed may have lain in the stock market with which December closed. The wholesale liquidation of stocks, between the middle of that month and the end of the year, averted the extreme money stringency which had been expected in the last week of December. Continuance of that liquidation into the month of January promptly did away with all hope of the traditional "January boom"; but, as the Stock Exchange liquidation released more and more of the tied-up capital, the strain on the money market necessarily relaxed. January opened with call money at forty per cent; the first week ended with a five-per-cent rate; and it went still lower before the month was over. Time money, starting at the seven-per-cent rate, was promptly down to five. Meanwhile, the bank surplus, largely because of the reduction in loans, increased from \$147,825, at the opening of January, to \$15,562,800, at the end of the month. The situation, then, which existed as the year opened, gave what might be called a pathetic comment on the average Wall Street prediction. What had been said in Stock-Exchange circles a month before was that prices might go up even in the face of very tight money,

but that if money by any chance were to grow easy the stock-market advance would become uncontrollable. Easy money was established early in the month and Stock-Exchange prices continued to decline. Not until February, when there came a fortnight's upward reaction of prices, did the movement turn.

The noteworthy incident at the opening of the year, and one which had much to do both with the course of Stock-Exchange prices and the course of the money market, was the borrowing by the railways. In reviewing on these pages the episodes of 1903, we saw how the great American railways were driven to raise money on their notes at five or six per cent, and in some cases even at a higher rate. It will be recalled that the "rich men's panic" of that year, and the profound distrust of American finance which temporarily seized upon both home and foreign capital left the railways in a peculiar position. They had contracted for large expenditures for improvement purposes, and in some cases had actually done the work, paying for it in temporary loans from banks, their expectation being that in due course they would sell bonds or stocks through which the incurred liabilities might be paid off. Confronted with the impracticable investment market of 1903, they had the choice of two alternatives: to offer long-term bonds at a price sufficiently below the ordinary to attract a reluctant investor, or to raise the money on a one- or two-year loan, paying a high rate for such accommodation. It will be remembered that the railways invariably adopted the second of these expedients, with the result that in 1903 not less than \$150,000,000 of these high-rate, short-term notes were issued. There were not lacking critics who pointed out at the time the danger of the expedient, the possibility that when the notes matured the market might still be unfavorable for borrowing, and, more particularly, that this recourse to floating debt was not a safe habit to contract. As it happened, however, everything went well. The drastic liquidation of 1903 brought the markets of 1904 into a thoroughly comfortable position; by the summer of 1904 a broad and satisfactory demand was provided for new railway securities; and between then and the end of the following year, as prosperity manifestly continued, practically all the note issues of 1903 had been taken up and replaced with long-term bonds.

This reminiscence is in point, for the reason that the experience of July and the following months of 1903 was made the text for the operations of January, 1907. Foreign markets which had made a neat turn in the six-per-cent railway loans of 1903 were ready to try the same experiment again; so was the home investor. The railways meanwhile recalled how comfortably the experiment had ended in 1903, and were

not at all disturbed as to the outlook in 1907. In the end, upward of \$200,000,000 in short-term notes of this sort were issued.

I have said that this wholesale issue of railway notes was bound to exert considerable influence on both stock and money markets. It did not affect them both alike. Stock-Exchange prices, in so far as they made the net dividend yield of a stock to the investor less than six per cent, were obviously a less attractive investment than the railway notes. Furthermore, it was a fair inference from the general operation that the railway notes had fixed the price for new investment capital. To an extent, the same reasoning applied to the market for long-term bonds, though the fact that these were a permanent lien upon the properties concerned brought them somewhat out of the sphere of competition with the railway notes.

Thus, the natural influence of the railway-note issues on Stock-Exchange prices was to bring them down, and was thus unfavorable to the general situation. On the other hand, railway notes, in so far as Europe subscribed to them, provided a recourse as lucky as it was unexpected for meeting the payments due on maturing three-months' loans abroad. It had been known that large amounts of these European loans would reach maturity in January, and for that reason not a little apprehension had been expressed over the possibility that remittances in payment would so force up the rate of exchange as to compel large exports of gold from New York at a time when cash was urgently needed to keep up bank reserves. Whether this would have happened or not under ordinary circumstances is a matter of conjecture; but the railway notes, of which not less than \$100,000,000 were sold abroad, promptly turned the scales — so much so that at the opening of February exchange on London once more declined to the gold-importing point and we actually imported several million dollars gold from London. This was another complete reversal of expectations. Estimates, made in the best-posted European financial circles, of our market's floating foreign debt at the close of 1906, placed it at \$400,000,000; some estimates made it higher. It was reduced in January, and the natural expectation was that such reduction would involve heavy remittances from New York. This was the point at which the foreign subscriptions to our railway notes played an important part.

The more general question, as to the safety and propriety of this wholesale recourse to railway notes, I already discussed in the columns of THE FORUM when the expedient was so generally adopted in 1903. I pointed out then that whatever might be said as to the safety of the experiment at any given time, the financial history of the railways in this country showed it to have been in the main a dangerous expe-

dient with very bad results. In 1873, the formidable panic was very largely brought to a crisis by the inability of the Northern Pacific and one or two other railways to meet the notes which they had issued on a somewhat similar basis and which had been at that time endorsed by prominent banking houses. This default of the railways carried down the bankers, notably the celebrated house of Jay Cooke & Co., whose services had been distinguished in financing the Civil War.

It will be observed that the plan of endorsement by banking houses, adopted in the note issues of the seventies, has not been repeated at the present time. The reason for the difference is that this year, and for a good many years past, the railways have been able to offer security for the notes, in the shape either of unissued treasury securities of their own, or of stocks and bonds of other railways, bought by them for purposes of investment or control. After the long and expensive experiment in the buying up of one railway's stocks by another, on the community-of-interest theory, it has naturally followed that plenty of collateral of this sort should be in the strong-boxes of railways who are now borrowing on their own notes.

The precedent of 1893 is, however, somewhat interesting in this regard. During the two or three trying years which ended in that panic period, numerous prominent railways had borrowed on their notes, pledging as collateral such treasury securities as they happened to hold. In the case of some of these railways, stocks and bonds which had been acquired on exactly the same plan as those now held by the companies were pledged. The trouble was that as matters went from bad to worse, the railways borrowed more and more on the same basis until at the last they began to present such doubtful collateral as to invite suspicious scrutiny of their affairs. It was then that such companies as the Reading, the Atchison, and the Union Pacific were forced into bankruptcy. I have no purpose of arguing an analogy between either of the two years referred to and the present period. The railways are immensely stronger now than they were in 1893, and the collateral which they have offered is of a vastly superior quality. Nevertheless, the danger underlying a habit of this sort must be honestly pointed out if any progress is to be made in averting some serious trouble in the future. It will probably be safe to say that the worst development of the railway situation this year has been the tone of easy confidence with which this expedient of borrowing on short-term notes at exorbitant rates of interest has been discussed by the railway managers and the banking community.

It was natural, in view of the peculiar circumstances with which the present year began, that comparisons with 1903 should immediately

have been made. That, too, was a year which succeeded a period of rash speculation conducted when bank resources had been excessively drawn upon. It was a year which followed a boom in trade which seemed to have no limit. The produce of the year showed, as has been the case already in 1907, that the market for new stocks and bonds had been choked with the excessive amount of new issues already put out, and in the one year as in the other borrowing corporations were driven to the recourse of short-term, high-rate notes. To what extent other analogies of the two years would present themselves has naturally been a matter of doubt; but in the mood in which Wall Street found itself during January, the temper of the community was such that it was inclined to look for the worst. It will be remembered that in 1903, after a disappointing market during January and a show of distinct weakness during February, the month of March began with a bank surplus almost exhausted, with the Steel Corporation's bond conversion foreshadowing trouble, and with disaster indicated to the Pennsylvania's attempted \$75,000,000 stock issue. In April events moved so rapidly in the same direction that long before the month was over it was evident that what has since been called the rich men's panic was in full swing.

Now enough has been said to show that there are at least superficial analogies between the two years. Whether they are more than superficial is an interesting question which requires consideration from several points of view. To begin with, it may be said that the large quantities of so-called "undigested securities" which overhung the market in 1903 and concerning which Mr. J. P. Morgan gave out his reassuring interview in April have not been exactly paralleled this year. That is to say, the wealthy men of Wall Street, four years ago, had engaged themselves to such an extent in underwriting the issue of new industrial flotations — which they expected would find a ready market and would therefore not come back upon their hands — that they were wholly unprepared for the situation which actually did develop. That situation was that the public absolutely refused to subscribe for the new securities, and that the reckless underwriters accordingly found themselves compelled to take up millions upon millions of securities whose salable value was entirely uncertain. Nothing precisely akin to this exists in the present year. Issues of new securities had in fact been comparatively slight up to the last few weeks of 1906, and a very respectable part of these issues had been placed with real investors. To that extent, the spectacle of large financial interests not only tied hand and foot so far as new investments were concerned, but compelled to throw overboard their high-grade investment holdings to protect the others, has not arisen this year.

But a still more interesting consideration lies in the personal situation of the markets at the opening of the year. It will be recalled that in 1903 the story was on everybody's lips that the whole break in the market was the result of a personal quarrel between great financial interests, one of which had caught the other at a disadvantage and was punishing it through the Stock Exchange. I showed at the time that no such fantastic theory was necessary to explain the situation, and that, although undoubtedly the market's depression was helped by operations for a decline by large capitalists who were not tied up in stocks, still that could only be said to have emphasized a situation which existed before such selling began. It was necessarily admitted, however, that the fact that a rival interest had been caught in a trap and was helpless in the market was a powerful influence in the situation. How then did matters stand from this point of view at the opening of the present year? The case was extremely curious. The financial interests which were caught in a trap and forced into liquidation during 1903 were at the close of 1906 notoriously free from speculative commitments, and ready to take advantage of opportunities for either investment or speculation on the market. They had not been forcing up the market. On the other hand, the financial interest which was believed, and no doubt correctly, to have aggravated the situation of 1903 by selling stocks in enormous quantities and thereby undermining other speculators, could hardly this year have been in the position it found itself in four years ago.

According to all the belief and evidence of the Stock Exchange, it was this interest which had participated in the extravagant speculation for the rise last August and September, and which had undoubtedly assumed in the process an enormous load of stocks. To do this, they had unquestionably borrowed money in enormous sums, on both home and foreign markets; the "finance bill" episode of last autumn was closely connected with their operations. During the autumn there were many indications that these speculators, having misjudged the nature of the market, had not been able to realize on their holdings. Whether at the opening of 1907 they were left with large speculative holdings which could not be disposed of save at a heavy loss has been a question much debated. It need not greatly concern us here except to the extent that the attitude of so large an interest as this is a matter of much concern to the market itself. If, for example, this group of capitalists were actually loaded with stocks which they could not sell at present prices save at a heavy loss, one might have expected that their efforts would be enlisted on the side of recovery. There were those who argued that this was precisely what occurred in February, when the market advanced.

Few people, if any, in financial circles, were prepared for the extraordinary sequel. The February recovery in stocks soon ran its course; with March, the downward drift of prices was resumed. Within the first week of that month, a situation almost without parallel on the New York Stock Exchange was presented. During two days, a rapid fall in prices, with evidence both of "bear" selling and of forced liquidation, demoralized the market. Daily sales on the Exchange rose to figures not matched more than half a dozen times in the institution's history. Suddenly the market turned; one stock, on which some of the heaviest selling was converged, ran up ten points in almost as many minutes, and on enormous buying; with it, the entire market turned to a violent advance. While the Stock Exchange was still wondering whether this extraordinary reversal of things on Wednesday, March 6, meant that the end of forced liquidation had been reached, or that great capitalists not previously in the market had turned buyers, or that the unlucky financiers involved in the collapse had made a last effort at such a show of strength as should scare off their pursuers — and before it was possible even to guess at the answer to the query, the struggle in the stock market was resumed. Unquestionably, what occurred in the next half-dozen days was a battle royal between two groups of enormously wealthy speculators. The episode was no more worthy of being dignified as an economic phenomenon than the fights of Commodore Vanderbilt, Daniel Drew, Jim Fisk, and Jay Gould, in the disreputable and dishonest stock markets with which the world became only too familiar during the decade after the Civil War.

For a week, prices swayed alternately up and down, rising two to five points only to fall back an equal distance, such reversals of the movement often occurring five or six times in the course of a single day. By this time, it became plain that rich speculating capitalists, loaded down with debt for which they could show only stocks with heavily depreciated values, were struggling to save themselves still greater loss, while other financial interests were breaking the market under their feet. The struggle came to a sudden and dramatic end on March 13 and March 14, when a convulsion of forced liquidation seized on the market, driving values down in a decline not paralleled in any day of this generation, save the celebrated May 9 panic of 1901. How the declines of the second and worst of these two days of collapse compared with perhaps the four worst days on the Stock Exchange in the past fifteen years, may be seen from the following table, declines in each case being those of a single day:

	1907. March 14.	1904. Dec. 8.	1903. April 13.	1901. May 9.	1893. July 26.
Amalgamated Copper	18 $\frac{5}{8}$	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 $\frac{1}{4}$	26	..
Amalgamated Smelting	21	4 $\frac{5}{8}$	1 $\frac{7}{8}$	16 $\frac{3}{4}$..
Atchison	9 $\frac{5}{8}$	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	4 $\frac{1}{8}$	35 $\frac{1}{4}$	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
Brooklyn Rapid Transit	10 $\frac{1}{4}$	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	3	7 $\frac{7}{8}$..
Canadian Pacific	6	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	2 $\frac{3}{8}$	27 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul	14 $\frac{1}{2}$	8	4 $\frac{3}{4}$	31 $\frac{1}{2}$	4
Great Northern pref.	11	8	10	10	6
Louisville & Nashville	7 $\frac{7}{8}$	5	3	26 $\frac{1}{4}$	3 $\frac{7}{8}$
Missouri, Kansas & Texas	4 $\frac{1}{4}$	2	1 $\frac{3}{8}$	6	1
New York Central	5 $\frac{3}{8}$	3 $\frac{5}{8}$	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	13 $\frac{1}{4}$	4
Pennsylvania	9 $\frac{1}{8}$	3 $\frac{3}{8}$	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	3
Reading	24 $\frac{5}{8}$	4 $\frac{1}{4}$	5 $\frac{1}{8}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{5}{8}$
Southern Pacific	12 $\frac{3}{4}$	4 $\frac{1}{8}$	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	20	2
Union Pacific	25 $\frac{1}{4}$	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	4 $\frac{1}{4}$	37	1 $\frac{7}{8}$
United States Steel	4 $\frac{5}{8}$	5 $\frac{7}{8}$	1 $\frac{3}{8}$	21 $\frac{3}{4}$..
United States Steel pref.	4 $\frac{1}{4}$	7	2 $\frac{5}{8}$	29	..

With this extraordinary break, which came on top of an almost continuous preceding fall of ten to thirty points, the movement culminated. Prices were now so low that, as against the three to four per cent income which dividend-paying stocks would have returned to buyers at last autumn's prices, some of the best-known shares on the list yielded, at the low prices of March 14, from five to seven per cent. The real investor entered the market; the panic was over. But as to who had been forced to throw overboard the huge quantities of stocks in that week of liquidation, is a question even now unsettled. That it was not the outside investor is a certainty; that it was men of enormous wealth, is sufficiently proved by the fact that not one Wall Street failure accompanied the wreck of values. Public belief laid the forced liquidation at the door of the men who started the ill-fated "boom" after Union Pacific's August dividend, and very possibly, this will remain the tradition of the market.

From what we have had occasion already to observe both in this article and in that of last January, it will doubtless be granted that there were reasons enough for a lower range of prices and a great deal of uncertainty as to the investment situation during the season past. It so happened that a large number of the Wall-Street contingent refused to admit the exclusive force of the influences referred to, and assigned as the chief cause of uncertainty what it called the attitude of "persecution" toward the railroads. In general these had reference, of course, to the attitude of President Roosevelt in pressing the bill investing the Inter-State Commerce Commission with semi-judicial powers over rates and with larger rights of investigation. Opinions undoubtedly differ in

serious quarters as to the wisdom or unwisdom of provisos enacted into law regarding railroad rates. It had been very generally held and by good authority that the existing law, if properly applied, contained sufficient remedies for such evils as existed. It must be admitted, however, that almost the first trial of the Interstate Commerce Commission's new powers has opened up such an extraordinary field of scandal as to convince very many people not only that some step in restraint of the railroads had been necessary, but that some more and very definite steps would be inevitable before the matter could be closed. This extraordinary episode in judicial inquiry of railway finance we have now to consider.

Early in January, the Interstate Commerce Commission began an investigation of the Union Pacific Railway's relation to the railway traffic situation generally. In the last number of THE FORUM, I called attention to the remarkable showing made in the Union Pacific's balance sheet for June 30, 1906, which reported \$21,258,883 cash on hand or in bank and \$34,710,000 in outstanding demand loans, a total not quite \$55,000,000 as against only \$7,345,565 in similar items reported twelve months before. There had been unmeasured wonder as to what the railway would do or had done, since the middle of last year, with this enormous sum of ready money. There were not wanting severe critics who called attention to the possibilities of facilitating Stock-Exchange speculation by the use of such a concentrated fund, and these people very naturally insisted that their criticism derived added force from the so-called inside speculation which broke out after the declaration of the Union Pacific's increased dividend in August.

The first achievement of the Interstate Commerce Commission in this investigation was the unearthing of the facts regarding this enormous cash fund. Their examination of the books showed that not only had the \$55,000,000 already referred to been absorbed in stock purchases since June 30, but that nearly twice as much more had been similarly invested. The facts were these: The sum of ready cash reported last June as in the treasury was increased by further sales of Great Northern and Northern Pacific stocks which had been held in Union Pacific's treasury since the Northern Securities liquidation. These various cash resources had been so rapidly employed on the Stock Exchange that in the six ensuing months Union Pacific had bought, directly or through its subsidiary companies, \$28,123,100 Illinois Central stock, \$10,000,000 Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé preferred, \$3,690,000 Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul common, \$14,285,745 New York Central, \$2,572,000 Chicago & Northwestern, \$5,000,000 St. Joseph & Grand Island, and \$39,540,000 Baltimore and Ohio common and preferred stock. In all, these new investments during the six months footed up \$103,168,745 par value, and

subsequent testimony indicated that the amount of money paid for them exceeded \$131,000,000.

Now there were several interesting facts which arose in connection with these purchases. Some of them could not by any stretch of inference be explained as purchases on the old community-of-interest theory, or as ownership stock for the sake of a voice in the affairs of a rival line. New York Central, for instance, does not connect with the Union Pacific lines, and the investment in this stock was not enough to insure anything like control. It further developed, from an examination of the minutes of the company, that the \$28,000,000 Illinois Central stock was bought by the railroad from its own directors, the board having followed the more or less empty formality of excusing the directors immediately concerned while the others voted on the question to purchase. Practical Wall Street had two things to say regarding these extraordinary acquisitions of stock. One was that with a few exceptions the stocks thus purchased were active in the speculative market. The other was that insiders, aware that the company was in the market, were entirely at liberty to profit in a speculative way from their knowledge that such enormous funds were to be invested. To an extent this must always be the case with an investing company, but the magnitude of the Union Pacific's operations placed it necessarily in a class by itself.

It might, on the other hand, have been argued that the record and practices of the men responsible for the administration of this huge fund was such that no one need entertain the least misgiving as to their proper and conservative use of it. But here the investigations of the Interstate Commerce Commission assumed after a few weeks of adjournment a most extraordinary turn. It had long been known in Wall-Street circles, though not very generally outside of Wall Street, that the group of capitalists which in 1899 bought up the old Chicago & Alton had somehow juggled with the stock of that company so as to leave the enterprise financially crippled after adding immensely to their personal profit from the undertaking. It was also known that the men engaged in this operation were in the main insiders of the Union Pacific management. Toward the close of February, the Interstate Commission placed on the stand Mr. E. H. Harriman, chairman of the board, and the leading spirit in the Union Pacific enterprise, and from him elicited the very extraordinary story of the Alton.

In brief, it was this: The capitalization of the company during the ownership of the four men in the group described who controlled perhaps ninety-seven per cent of the stock had been inflated from \$39,000,000 to \$125,000,000. It was admitted even by this naturally biased witness that from one-third to one-half of this was water. In June,

1899, these controlling interests offered to shareholders of the Alton — that is to themselves — \$32,000,000 of new three-per-cent bonds at sixty-five. In October or November of the same year a large part of these bonds were sold to the New York Life Insurance Company at ninety-six. Careful calculations made on the basis of Mr. Harriman's own testimony figured out that the profit of this operation to the four insiders was \$8,000,000, in addition to which they paid themselves a thirty-per-cent cash dividend of \$6,600,000, sold another block of bonds to themselves at sixty and afterward to other people at eighty — so that between these and other expedients for turning an honest penny in the company's finances they expected from the financing upward of \$23,-000,000.

The point of this investigation naturally lay in the fact that, in at least one or two instances, the same men were engaged in Union Pacific finance. It was answered by defenders of the Alton operation that, inasmuch as these four men are the shareholders of the company, they were entitled to such benefits as might accrue from any railway financing. The obvious answer was that directors had no business to fleece their railway even if the results of the operation are handed over to shareholders. Mr. Harriman himself made an attempt to justify the bond operation of 1899 by asserting that when the bonds were bought the financial outlook of the country was doubtful and troubled, whereas a great change had come over the situation by the time the New York Life made its purchase at ninety-six. This explanation, if seriously made, must have been made in ignorance of the facts which were that in the first half of 1899 a highly excited boom was in progress on the Stock Exchange with the public clamoring to buy, whereas in November, when the sale was made to the New York Life, the Boer War panic had swept over Europe's markets, causing utter demoralization in both home and foreign finance.

A further consideration which acted seriously to the prejudice of Mr. Harriman and his associates was the refusal to answer on the witness stand the question whether stock involved in these operations, as in the sale of Alton shares to the Union Pacific, had or had not belonged to the witness who was himself a Union-Pacific director. The public quite inevitably assumed from the refusal to answer that the answer would have been in the affirmative, and this hardly mitigated public feeling in regard to the Union Pacific episode. It was shown by the testimony that the \$100,000,000 convertible bond issue authorized by Union-Pacific shareholders in 1901 was voted without the slightest attempt to inquire what use would be made of the fund. For this inaction of the stockholders, the only apology or explanation is the abnormal state of

mind which existed in financial circles at that time in 1901. Finally, it was brought to light in the course of the investigation that early in 1903, when pressed hard by a suit to test the legality of its ownership of half the Southern Pacific Railway's stock, Union Pacific resorted to the subterfuge of selling to Mr. William Rockefeller 300,000 shares of the stock in question. Mr. Rockefeller held this stock until the following autumn, when he returned it, receiving his money back and a handsome commission.

Now the point of interest in the matter is that during the time Mr. Rockefeller held the stock, Union Pacific's fiscal year came to a close. The balance sheet of June 30 was not published at the time; and when it did appear the company was represented as having held in its treasury on June 30 all of the Southern-Pacific stock originally in its possession. Mr. Harriman, asked as to the propriety of this entry, simply stated that the balance sheet was prepared in November and that by instructions the entry was made according to the actual circumstances of November — this although the page on which it was printed appeared to give the balance sheet of June 30. This bit of testimony scarcely requires comment. It was ill-received by the financial community, and led to no surprise when it was intimated that the Interstate Commission might press for legislation regulating the use of railway companies as banking and investing concerns. Whether such restriction can be effected is another question.

The financial future is at this moment more than usually difficult to forecast. On the one side stand the facts that the burden of an inflated Stock Exchange speculation has been shaken off, and that, simultaneously our power over Europe's supply of capital, through our sales of railway notes abroad, is clearly great enough to procure foreign gold in quantity for our bank reserves if we choose to use that power. On the other side are the facts that our bank position is still weak — on March 16 the excess over the required reserve was at New York much the lowest since 1903; that money rates had risen to twenty-five per cent on call and seven per cent on time, wholly abnormal figures for the season; that foreign financial markets, notably at London and Berlin, were in so precarious a position as to render doubtful the possible outcome of large gold withdrawals; and that London financiers plainly threatened a renewed advance in the Bank of England rate, in case of such withdrawals, to six per cent or higher. There is also the question of prosperity as shown by our internal trade, regarding which the position is very curious. Foreign critics are pretty unanimous in the judgment that reduced trade activity is essential to

escape disastrous strain on the money markets. Wall Street asserts that trade reaction is foreshadowed by the prolonged collapse on the Stock Exchange. Railway men have declared that at least contracting activity in steel and iron must follow the forced retrenchment of the railways. On top of this comes the assertion of numerous oracles, from Secretary Shaw to some business men themselves, that a slackening of the pace was a thing to hope for. Yet, at this writing, there is nowhere tangible evidence of such a slackening, — the reports from virtually all trade centres, up to the present writing, reporting large demand for merchandise, light supplies, difficulty of meeting orders on manufacturers, and a generally sound condition in the face of this unprecedentedly active movement.

ALEXANDER D. NOYES.

OPERA IN NEW YORK, AND MUSIC ABROAD.

THE rejection of "Salome" involves a question of far-reaching importance: the freedom of dramatic representation. The growth of dramatic and musico-dramatic performances during the past years has been phenomenal. Never before have people flocked to theatre and opera in such numbers. Never has the stage been a more fruitful topic of discussion. Why? Because people are daily becoming more intensely interested in the actualities of life. They thirst for actual experience. They wish to put life to the test for themselves. Is it not natural, therefore, that, during their hours of leisure, they should eagerly throng to witness the representation of life on the stage — life in its actuality, in all its phases, the intense life in the present, which is fraught for them with an ever-increasing importance, which all conditions are tending to stimulate, and which no reactionary tendencies, whether dictated by conviction or policy, can long arrest?

Does any one really believe that at such a time and in a country the boast of which has ever been the right of free discussion, the representation of a musical drama performed at the greatest centres of modern culture abroad can really be long withheld from an American public desirous of judging for itself? It is not the play of "Salome" itself, but the principle involved which is here at stake. The people wish to know through adequate representation — if it be possible to secure this — just what the merits or demerits of this drama really are. Is "Salome" a faithful historic picture presented with all the graphic power which music can lend to poetic diction, or is it morbid in its inception and treatment? Is the expressional character of the music suggestive of a straining after realistic effects at variance with the æsthetic principles of the art, and therefore unsound from the standpoint of art, or is it the splendid production of an individual genius in touch with the deeper currents of modern life, who is seeking new channels?

Our public is capable of judging for itself; it need not be held in tutelage. Rarely, if ever, is it influenced by the divergent opinions of critics: it decides for itself. In the long run its judgment is true and sound, and this, owing not to the opinion of critics, but to that instinctive appreciation of what is true in art, which is implanted as deeply in the people as a whole as is the desire for free discussion of political, moral,

and other questions affecting our daily life. Innumerable are the plays, dramatic and musical, placed upon the boards, the subject-matter of which, regarded from a certain moral standpoint, is unexceptionable. Yet they are coarse, commonplace, vulgar, and debasing from an artistic point of view. The converse is true also. When "Die Walküre," now perhaps the favorite German opera of our American public, was first produced abroad, the press was lurid with indignant comment, in which the stage-direction, "der Vorhang fällt schnell" (the curtain falls quickly) played a conspicuous part. Yet "Die Walküre" has survived, for more than thirty years its fame has increased the world over, and none but a very narrow-minded person, or one fearful of facing the great realities of existence, would take exception to-day to the heroic human suffering of those unfortunate victims of a fate tragic beyond compare, *Siegmund* and *Sieglinde*, as depicted by Richard Wagner.

There is no place in the world where art, both music and the drama, should find wider tolerance or more speedy recognition than in New York City, than which no city in the Union is more typically American (using the word in its broadest and best sense), combining as it does our fundamental virtue, keen emulation, with what is not always found elsewhere, a liberal and tolerant spirit. Why should we therefore in matters of art be governed here by a small minority?

We are not here concerned with any criticism whatever on "Salome." We must wait until we have heard this production of the greatest living composer *adequately* and sufficiently often presented. The fact is that a work such as this ought to be given here under the auspices of the composer himself, provided it were possible to give him proper material and sufficient time for rehearsing.

New Yorkers, therefore, have a right to judge for themselves; in the light of present conditions — Twentieth Century conditions — they *will* judge for themselves; and, in view of the history of public taste and judgment, they *can* judge for themselves. There have been periods, it is true, when some particular composer has been heralded as a veritable god, surrounded for years by a host of worshippers, finally to be relegated to an inferior niche in the Pantheon. Was this ever due to the efforts of critics? By no means. It was due, first of all, to slow and gradual, but most potent, changes in political, social, and economic life.

With the downfall of the French Empire, for example, many deities in the realm of the arts toppled to their fall. They had been associated merely with an evanescent phase of political life, with a political régime, the noise and glamour of which is still reflected in the music of that period. Far more potent than the factors before mentioned has been the in-

fluence of comparatively unrestricted musical and dramatic representation which, in the case of Wagner, for example, gradually succeeded in removing at Paris the prejudice of even so intensely national a people as the French. The public, whether that of artistic Paris or of New York, can, in the long run, be trusted to judge correctly in matters of art, the most important consideration in this respect being the assurance of *adequate interpretation*.

It is a well-known fact that no other art is so dependent upon interpretation as is music. Every one is willing to concede this, yet how rarely are the requirements of adequate interpretation fulfilled! Wagner once said of Liszt that his interpretation of the classic masterpieces was such as to place him almost upon a level with the composer whose work he reproduced. In the pianistic field we have to-day a host of performers, but there is not a single individual of heroic calibre among them, not one endowed with the elemental passion or mental grasp requisite to revive the dead score of a Beethoven sonata or of a "Fantasy" by Schumann. In the domain of orchestral music a slight advance has been made within the past few years, and New Yorkers have been fortunate in securing a man of flesh and blood like Safonoff to conduct their Philharmonic concerts. But the great majority of orchestral renderings still give, in humble phrase, only a dead letter.

Coming now to operatic performances, it is sad to be compelled to record the lamentable fact that there has appeared during the past few years a pronounced tendency toward sensationalism, which cannot be too strongly condemned. The public, of course, wants a novelty now and then. But that novelty should be suitably staged, and repeatedly and carefully rehearsed. At an opera-house such as the Metropolitan, where "Die Fledermaus" is given one day and the greatest masterpiece in the whole domain of music, "Parsifal," is advertised to be authentically performed the next, artistic resources must be available which to the initiated must appear to be fairly staggering.

Some of the greatest works in the repertory of German opera have not been heard here in years and years. Carl Maria von Weber, "the most typically German of all German composers," as Wagner styles him, might never have lived, for aught we hear of him in this, the third largest German city in the world, as it has been called. If the question were put to many of our young people here as to what German opera is, they would probably glibly answer "The Ring." Who are the great German operatic composers? Wagner France, too, has had composers of merit besides the few whose compositions are everlastingly performed here, and some operas worthy of mention besides those which we have continually heard for years. At any great musical centre abroad

genuine music-lovers are familiar with Boieldieu, Cherubini, Gluck, Spontini, and Auber. They do, indeed, realize that Meyerbeer and Gounod are "caviar to the general." They know that a certain class of the *bourgeoisie*, which the Germans would describe as being "von der Kultur beleckt," cannot appreciate so well the more refined and classic productions in the field of music. They make allowances for this and wait until an opera of a higher order is given; and they generally have not long to wait.

Of course, allowances must be made for the different conditions prevailing in New York City. Our population is not stationary. Were it so, the standards in music would probably rise, instead of being depressed or rendered stationary by the constant accession of elements which must regard "Grand Opera," with the accent on the "Grand," as a novelty and a luxury. From the standpoint of a money-making institution, therefore, these elements must be taken into account. They must (with apologies to Coleridge)

On honey-dew be fed,
And drink the milk of paradise

by being initiated into the lovely melodies of "Faust" and "The Huguenots." It has been somewhat better here this year, but the same general standard prevails.

On the other hand, we have in New York a class of people who regard a visit to the opera as a social function. The production of a "novelty" is to them a special inducement, a sort of "red letter" event, a guarantee that their friends "will be there." The advent of a new "star" has the same effect upon this class of opera-goers, and the first appearance of Mlle. So-and-So is sure to be a drawing-card.

The general standard of an operatic performance has comparatively little effect upon either of these two classes, which so strongly characterize present conditions generally. It is the element of moderate means, but of real musical culture, the element which patronizes the better class of concerts, which is inclined to be critical. These are the people by whom art itself is cherished. Many of them have become familiar with the best productions in the field of instrumental and vocal music by frequent visits to good concerts, and they have travelled abroad and know what the repertory of European opera-houses offers.

It is these people who know what a good "all-round" performance means. Even though they cannot always hear such works as they should like, they are satisfied to have at least a perfect ensemble placed before them, an ensemble in which conductor and stage-manager, soloists and chorus, combine harmoniously to secure an artistic and satisfying result.

Such an ensemble, which the writer so strongly urged upon the management of the Metropolitan several years ago, has come at last. It is the achievement of Mr. Oscar Hammerstein of the Manhattan Opera House.

There's a new foot on the floor, my friends,
And a new face at the door, my friends,
A new face at the door.

In the spirit of Tennyson's lines, Mr. Hammerstein has truly ushered in an operatic New Year, if not a new era in operatic annals. For New York has never before in its history had so fine an ensemble, such finished performances of Italian opera as have been given at the new opera-house in Thirty-fourth Street.

New Yorkers had long been prone to believe that there was a dearth of good singers abroad: Mr. Hammerstein has brought over a whole shipful of them. He has introduced several conductors whom it would be difficult to duplicate. He has presented an orchestra drilled to a nicety, and ever in absolute accord with singers and chorus. He has produced a chorus, not consisting of lay figures, but of wide-awake men and women, who not only sing admirably together, but whose grouping upon the stage is natural, lifelike, and vivid to the last degree. He has been at pains to present scenery and costumes which are never incongruous, but generally appropriate and pleasing; and, instead of presenting a few "stars," surrounded by a most disappointing aggregation of satellites, he has given us an agreeable variety of excellent singers of the principal rôles, as well as uniformly competent interpreters of minor parts.

A musical critic is not apt to become enthusiastic to-day as regards performances in general; but there are times when he can well afford to dispense with his "judicial poise" and give his unstinted approval where it is merited. In an interview with Mr. Hammerstein, three days before the opening night of the opera, the director told the writer that every dollar invested in the enterprise came out of his own pocket. "But it is not merely a matter of dollars and cents with me," he added; "my heart is in this enterprise." In this connection, the writer merely wishes to state it as his sincere conviction that no man actuated *solely* by the desire for pecuniary gain could achieve the artistic results attained by Mr. Hammerstein. The people of New York owe him a debt of gratitude; for he has shown what it is possible to achieve with some sincerity of purpose and real artistic discernment. Our Manhattan opera, if continued along the lines followed this season, should receive the unstinted support of every true music-lover in New York City.

The singers composing Mr. Hammerstein's company are already

well known to the public, and especially is this true of Madame Melba; so that a reference to their specific abilities here would almost seem superfluous. What a fine dramatic singer Mr. Hammerstein has in Mme. De Cisneros, whose every gesture and inflection denote true artistic insight! Whether as *Azucena* in "Il Trovatore," *Ulrica* in "Un Ballo in Maschera," or *Amneris* in "Aïda," her impersonation, both vocally and dramatically, has never for a moment been devoid of interest. The same is true of Mme. Bressler-Gianoli's *Carmen*, than which a better impersonation has rarely if ever been heard in New York. The wide range of this contralto voice, the infusion of the dramatic element into every tone, and the fine histrionic ability of the artist, cannot be too highly praised. Indeed, it is that primary essential, the dramatic element, which, above all, makes the performances at the Manhattan worth listening to. The clear, and at times almost birdlike, tones of Mlle. Pinkert, and the rich, virgin quality of Mme. Donaldada's voice and her charming rendering of such rôles as *Zerline* and *Marguerite* — these attributes have combined to introduce to the New York public two further valuable acquisitions to our operatic staff.

Unfortunately, it is not possible here to discuss in detail the various other interpreters of feminine rôles at the Manhattan. Turning to the male contingent, we have had the interesting, tactful, and sweet-voiced, if somewhat diminutive, Sig. Bonci, who has become a popular favorite despite certain mannerisms which he would do well to omit. One of these is the tendency to a long-sustained *diminuendo*, such as he likes to introduce before the final phrase of "La donna e mobile." There is really no dramatic justification for this sort of thing, which may tickle the ears of the "gallery gods" or of those youthful visitors to the opera who enjoy the melting luxury of an Italian tenor's *soli* as they would a box of choice bonbons.

The Manhattan has not only offered one excellent tenor, but several of them, among which MM. Bassi, Dalmore, and Altchevsky are deserving of particular mention. If there has been no dearth of good tenors here, there assuredly has been none as regards barytones. M. Renaud, who unfortunately was with us only a short time, has practically recreated the rôle of *Rigoletto*, particularly as regards the dramatic interpretation of this difficult part. Who that has visited these performances has not been thrilled by the resonant, inspiriting tones of Sig. Ancona, the sympathetic voice of Seveilhac, and the rich and fluent vocalization of Sammarco? A good basso is rare, but the Manhattan boasts of several excellent specimens of this lowest register of the male voice, in which connection it is necessary to mention only MM. Arimondi, Gilibert, and Mugnoz. Indeed, both as an actor and as a singer, Sig. Arimondi has con-

tributed in no slight degree to the success of Mr. Hammerstein's company. As *Sparafucile* in "Rigoletto," *Ramfis* in "Aïda," *Mephistopheles* in "Faust," *Samuel* in "Un Ballo," and *Don Basilio* in "Il Barbiere"—rôles certainly requiring considerable dramatic versatility—he has made an impression on our New York public which will not soon be effaced.

It is, however, more particularly in the apportionment of the minor rôles that the management of the Manhattan has displayed its fidelity to the artistic purpose. This, for example, was well exemplified in "Un Ballo in Maschera," which, after a lapse of fourteen years or so, was performed at the Metropolitan during the season of 1902-1903. Shall we ever forget the villains Tom and Samuel, who looked for all the world like longshoremen out for a frolic; or the motley aggregations of costumes some suggesting Italian *marinari*, others French peasants, while the remainder might have been mistaken for frowzy Cossacks?

At the Manhattan performance last winter, every feature of the incongruous plot which might possibly have aroused comment or ridicule was presented with the utmost care. Everywhere a sense of æsthetic fitness prevailed. Arimondi and Mugnoz made us forget their cognomens Samuel and Tom; indeed, they were probably the most acceptable and dignified villains that ever appeared in the lamentable setting which Verdi, for political reasons, ultimately decided to give to the "Masked Ball," in many respects a noble work. The part of Oscar, the page, instead of being relegated to a person of minor ability, was assigned to Mlle. Zeppilli, who immediately upon her entrance captivated all hearts by her charming presence, her irresistibly graceful acting, and her fresh and not unpleasing voice. Finally, the assassination scene in the last act, which act, by the way, was beautifully staged, shows how an episode such as this can be presented with all dramatic intensity, without offending our sense of fitness. If this applies to a work like the "Masked Ball," it applies in an infinitely higher degree to a work like "Salome," in the final scene of which a historic episode picturing the utmost extremes between the mad, riotous intoxicating revelry of life and the awful silent picture of suffering and death, is presented in dramatic form.

The achievements of the Manhattan, not only with more modern French and Italian productions, but with such old-time operas as "I Puritani" and "La Somnambula," prove the truth of the statement frequently made in THE FORUM, that it is infinitely better to hear an honest operatic work of modest pretensions adequately performed than to listen to an unsatisfactory rendering of a music-drama by Wagner. Nothing is more elevating and inspiring than a good musical performance, nothing more misleading as to the nature and purpose of the composer and detrimental as to a proper appreciation of the value of his product

than a mediocre performance. It is a fallacy to believe that there is such a thing as the half-way good in music.

“The bad is not the worst, for seldom can it deceive;
The middling is far worse, so many it good believe.”

—Richard Wagner.

Mediocre performances are such in which a few celebrated “stars” have things their own way, or in which a conductor, thoroughly familiar with musical scores, lacks the genius and insight to grasp the proper tempo or, grasping it, is so badly handicapped by the supremacy of our widely advertised “stars,” that he is compelled to conform to their wishes and to sacrifice that fundamental requirement, truthful interpretation, the recognition of the totality, or, as we call it, the ensemble.

The star-system is the bane of operatic performances. Our drama was once dominated by it; but that time is fortunately passing away: the public is becoming more and more interested in the play itself. The days are happily over when vast audiences would sit in breathless expectation throughout a play in order that they might behold George Rignold enter “once more unto the breach.” Yet, to-day, our public will sit patiently through the most tedious operatic performance in order that it may cull an occasional lyrical tidbit. If the celebrated tenor does not sing, it will stay away. In the performance of Italian operas of a certain order, this infatuation with the voice, pure and simple, might be in a measure condoned, though the writer is to-day of the conviction that the dramatic intentions of most of our great Italian composers have come to be somewhat underestimated through false exposition, literary and musical, and frequently by an unfair comparison between their operas and the music-dramas of Richard Wagner, in which a separation of music and text immediately results in absolute chaos.

But the individual performances on the part of several distinguished artists of the Italian and French schools here have demonstrated that they have not altogether lost touch with the traditions of the past; and during the season just terminated Mr. Hammerstein has conclusively shown that with good management and discipline and able musical leaders a very satisfactory ensemble may be obtained as regards Italian and French operas. If Mr. Hammerstein could now prove to the world that he could achieve an equally good result in the domain of Wagnerian opera, he would accomplish the greatest wonder of the age, at least as regards musical interpretation.

This, however, the writer believes under present conditions to be almost an impossibility. It is sad, but true, that there is an almost

impassable gulf between the man of transcendental genius in Germany and "the great majority." In the fatherland we find, on the one hand, men of towering genius, on the other, men characterized, it is true, by the attributes of the nation, sincerity of purpose and thoroughness, but, of necessity, often incapable of following the daring flights into the realm of thought and psychological experience of a Schopenhauer and a Nietzsche, of a Beethoven and a Wagner.

We know with what almost insuperable obstacles Wagner had to contend before he could place the "Trilogy" before the public, and we know also what numerous rehearsals and drill were required to make those performances satisfactory at Bayreuth in 1876. Those who are familiar with Wagner's views can readily understand his solicitude for the greatest musical drama ever penned — "Parsifal." Since those early days, a generation ago, we have been repeatedly told by men profoundly versed in the Wagnerian lore that Herr Kapellmeister X — or Frau Sängerin Z — were the only accredited representatives of the great master, that they had performed under his auspices at Bayreuth, and that "nur wenn mit ihrem Stempel versehen" (only when stamped with their signature, so to speak) could the performances of the Wagnerian dramas be considered valid and genuine.

Such statements as these, re-echoed on the part of critics, and faithfully repeated by the public, have served to make of the Wagnerian cult to-day a sort of "Only Infallible Church," into which those alone who are duly initiated may enter.

It is the opinion of the writer that Wagner never wanted this sort of thing. No man knew better than he how subtle and elusive, how misleading and treacherous, the traditions regarding the performance of such transcendental musical creations would be and how difficult of fulfilment and exacting the conditions which would make possible truly adequate performances of the "Ring" and "Parsifal."

Things have gradually come to such a pass that to differ from the high-priests of the Wagnerian cult must almost be regarded as downright heresy. Yet the fact remains that the average Wagnerian performance at present, in its totality, reflects the conception of the German Philistine rather than that of the immortal author of the "Ring"; and this conception is unfortunately reflected in the mind of the public.

If it were possible for a man of real discernment, and open to conviction, a man equipped with sufficient funds, and supported and encouraged by the good-will and aid of all true music-lovers, to secure for New York City such a setting of the legitimate Wagnerian dramas as they really merit, that man would be entitled to the enduring regard of every sincere devotee of music in America.

"Zaza," a play with which we are all familiar, has now, as we know, been cast in operatic form by Leoncavallo. The musical setting is skilful, although, so far, the play has not impressed audiences as powerfully as has "Il Pagliacci," an opera which has maintained its popularity everywhere. Undoubtedly, however, this work, like the latest opera of Puccini, "Madama Butterfly," will before long be heard in its entirety in the United States. Mascagni, whose ill-starred journey through the United States is familiar to us, has again come upon the scene with an opera entitled "Amica." Indeed, the Italian element, during the past year, has been very conspicuously represented in the operatic field by Puccini, Leoncavallo, and Mascagni, as well as by Giordano (whose "Siberia" has already been reviewed in these pages), Pizzi, and Wolf-Ferrari. France has found a prominent representative in Saint-Saëns, whose opera "L'Ancêtre" has been produced on several European stages; while England has given proof of real Anglo-Saxon pluck by sending a lady into the operatic amphitheatre, Miss E. M. Smyth, whose previous opera, "Der Wald," was given at the Metropolitan Opera House during the season of 1902-1903.

Upon the whole, the offerings in the operatic field this year, if we except "Salome," are not distinguished by striking originality. In the field of instrumental music, however, we have to-day the prolific young composer, Max Reger, who seems to share the honors with Richard Strauss. Reviews and essays galore are being published on Reger, and his works are being subjected to a fairly microscopic analysis, not the minutest detail being omitted in these characteristic musical dissections.

Frequently, of course, these dissections, these attempts at minute analysis, are somewhat absurd. Yet, after all, they give evidence of that thoroughness so characteristic of the German. Every shred of evidence which can be produced in support of this or that theory concerning a contemporary in the field of science or art is carefully submitted in the criticisms published so plentifully in the newspaper and magazine press of the fatherland. Nor do these discussions end when the person concerning whom this literary warfare is waged has finally folded his hands and "gone to his rest." Any document which can throw light upon the life of the deceased or serve to elucidate his theories is most carefully treasured.

In the case of Richard Wagner there is surely good justification for this enthusiasm; and the recent publication of several newly discovered letters addressed to the great master have therefore aroused general interest. Considerably more than three thousand letters of Wagner have now been published — a literature in itself. His correspondence was enormous; and, in this respect, he furnished a singular contrast to

Chopin, for example, of whom it is said that he would walk miles to deliver a message in person rather than write a letter.

Yet, comparatively few of the letters addressed to Wagner himself have so far beheld the light of day. There are various reasons for this. In the first place, Wagner was for many years practically without a home. His pecuniary condition, as well as the uncertainty of his abode, combined to prevent a careful conservation of his correspondence. Many of the letters, moreover, were somewhat unimportant, referring frequently to matters of merely transitory interest. Such, however, as have been saved, often throw light on the artistic and cultural conditions of a day now past and are therefore valuable as regards their bearing upon the history of art.

The correspondence of such men as Louis Spohr, Hector Berlioz, and others with the enthusiastic and aggressive Wagner, and the attitude of these musicians toward the greatest musical iconoclast of modern times, are also of interest as demonstrating the friendly spirit with which true genius often greets the newcomer in the ranks. We all know that Wagner had to encounter much opposition. Most tantalizing of all to a man of his sensitiveness must have been the petty jealousies as well as the personal spitefulness displayed toward him by his opponents and the unfair methods of literary warfare employed by them.

Louis Spohr was one of the few men who recognized the genius of Wagner at the very outset and who remained loyal to him from first to last. At a time when Wagner was still scarcely known, Spohr, in a letter recently for the first time made public, shows that he thoroughly understood the newcomer and unhesitatingly expressed himself to that effect in a personal letter to Wagner. Referring to an early performance of "The Flying Dutchman," he said:

As for myself, I have had a predilection for it from the very beginning; for the reading of the score already convinced me that the opera was written with enthusiasm, that it was not designed for effect nor to win the approbation of the multitude. Continue in this and your work will redound to the honor of German art!

Happy is the man who knows his own mind and who does not fear to express his opinion. Among critics it is so often a case of waiting until the rest come up. There are many moulders of public opinion living to-day, for example, who would feel very uncomfortable were their early immature opinions on Richard Strauss again summoned before them as a sort of "Banquo's ghost" thirty years hence. But, of course, there is such a thing as changing one's mind, and a most convenient thing it is, especially to the critic.

What such an opinion as that of Louis Spohr must have been worth to Wagner at that time can scarcely be realized by the uninitiated.

No man is more dependent upon friendship and recognition than the artist. In this connection, the question often suggests itself: If the lives of Mozart and Schubert were so early terminated, largely through suffering, privation, and want, how many men endowed with genius of a slower growth have been crushed out of existence entirely before they could demonstrate their ability to the world, and how many, for the sake of self-preservation, have been forced aside from the pursuit of their high goal and doomed forever to pass their life "among the shallows?"

Wagner was a man of many-sided and varied interests, notwithstanding the intensity of his nature and his concentration of purpose. Thus it came that he was brought into touch, not only with musicians, but with scientists, artists, and literati in many parts of the world. Some of the letters of Wagner's correspondents, therefore, which have been recently added to the list, throw very interesting sidelights upon past political and social conditions in Germany — conditions which, to the generation since grown up, must appear almost incredible. In this connection, the letters of Constantin Franz to Richard Wagner, dating from 1866 and published in the "*Bayreuther Blätter*" during the past year, are especially interesting.

The tendency in Europe to celebrate the great composers of the past and everywhere to seek out correspondence which may illuminate their career and their opinions; the publication of revised editions of their works; the endeavors to unearth lost musical manuscripts; the revivals of operas which have undeservedly fallen into neglect; and the organization of festivals upon a large scale in honor of Mozart and other musical celebrities of the past — all these phenomena emphasize the fact that, after all, most of our present productions in the musical field are merely ephemeral and are regarded so by the truly cultured music-lover. Herein we should find an additional reason why Strauss and the very small number of others who really display any originality whatever to-day in the field of composition should be encouraged in every way possible.

Men like Saint-Saëns in France, and Grieg in Norway, are growing old and are no longer as fertile in production as formerly. How many are there in France or Scandinavia to-day to fill their places? As regards Italy, that country probably stands first to-day, at least numerically, so far as talented operatic composers of a certain order are concerned. Puccini, notably, is at present "all the rage." Undoubtedly Puccini's skilful instrumentation and his extremely clever choice of subjects for musical setting are factors which have contributed largely to his success.

"Madama Butterfly" has made a hit in Europe as well as in America, and it seems that our recent visitor from Italy is now casting about for some typical American subject with which to glorify Uncle Sam. The

composer was recently quoted in our press here as saying that, if he could find a good libretto treating of the busy period of 1849, he would try to do something with it in a musical way, selecting, however, not the American Indian, but the once picturesque pioneer of the "Wild West" for musical representation. In this interview, Puccini is quoted as saying that he has always been fascinated by the stories of Bret Harte and has, therefore, long been familiar in a measure with scenes of our Western life; so that, in order to obtain local color, it would scarcely be necessary for him to visit our plains. Leoncavello has written a "Roland of Berlin" and Puccini may now perhaps be able to find some "Roland of Kansas City, Missouri."

Mention has been made of the necessity of encouraging real ability, in order that, amid such empty show and noise, the talented individual shall not perish. In this connection, frequent reference has recently been made to the noble and gifted composer, Peter Cornelius, a nephew of the illustrious painter, Peter von Cornelius. His life was a fruitless struggle for recognition, and the means of a livelihood were not obtained until after middle age. Although Cornelius supported himself partly by teaching and partly by translating poems and libretti by Rubinstein, Berlioz, and others, even the earnings obtained in this way were not always at hand, and the composer was frequently in a state of absolute dependence upon his family and friends.

Schubert received about a dollar and a quarter from one publisher for half a dozen of his best songs, and Cornelius, at a much later day, obtained an almost equally absurd sum, comparatively speaking, for his only opera, "The Barber of Bagdad," a splendid work and Cornelius's *chef d'œuvre*. The failure of this fine setting of an old theme was brought about by the opposition of a faction inimical to the composer, and the circumstance is said to have enraged Liszt to such an extent that he left Weimar. It is only recently, through the publication by his son of the letters and diary of Cornelius, that the really tragic history of this highly gifted composer, who even to-day is hardly known to the public at large, has come to light. Although he left in his songs many rich gems, the greater part of this collection of lyrics was not published until after his death.

It has become the fashion of late years to depreciate Franz Liszt. Yet, if the magnanimous and noble-spirited Liszt had done nothing more than to rescue Cornelius from absolute oblivion and to extend the hand of friendship to this worthy and gifted musical genius during his lifetime, that circumstance alone would have entitled him to lasting regard. Discouraged and snubbed by the "foremost musical authorities" of Berlin, poor Cornelius finally called upon Liszt, who had befriended so

many of his colleagues — a visit which Cornelius whimsically described as follows:

As I was walking up the steps to Liszt's rooms in the Altenburg, the superstitious idea came over me that an even number would be lucky, and an uneven number, unlucky. And, behold! there were twenty-one steps.

Yet Liszt became the friend and adviser of Cornelius, who declares that Liszt's was the noblest heart that ever beat in an artist's breast.

Here we find one of the most delightful song-writers of the century almost entirely neglected during his lifetime, one whose worth is only now beginning to be sufficiently appreciated. The general opinion is that we are rich in songs, in short lyrics. In a numerical sense we are. Yet only at rare intervals have musicians arisen capable of giving a truly artistic setting to a genuine poem. The trouble has been that we have become so steeped in a certain species of sentimental lyricism, that we are frequently incapable of discriminating between this and the genuine artistic product.

In an article by the writer on Robert Schumann,¹ reference has already been made to this lamentable confusion which probably is often accountable for the failure of our public to distinguish a real lyrical gem, when it first appears, from the spurious article.

Another musician who would probably have achieved great things had not death early terminated his brief and unfortunate career was Richard Nordraak, the composer of Norway's national anthem. Björnsterne Björnson, who for many years has been so closely associated with Grieg by the double tie of friendship and art, recently said at the grave of Nordraak:

His death completely altered my plan of life. My mind was filled with the old Icelandic battle-songs and pictures from the ancient northern mythology. It was my intention to create, in conjunction with the deceased, great dramas out of this material, for which he was to supply the music.

In this connection, it may not be amiss to speak of another composer of Norway, Sjögren, whose works are commanding an increasing interest by reason of the fantasy and poetic fervor which they display, and the technical skill revealed in the communication of his musical ideas. Like many of the Scandinavian poets, it is the ballad-form which particularly fascinates the musician here discussed, especially the ballad pervaded by a sombre northern coloring. Unfortunately we have not had many composers since Löwe who have preferentially adopted this form and who have treated it skilfully. But Sjögren also excels in other departments of music, and several of his pianoforte pieces are very charming.

¹ THE FORUM, October, 1896.

Another man among these Scandinavians is Haakon Boerresen who, although only in his thirtieth year, has already created considerable stir by his fine songs. Of course, it is Sinding, who, excepting Grieg, occupies the most conspicuous position among Norwegian composers, although it is very doubtful whether he will ever reveal the originality which is associated with the composer of "Peer Gynt." Sinding has recently contributed many beautiful compositions to our repertory of vocal and instrumental music, most of which are pervaded by a joyous strain and are full of that refreshing strength and vitality which Sinding infuses into so much of his music.

There is something manly and robust about these Northern composers, however unequal their compositions may be, and however manifest the occasional influence of Wagnerian motifs, even here. But where is the Wagnerian influence not discernible to-day? Upon the whole, the men of worth, especially the younger men, are coming to the front; even Finland, with its strong patriotism and its distinctive character, contributing, in Sibelius and Järnefelt, two composers of no mean order. Gifted with a fine knowledge of instrumentation, and strongly imbued with the spirit of the Finnish people, the two last-mentioned composers have certainly brought Finland nearer to our hearts, and have revealed a rich vein of melody in Finnish folksong, which we find skilfully interwoven with their more elaborate works.

The public is naturally interested in compositions which give evidence of a distinctive national coloring. This is especially true of the music associated with the smaller countries of Europe, those countries, especially, which have had a hard struggle to maintain their political independence, their national features and customs. It is given to few composers, however, to reflect the character of their people in tones.

Perhaps the most distinguished example of this power to-day is Grieg. During the Hungarian revolution of 1848, when patriotic Magyars were flocking to the national standard, Heine penned a satirical verse on Liszt, which ends with the line "Sein Schwert liegt in der Kommode" (his sword lies in the bureau-drawer). Yet there are few genuine Magyars to-day who are not inspired to enthusiasm by Liszt's "Battle of the Huns" or by the nineteen rhapsodies in which he has perpetuated so much that is dear to the Hungarian people. In the works of Chopin, mediæval Poland in all its splendor is again brought before us; and in the very hour, one might say, in which Poland lost the last vestige of her political freedom, fate ordained that one of her sons should arise to perpetuate her national glory in tones. In view of these facts, it seems peculiarly appropriate at this time that the gifted Finnish people should find musical utterance through several of their gifted young composers.

Generally speaking, however, we find in Europe to-day a sort of musical cosmopolitanism. For instance, here is a man with a pronounced Czech name who composes an overture to Gerhart Hauptmann's play, "Die Weber," surely a fruitful subject enough. We look for something like distinctive treatment of the theme, something which shall smack of originality, and we find constant reminiscences of the German classics, intermingled with all sorts of peculiarities of expression seemingly introduced in an arbitrary manner for effect.

Occasionally American themes are chosen. One German composer has recently written an orchestral suite entitled "Hiawatha," purporting to be a new musical setting of Longfellow's poem. Poor Hiawatha has begun his wanderings through the land of the musical scribes, and the war-paint is being laid on according to the various conceptions of the American Indian as they exist at Berlin, Paris, and elsewhere. But the famous case of the camel which was evolved from the profound inner consciousness of the artist need not be repeated in this instance; for are not the inhabitants of the fatherland familiar with Buffalo Bill and his braves? The German composer has therefore something more tangible to work upon than the figure described by Cooper as "stalking like a gigantic shadow in the dim twilight of tradition."

This constant search for the exotic, the strange, is one of the symptoms of a time in which, as before stated, genuine creative ability, "wahrer Schaffensdrang," as the Germans aptly put it, is rare, or confined to a few men only. Another composer selects for his subject "Turandot," a Chinese tale treated in charming form by Gozzi and also dramatized by Schiller. The brief overture to "Turandot," by Weber, in which the composer quaintly conforms to the Chinese scale, is one of the gems of our classic repertory, though the composition is, unfortunately, not often played. In the present work, an orchestral suite by Ferrucio Busoni, something more at least than mere oddity or grotesqueness of expression has been sought. The suite consists of a series of marches, dances, and overtures. A pronounced Oriental coloring has been skilfully adopted throughout, while the instrumental effects are in consonance with those which one might expect to hear at a Chinese theatre; the instruments of percussion, for example, being strongly emphasized and characteristically treated. Busoni, who has been in America several times, is now scarcely forty years of age, and his popularity is constantly increasing.

Whatever may be said of certain tendencies among Italian composers of to-day, the fact remains that Italy, despite distressing economic and other conditions which weigh heavily upon her people, is giving ample proof that the vital artistic impulse which so strongly

distinguishes the Italian is as powerful to-day as it ever was. At one time it was thought that Verdi would be in a sense "the last of the Romans." It is true that his place has not yet been filled by any of his successors. But the fervor, the ambition, and the energy which characterize the Italian are still in evidence.

In connection with Busoni, who, though of Italian birth, has so long resided in Germany that he may almost be regarded as a native of that country, it may be said that a very pleasant relationship exists to-day between the composers of Germany and those of Italy, a relationship which will in time be sure to prove of great advantage to both countries. Germany does not forget her obligation to Italy in matters of art. However independent the paths which her great composers have trod, she nevertheless remembers that Mozart, the most wonderful of all, owed much of his culture and inspiration to Italian influence. Wagner, also, who was German to the core, cultivated pleasant relations with the great representatives of Italian music in his day, especially with Rossini and Spontini. The warm discussions regarding the relative merit of German and Italian music, which once agitated the ranks of the critics, can hardly be said to have emanated directly from Wagner himself, who, like all other true musicians, always had the deepest veneration for the genuine products of Italian art.

While the musical cosmopolitanism referred to has therefore its unpleasant features, the ever closer social intercourse between musicians of different nationalities is certain to be productive in time of good results. In Germany, Austria, and other European countries, the great festivals held so frequently at important centres contribute in no slight degree to this *rapprochement*. Last year such festivals were held at Cologne, Bonn, Görlitz, Essen, Baden-Baden, Kiel, Aix-la-Chapelle, Prague, Stockholm, Neuenburg (Switzerland), and many other places.

These gatherings do not merely attract the native musicians, but are often attended by resident foreigners and by visitors from abroad who come especially for this purpose. The Mozart Festival held last year at Salzburg was attended by representatives from nearly every country of Europe, while the United States was represented by a distinguished musician of Washington. These festivals cannot be too highly commended, especially when they are of an international character. Unfortunately such gatherings are too infrequent in our own country.

Yet, if musical festivals of such magnitude are rare here, we have had of late years some compensation in the visits of prominent musicians from abroad. During the past season we have been able to welcome the venerable Saint-Saëns, and last year France found a distinguished representative in Vincent d'Indy, who has recently given us

some valuable advice in an article published in "L'Indépendant," a reference to which may be interesting in view of M. D'Indy's recent visit.

M. D'Indy says that American composers are too hasty in their methods of composition; that, while there are touches revealing a sense of beauty and harmony, there is too often a lack of thorough study. Among other things, he cites an interview with one American composer whose answer would have appeared to indicate—what M. D'Indy mentions as a characteristic of many of our composers—an absence of lyrical sequence as to ideas and a frequent endeavor to present merely a succession of harmonies without inner relation. The composer in question, in reply to M. D'Indy's query as to his artistic aim in preparing a certain composition, is said to have answered that it was designed upon "a chromatic plan," whatever that may mean. M. D'Indy adds that an architect might similarly describe a building-plan as being based upon a foundation of blue and red.

M. D'Indy deprecates the custom now in vogue here of sending abroad so many students of music, where they frequently fall into the hands of unscrupulous teachers who wish merely to fill their pockets with good American coin. Instead of aiming at virtuosity, instead of endeavoring to win the fame of having been the pupil of the distinguished professor So and So of Vienna or Paris, these young people would often do better, in the opinion of M. D'Indy, to remain at home. There, at least, they might make a success as excellent orchestral players or chorus singers, in concert, church, or theatre, instead of essaying flights for which they are often unfitted.

He says that European teachers are often inclined to abuse the confidence reposed in them by these young people, and that they are prone to flatter them and to inspire hopes which eventually are doomed to disappointment. The cause of music would be greatly benefited if some of our less gifted young people, instead of aspiring to reach the summit of Parnassus, would confine their efforts to exercising a wholesome influence upon our general musical development by making themselves useful in a more humble capacity than that of virtuosi. There is no reason, adds this distinguished composer, why America should not have orchestras and singers composed exclusively of native talent, of good plain artists thoroughly educated in the schools of the United States.

M. D'Indy's point is well taken. It cannot be denied that a musical education abroad has many advantages. The student there lives in a more congenial atmosphere, so to speak, and not only his musical but his general culture is greatly benefited. The various branches of music

also are probably taught more thoroughly in the European schools, although some of the methods employed are susceptible of considerable improvement, being often needlessly dry and pedantic. On the whole, however, it is not the instruction itself, so much as the facilities afforded for an interchange of ideas on questions of art and science, and the consequent broadening of one's views, which constitutes the greatest benefit of a musical or general education abroad. A great drawback, on the other hand, is undoubtedly that referred to by M. D'Indy. In art, as in other matters, the American does not like to occupy a subordinate position; he generally aims high. The European is aware of this; and thus it comes that our young people who visit teachers abroad are sometimes encouraged with prospects which, in many instances, are not destined to be realized. The remedy which M. D'Indy suggests is well worthy of consideration.

JOSEPH SOHN.

THE EDUCATIONAL OUTLOOK.

IN the closing days of February another great educational convention was held in Chicago. About 1,200 people were in attendance: Superintendents and principals of schools, and others particularly interested in supervisory and administrative problems. The Department of Superintendence never before had so large an enrolment. Almost everybody attended the meetings and stayed through the last session, apparently well pleased with everything. President W. W. Stetson, of Maine, "the best number on the programme," as some one fitly called him, had selected his themes and speakers with an eye to the actual interests among superintendents. Pessimism was given a splendid chance in the wording of the topics. In spite of this the general tenor was optimistic, probably because of the lack of opportunity allowed to reform theorists in the presentation of the programme.

The course of study, in its various administrative aspects, practically monopolized the discussions. By the unavoidable absence from town of Mayor Dunne the convention was saved one speech of welcome. Superintendent Cooley's cordial words were well worth while because his appearance on the platform was the signal for an ovation, bearing eloquent testimony to the high esteem in which he is held by the educators of the country. He is fighting a good fight in Chicago, and the results are of vital concern to the common schools throughout the country, because of the secret foes of these schools who are directing the attacks against him.

The address by Principal Bryan of the St. Louis Central High School discussed the oft-repeated assertion that a high-school education is of no benefit to many pupils, that, in fact, many of them would be better off without it. Dr. Bryan's investigations have convinced him that even in cases considered hopeless by the teachers a distinct gain of an intellectual, social, or economic character can usually be credited to the time spent in the high school. The speaker made one incidental remark which was promptly attacked. He declared that the brighter pupils were less in need of the teacher's attention than those whose minds reacted more slowly; "those that are whole need not a physician, but they that are sick." The consensus of opinion opposed to this peculiar application of a well-known truism was that what was most

needed in our democracy is the right sort of leadership; and that it is, therefore, the duty of the school to look carefully after those who have in them the qualities that may make for leadership. It was pointed out that the dullard has occupied too largely the attention of teachers, and it is time that the needs of the mentally alert should receive more attention. Because of his unfortunate digression, the real force of Dr. Bryan's main argument failed to be as fully recognized as it should have been. Yet, the discussion was none the less fruitful in that it strengthened in many wavering minds the faith in the growing extension of secondary education.

I am reminded here of an article by Bishop Fallows in the February number of "The World of To-day," in which he publishes the results of a careful investigation of the results of the State maintenance of reformatories for the training of so-called "bad boys." He shows that it does pay, economically as well as in other ways, to apply educational rather than repressive measures. Here are a few significant extracts from the article:

I have taken at random eighty names from the list of the boys paroled to Chicago from the Illinois State Reformatory during the last five years, and found their earnings were nearly \$40,000 a year. The highest salary was \$100 per month and the lowest \$20 and board. Many were earning \$80, \$70, \$65, and \$52 monthly. The average wages of the more than 600 boys who have faithfully kept their parole during that time can be safely estimated at the average above given, \$500 a year. And as that number are now still steadily employed, so far as is known, their annual productive value is \$300,000.

Making a very conservative estimate, the sixty-five per cent only of the more than 2,000 boys who have been sent back to Chicago, have become good citizens, and taking the average earnings, just given, these 1,300 young men are annually receiving \$650,000 for their services.

I took thirty names of Chicago boys on parole at the present time and found that they were receiving on an average \$400 per year. Later on they will average as above, \$500.

Taking the same average of sixty-five per cent of the 6,000 boys already paroled from the institution, and of the earnings just enumerated, we have \$2,000,000 as the amount annually paid them. Applying the same low average of reclamations and earnings to the more than 13,000 inmates discharged from the Elmira Reformatory, we find the annual sum paid them to be more than \$6,000,000 per year. They are earning an amount equal to the entire annual expenditure of all the reformatories and industrial schools in the United States.

The Chicago convention brought out nothing particularly new, and at no time did the discussions rise above the best average of former years. This fact is perhaps accounted for by the prevailing cautiousness in utterance. Practically all the addresses were read. Every speaker seemed to be conscious of the presence of a most critical audi-

ence of experts quick to see through a flimsy drapery of smart sophisms. The only paper which stood out as almost radical was that by Miss Ada Van Stone Harris, of Rochester. She discussed the need of participation of organized society in the education of children during the period preceding school, and practically argued for the extension of hygienic control (physical and moral) over the homes in which the children are reared.

The mossback was less in evidence than usual, though the general discussions brought forward, if only for a moment, two or three of his kin. One of these amused the superintendents by the seriousness of her attack upon almost everything that represents the glory of the modern school, closing something like this: "Not satisfied with having cheapened education by the introduction of free text-books, there are people who would even have a dentist look after the teeth of the children at school. And some go so far as to suggest that the school must devise ways for feeding hungry pupils!" A friend sitting near remarked, after the peculiar harangue, that it seemed to her a wise provision of nature that people should die at the age of threescore years and ten, because old people find it too difficult to adapt themselves to the changing thought of the world, and that, aside from blocking progress, they keep themselves unhappy and at constant war with conditions. A teacher who has stopped growing is, of course, too old for school work, whether he be ninety or nineteen.

The National Educational Association, of which the Department of Superintendence is only one of some twenty-odd sections, is to meet at Los Angeles, in July. This being the semi-centennial year, the committee desired to have the convention at Philadelphia, where the first meeting of the organization was held. The railroads, however, were not willing to grant the customary extension of tickets. Under the circumstances the committee felt constrained to abandon its original plans and accept the hospitality of Los Angeles. The American Institute of Instruction has chosen Montreal for its meeting place in July.

Chicago is a splendid centre for educational meetings. Besides being conveniently located, the city has atmosphere. It has raised to the surface more school problems than any other place in the country. Whether the gain to the children in the schools is the greater or not thereby will be difficult to determine; perhaps it is not. All depends, naturally, upon the spirit in which the discussions are carried on. However, as between a place where educational questions are more or less under fire at all times and the school system which has snuggled down into a settled routine, the former condition is more hopeful than the latter. It is only natural that many superintendents should be constantly

praying for peace and quiet. Routine has many attractions. The superintendent who has settled all questions, past, present, and future, to his own satisfaction, has an easier time of it than one who is forever struggling for fuller visions of truth. He can give his whole strength to keeping his fences in repair and surrounding himself with influential friends who will sustain him against disturbers of his repose. He will try to make positiveness pass for conviction; mandate for superior judgment; silence, with a cynical smile upon its lips, for the wisdom of an expert. He has completed the circle of perfection. There is nothing new under the sun; then let us be content with the former things, and assign to Pluto's abode whosoever and whatsoever interferes with the smooth running of the machinery of the system.

The seeker for light does not manage schools by issuing general orders. He is ever on the lookout for new developments. In the meekness of his consciousness of imperfection he believes he can learn of any one who has achieved something. It never occurs to him that his appointment as principal of a New York City school relieves him of the necessity of keeping in touch with the progress of education outside of the sacred limits. In fact, he has almost a passion for growth. New educational ideas, whether originated in Keokuk, Ishpeming, or on the corner of Fifty-ninth Street and Park Avenue, have an irresistible attraction for him, if they only help to throw light upon his work and reveal more fully the possibilities of the school. He does not build upon the sands of present official favor, nor does he trust to a legal breakwater to insure his tenure of office. He seeks first the kingdom of God, seeks it always without wearying, and wins human freedom thereby. He need not be a truckling, cringing slave. He can hold his head high. His work speaks for him. The day is not far distant when people will know how to determine the efficiency of a teacher. Then the reckoning will come. Blandishments and "pull" will no longer afford protection.

Many signs point to a more adequate and increasingly intelligent participation of the public in educational affairs. The spread of the parent-teacher associations in the city of Philadelphia is a case in point. These associations meet in the school buildings, and a few are developing into flourishing neighborhood clubs. The organization of communities around the schools as the common social centre is advancing apace. Perhaps the truism of the future will be, As is the community, so is the school; it certainly should be.

The schools are much in need of the sympathetic coöperation of the intelligent layman. The theories of educators are apt to be formed of psychological vapors, more or less dense. Experimenting has strong

attractions. The man who pays the bills is, if he is at all interested, more concerned about results than about the sublimity of the principles governing the ways by which those results were achieved. His judgment would be a solid help. At any rate, it would serve as a useful balance wheel. The story is told of a great surgeon who described to an admiring congress a wonderful operation performed by him. The practical results were not mentioned; they were of no interest to the professionals; they concerned only the family of the deceased. The moral applies to education with far greater force, because in the school world the results are not always as obvious to the layman's eye as in medicine.

New York City furnishes a striking illustration of a school system left almost wholly to the devices of people supposed to be experts in matters educational. The size of the city, the complete concentration of administrative matters, the constant excitement and the complexity of the situation generally, have combined practically to silence the expression of public opinion concerning school affairs. Since the great agitation for charter revision which led to the establishment of the present system in 1901, there has been only one really noteworthy utterance of lay opinion with regard to the educational machinery now in operation, and that one is of very recent date and in the form of an article published in the Brooklyn "Eagle" of March 5, by Mr. Frank H. Partridge, of the New York City Board of Education.

Mr. Partridge charges the city system with indirection, waste, and inefficiency. He scores the method of administration in which meetings at Fifty-ninth Street, resolutions, by-laws, and circulars take the place of personal inspection, correction, and encouragement of class work. He suggests a charter revision to readjust the city superintendent's duties. The superintendent has too much armchair work, too much presiding over meetings of his boards of superintendents, examiners, and retirement. Mr. Partridge's sensible suggestion is that a school superintendent should really superintend; presiding at meetings does not do it. No one in charge of such complex work as the education of children can carry it on by orders and directions issued from his office. You cannot pour advice into teachers in the assembly-hall and expect to have this put into practice if you do not go around in person and follow it up. The constant sending out of circulars to principals and teachers is a waste of time and money. "Absent treatment" in school superintendence, with the panacea too far removed, does not reach the seat of the trouble. Most of the principals who get this circular advice on the method of carrying school books or celebrating Longfellow's birthday already know what to do. Their being lectured so much is

practically a reflection on their ability. The superintendent would do better to find out who the men and women are who need such admonition, and let the others go their own way. He should get out and visit schools in all the boroughs, get into institutions that now are to him only designating numbers, and should learn actual conditions for himself, overcoming inertia, reviving and sustaining interest, uplifting school work. It would be well, too, says Mr. Partridge, for the other people in the school system to bear in mind their own shortcomings. The board of superintendents ought to show some initiative without the aid of the city superintendent.

Mr. Partridge scores another interesting point when he declares that State licenses should be recognized at their face value for eligibility to appointments in New York City without the present elaborate and expensive system of re-examination. It certainly is absurd to have in this State one standard for teaching in Yonkers and another across the street in New York. A graduate from the State Normal College at Albany or from any of the State normal schools in the commonwealth ought not to be put through the absurd process of a re-examination by the local board of examiners. The eligible list has been made so sacred that the schools cannot get enough teachers.

Mr. Partridge declares that technical schools for boys are needed, in which they can be started on the road to fill positions as skilled workers. All girls' high schools should have courses in the accepted conventionalities of social life, house management, economies, and the training of children. The school organizers should recognize that the girl is going to be a woman, not a man. Her studies should be based on womanly instincts and should strengthen the powers that spring from them. Public education is fatuous if it leads girls away from marriage and its responsibilities. All this is splendid counsel, and well worth impressing upon the board of superintendents.

It should be noted that since his appointment upon the Board of Education, Mr. Partridge has devoted his entire time to public service. He has visited many schools and knows whereof he speaks. Moreover, he is very much in earnest. His training as a builder of street railways has made him sceptical as regards theories and insistent upon personal study of conditions before expressing judgment. He has practically lived in the schools since his appointment on the board, and the remedies he suggests are such as appear to him much needed as a plain business proposition.

Of course, there is President Roosevelt. He does not hesitate to express his views upon education as on other matters. His interest in the schools lies pretty close to his heart. His own children have

attended the common schools, and he has kept himself informed concerning educational progress. A few weeks since he wrote a notable letter to the president of the Washington branch of the National Playgrounds Association, in which he puts himself squarely on record in favor of the endeavors represented by that organization. This letter is so full of sound advice that I give it here almost in full for the good it may do for the cause of health and vigor:

. . . I am especially pleased with the prospect of Congress granting this year an appropriation for the purchase of playground sites. I trust that the bill of Representative Boutell will also go through, so that you may be able to secure sites in the various quarters of the city now while open spaces still exist and before the price upon them becomes prohibitive. The plan of playground development for the District has been so carefully drawn that I hope it may be carried out substantially as outlined. I regard this as one of the most important steps toward making Washington the model city which we all feel that the Capital of this nation should be.

I have been pleased to see also that there is a new interest in play and playgrounds all over the country, and that many cities that have not taken up the movement in a systematic way have made a beginning this year. . . In Germany a large number of games have been put into the school course as a part of the school system, thus extending the method of kindergarten through the elementary school. In England football and cricket have been a part of the school course at Eton, Rugby, and most of the other public and preparatory schools for many years. In the private schools of this country similar to these English schools, such as Lawrenceville, Groton, St. Paul's, and many others, play is also provided for in the curriculum. I hope that soon all of our public schools will provide, in connection with the school buildings and during school hours, the place and the time for the recreation as well as study of the children. Play is at present almost the only method of physical development for city children, and we must provide facilities for it if we would have the children strong and law-abiding. We have raised the age at which the child may go to work, and increased the number of school years. These changes involve increased expense for parents, with decreased return from the child. If we do not allow the children to work, we must provide some other place than the streets for their leisure time. If we are to require the parents to rear the children at increased expense for the service of the State, practically without return, the State should make the care of children as easy and pleasant as possible. If we would have our citizens contented and law-abiding, we must not sow the seed of discontent in childhood by denying children their birthright of play.

City streets are unsatisfactory playgrounds for children because of the danger, because most good games are against the law, because they are too hot in summer, and because in crowded sections of the city they are apt to be schools of crime. Neither do small back yards nor ornamental grass plots meet the needs of any but the very small children. Older children who would play vigorous games must have places especially set aside for them; and, since play is a fundamental need, playgrounds should be provided for every child as much as schools. This means that they must be distributed over the cities in such a way as to be within walking distance of every boy and girl, as most children cannot afford to pay car-fare. In view of these facts cities should secure available spaces at once, so that they may

not need to demolish blocks of buildings in order to make playgrounds, as New York has had to do at a cost of nearly \$1,000,000 an acre.

Neither must any city believe that simply to furnish open spaces will secure the best results. There must be supervision of these playgrounds, otherwise the older and stronger children occupy them to the exclusion of the younger and weaker ones; they are so noisy that people living in the neighborhood are annoyed; they are apt to get into the possession of gangs and become the rendezvous of the most undesirable elements of the population; the exercise and play is less systematic and vigorous when without supervision; and, moreover, in all cities where the experiment has been tried it has been found that such playgrounds are not well attended.

The progress made in the extension of public playgrounds is very slow. Perhaps we ought to be thankful that there is any progress at all. It is astonishing that a thinking people should not appreciate more readily the hygienic and moral gain to be derived from out-door play. Our country is away behind Great Britain and the British colonies in this matter. Germany, Holland, Scandinavia, and Switzerland, too, are far ahead of us. Sitting on the bleachers cheering baseball teams and football players does not make us a sport-loving people. The money we pay to see trained athletes at exercise does not purchase for us health or brain. We ought to be at play ourselves. Wherever a few Englishmen live together, they soon organize themselves into cricket teams, and Scotchmen will have their curling. With us, the typical procedure in pioneer communities seems to be to provide speedily for either a liquor saloon or a grocery store with soap-box seats for the discussers of politics and the ways of politicians. Our boys outgrow play at too early an age, and our girls at a still earlier one. The high-school period marks the finish of free out-door play for most girls, and boys pass into sedentary masculinity soon after. It is because of this American indifference to out-door exercise that special agitation is required to awaken the public conscience to the necessity of supplying public playgrounds. If the public attitude were the right one, no school would be erected without its playground and its gymnastic apparatus, made accessible to young and old after school hours. The neglect of this matter is to our discredit as a people.

While we have been remiss in the matter of supplying opportunities for play, we have to our credit the extension of the people's lecture movement in the common schools. During this winter many new centres have been established over the whole country. The movement had its rise and has found its highest development in New York City, under the leadership of Dr. Henry M. Leipziger. To his faith, his zeal, his intelligence, is largely due the success that has been achieved. He undertook the work with a definite ideal in mind, which gradually

developed into a clearly organized scheme of a great people's university. In the beginning the object was to help particularly those who, coming to us from foreign lands, were anxious to know more of our government, the history of our institutions, and the resources of the United States. At present every adult desirous of instruction in the things that make for a broader outlook upon life, and for greater ability in coping with the problems of our complex civilization, is given the opportunity to obtain expert guidance and direction.

The class of people that attend the free lectures is made up of representatives of the most hopeful part of the community. Mothers anxious to learn how to meet the exigencies involved in their various responsibilities, laboring men and clerks who want to keep their souls alive by contact with the better things of life, young men and young women engaged in shops and office work who desire to supplement their early education by acquaintance with things for which an interest has been awakened — these and others like them go night after night to the public lectures. The audiences range from the humblest illiterate groping for light to those who have had the best educational advantages that money, effort, or ambition could command. In the office of a friend there are three young women, all well educated, one of whom attends a course in the history of music, another a historical course, and the third a series of lectures on first aid to the injured.

The free public lecture courses supply the very best possible substitute for a college education. An atmosphere of seriousness and helpfulness pervades everything. Usually the lectures are followed by profitable discussions. Books are suggested for collateral, supplemental, and expansive reading. The suggestions are conscientiously followed out. The public libraries furnish abundant testimony to the earnestness of the attendants at lectures. Invariably there is much call for the books whose reading has been advised. New York City has set an example that may well be followed by every school community in the world. Her generous support of the idea is among the best things that are recorded to her glory.

Of course, the lectures cannot altogether take the place of the night schools. These latter institutions supply more directly the elements of instruction. They deal with those who want to become proficient in the three R's. That is their chief concern. They afford to the adult an opportunity to acquire the things that are generally considered part of a rudimentary, elementary education. Their principal appeal is to the immigrants and to those whom economic necessities or other reasons have deprived of American common-school privileges.

Representative James M. Esler has introduced in the Pennsylvania

Legislature a bill authorizing the establishment of night schools for immigrants in labor camps. What a camp school can do has been effectively illustrated by Miss Sarah Wool Moore, of the Society for Italian Immigrants. Her school in a camp shack near Pittsburg proved a blessing to many. Wherever there is an expressed desire for instruction tending to economic improvement and more efficient citizenship, there should be ready response. The Italians appear to be especially good material. Usually their early education has been neglected, but they are ambitious for improvement. Their frugal habits give them much unoccupied leisure time, which people of other nationalities are apt to consume in liquor shops. The Americanization of foreigners so-called is not accomplished by prohibitory methods, and anti-this and -that organizations. A positive programme alone can assure success. Substitution of something better for that which is undesirable is the surest method of progress. The common schools may be made for everybody the open door to economic and social improvement, to sociability, to greater efficiency, and to all that makes for an increase of human happiness.

The statistics of crime seem to indicate that the comparatively largest number of evil-doers are recruited from the children of immigrated parentage. The foreigner, born and bred, is himself not half as serious a menace to our institutions as nativistic orators would make him appear. Even if he have criminal tendencies, the strangeness of his new environment will necessarily restrict the exercise of them. Moreover, the European governments watch closely all outgoing steamers. Our immigration inspection has become very exact. This furnishes another means of eliminating the undesirable. If we could be as sure of the desirability of the citizens added to us by birth as we are of those we acquire by immigration, our sociological problem would be comparatively simple.

The principal difficulty is with the children of certain classes of immigrants. The Polish and Russian Jews furnish a striking example. Ordinarily, the children of these people are brought up strictly under the authority of the law. In fact, the keystone of Jewish discipline is the law. Respect for the parents is developed as a fundamental and natural virtue. The children regard their parents *in loco Dei*, and their counsels to them are conclusive. The immigrant Jew finds himself in a civilization utterly foreign to him. His inability to speak the language of the country puts him at a disadvantage. While his children go to school and pick up in the streets a knowledge of conditions, he is compelled to concentrate his strength upon his ill-paid work, to earn enough to supply his family with the necessities of life. His habits stamp him as an exotic. His children, adapting themselves readily to

the life of the New World, become his teachers. He loses his place of authority. To the limited judgment of the young, American freedom is synonymous with license. Every call to duty, every form of repression, every assertion on the part of their elders of disciplinary authority, is resented as springing from the ignorance of the "greenhorn." In a frantic endeavor to regain control over their children, the parents will, after a hard day's labor, attend night schools and lectures and pore over books, to become initiated in the mysteries of Americanism. In spite of their pathetic struggle, they frequently remain behind in the race for the acquisition of the things that count most in the business world of the poor. Unable to retain their own authority, and unfit to instill intelligent notions of the respect for law and order which is characteristic of the best American citizenship, they may sometimes have to bear the additional sorrow of having one or the other of their children sent to prison as dangerous to society.

Now it would seem only just that the immigrant should receive friendly counsel and assistance, not only for his own sake, but for the sake of his children. To be sure, there are night schools, and many of them have courses for his special benefit. But attendance at these schools is not always encouraged as much as it should be. School authorities too often make the mistake of treating the night schools as philanthropic concessions to ignorance. There is too little thought of the sacrifices which the attendance of the adult pupil represents. He has worked hard during the day and his physical fatigue should receive due consideration. The surroundings and the lessons cannot be made too attractive. It is possible to have a spirit of good cheer prevail in these schools.

The adult pupil hungers for encouragement. His daily burden is one of struggle against heavy odds. He has no relatives to sympathize with him. He is face to face with a situation in which nothing is considered but his wealth-producing qualities, and these are usually exploited by people who flourish from the labor of others. He should be able to look forward to the hours of night school as a comfort and joy and inspiration, and a means by which he may rise in point of efficiency and industrial independence. Springfield, Massachusetts, has done much pioneer work in this direction. Other communities have done more or less to advance the cause. Still, we have only begun to touch the problem. The community that takes proper care of its immigrants is thereby adding to its prosperity, industrially and morally.

Wilbur S. Jackman, dean of the School of Education of Chicago University, died suddenly on January 28. He was only fifty-two years of age, and was full of plans for the future. He was one of the faith-

ful, plodding schoolmen who quietly toil for the enrichment of the education of American youth, finding their principal reward in the consciousness of serving to uplift mankind. His distinctive achievement is the introduction of nature study in our elementary schools. If I am not mistaken, he originated the very term Nature Study. He was identified for so many years with Colonel Parker that his own personality was not always separated from that of the giant reformer. People failed to take appreciative account of the manner in which he gave practical shape to the Colonel's theoretic discoveries.

Jackman was a native of Pennsylvania. He was brought up in Washington County, attended district school in winter, and performed the numerous duties that fall to the lot of an only boy on the farm. He taught his first term in the primary classes of a graded school. When in 1875 the State Normal School at California, Pa., was opened, he entered it, and after graduation became an instructor in the institution. Desirous of completing his education, he attended Alleghany College, and later Harvard University. After graduation from the latter institution in the class of 1884, he was for five years at the head of the department of biology in the Central High School of Pittsburg.

Jackman's identification with the Cook County Normal School was an event of considerable importance, both for the institution and for the common schools of the country in general. Colonel Parker's inspirational personality enlisted the whole force of his energy in the reorganization of school programmes. His boyish experiences on the farm, his love for nature, and his special interest in biology, combined, led him to work out a coördination of studies with nature study as the central idea. Colonel Parker saw in it an exemplification of his own passionate striving for the redemption of children from the bookishness of the traditional school. Jackman's plan of bringing all studies into organical relation to nature study and practically subordinating them to this centre, pleased him so that it became part and parcel of his own educational idea. To Jackman then belongs the credit of having given to nature study a significant place in elementary-school programmes. At the time of his work in the Cook County Normal School, one of his associates wrote, "In organizing the science work, Mr. Jackman has organized the school."

Jackman has always taken a deep interest in the development of pedagogy, but his principal work has been in the special department with which his name is most closely identified. He was enthusiastic, generous-hearted, unselfish, a genuine friend, and a true teacher, whose memory will be cherished by those who knew his worth.

OSSIAN H. LANG.

PRESENT-DAY TENDENCIES IN FICTION.

FOR good or ill, fiction is the most widely read form of literature in the present day. It, therefore, affords the best gauge of the tastes of the general community. We can understand the mind of the public more correctly by watching its preferences in the matter of novels than by any other test — except perhaps the newspapers and magazines, and even in these, fiction supplies no inconsiderable element.

In an inquiry of this kind it is obviously to the younger writers that most attention should be paid. The work of the seniors may be intrinsically of higher literary quality, and may enchain the interest of the critic, if not of the average reader, to a greater degree than that of less experienced craftsmen; but it is not so instructive as an index of tendency. A new novel by Mr. Howells or Mr. Meredith would almost certainly be more valuable in itself than any of the books to be considered in this article, but it would have less to tell us concerning the movement of current thought and opinion. As men of observation and sympathy, they are, of course, not insensitive to contemporary feeling; yet, after all, both their style and their outlook show mainly the influence of antecedent generations. The literature which impressed them in their formative years was the product of earlier periods, and the constituency to which they have been accustomed to address their appeal was confronted by problems and inspired by ideals differing in many respects from those of to-day.

In deciding that, for the specific purpose above mentioned, we must eliminate all writers over fifty years of age, we are by no means suggesting that they are to be regarded as "on the shelf." It is rather their books that we delight in placing there, as having won the right to a permanent foothold in our libraries. The juniors, while more directly representative of the life of the twentieth century, have still to make good their claim to inscription on the roll of honor. Meanwhile, their books are "on the table" for inspection and appraisement.

Mrs. Mary E. Wilkins Freeman has long held a high place in the regard of readers of fiction. It might therefore appear at a first glance that she should rightfully be exempted from the inquisition to which those writers are subject who are still in the experimental stage. It

is, however, by her short stories that she has gained her distinguished reputation throughout the English-speaking world. At one time and another she has tempted fortune with a long novel, but she has not yet achieved anything like an equal success by the work she has done outside of her accustomed *métier*. "By the Light of the Soul"¹ confirms once more the accepted critical opinion that the qualities required in these two varieties of fiction are by no means identical.

Standing in the very front rank as a painter of literary miniatures, Mrs. Freeman declines to a position of disappointing mediocrity when she uses her brush upon a large canvas. Certain passages in the book, it is true, give some hint of her real strength. In her detailed analysis of the emotions awakened by a particular incident we find indications of her former skill. For example, Maria Edgham's state of mind on her mother's death, on her father's remarriage, and on her first day of teaching at Amity is portrayed in each case with convincing faithfulness to life. But a long novel is not to be estimated as the sum of a number of situations considered as detached items. Its quality is mainly gauged by one or both of two things — the plot and the development of character. Now in this instance the plot is little short of grotesque, and the development of character is confused and almost bewildering. The absurdity of the central improbability of the story, the New York marriage, is too obvious to need to be dwelt upon.

A further objection is that the story has no real ending. The last chapter is no dénouement at all, but simply adds another coil to the problem. If Maria had drowned herself in Fisher's Pond, the solution might have appeared hackneyed and inartistic, but it would at any rate have been a solution. As it is, we shut the book wondering what will happen to Maria when she returns to Miss Blair: whether the possibilities of coincidence, in which the author has evidently a generous belief, will never expose her to the risk of meeting her Edgham or Amity friends; whether she is henceforth to dwell in a society so remote from the other sex that no further appeal will be made to her affection; and whether with her sensitive conscience she will live quite happy ever after, undisturbed by the recollections that her own lack of courage has condemned her ardently-beloved sister to a lawless union.

As to the people involved in this drama, it is plain that Mrs. Freeman herself has not reached a clear conception of either their personal appearance or their character. Aunt Maria, who on page 40 is a "stout, elderly, woman," has shrunk eight pages later to a woman with a "thin body," and the qualities of mind and heart she reveals during the greater part of the story differ widely from those of the period when she is housekeeper.

¹ New York and London: Harper.

to her brother-in-law. Evelyn Edgham's fluff of yellow hair suddenly changes, with no reason assigned, to a head of dark curls. The principal figure, Maria Edgham, is an irritating puzzle. We are even denied the necessary data for a knowledge of her age at some of the most important turning-points in her history. The author appears to have two minds on the subject, and is still describing her as a mere child when fellow-passengers in a street-car speak of her as a "young woman."

The representation of Maria's character is of a piece with the other vaguenesses and self-contradictions. Special emphasis is laid on the New England strain in her heredity, and we are expected to regard her as almost a miracle of self-control. At the same time, she completely loses her head in every emergency. Her unthinking impulsiveness comes out not only in the freaks of her childhood, but in several incidents of her adult years — in her rude and hysterical outburst at the Ramsey house, in her extraordinary trick of arranging her hair so as to turn it into a disfigurement, and especially in her two wild and aimless flights first to Ridgewood and later to New York. The New-England conscience may possibly be deficient in a sense of proportion — a characteristic which must be taken for granted in order to explain Maria's repeated distress at the thought of any discovery of the New York marriage — but it is flatly inconceivable that in disappearing from Amity so scrupulous a woman should have suffered no twinges at the ingratitude she was thus showing toward her aunt, to say nothing of her strange contentment, as already remarked, with the position in which she left her sister.

The principal effect of this book is one which, it may be presumed, was very far from the author's own intention. As a story it is naught and as a study of character it is muddled and unmeaning, but as a picture of school life it leaves a distinct impression on the mind of the reader. American teachers might well draw up a petition to Mrs. Freeman praying her to leave them and their work alone when next she takes up her pen. I have read much that has been written in criticism of American educational ideals and methods, but I have seldom come across anything as damaging as this unconscious accusation by an American writer. The conditions herein described are such as to amaze foreign readers. "If Miss Wilkins's description is true," comments Dr. Robertson Nicoll, in "*The British Weekly*," "the results of mixed education in America must be very bad." A critic in another influential English paper sums up the book as "a tragedy of co-education." This novel not only represents the life of the co-educational academy as vitiated by an unhealthy and constant emotionalism, but also brings into strong

relief the evil side of the mixing of all sorts and conditions of children in the common school.

Quiet and undistinguished surroundings also form the setting of "A Blind Bird's Nest,"¹ in which Miss Mary Findlater has skilfully depicted the commonplace every-day routine of a Devonshire village. Its general atmosphere is restful but not dull, and its tenderness and charm give it an attractiveness that is often wanting in books of greater vigor. Here, too, the heroine is a girl whose early life is darkened by melancholy, and whose craving for sympathy and love is the source of her chief perplexities. Agnes Sorel lies under the shadow of an evil inheritance not because of any taint in the blood, but because her father has had to expiate by a long imprisonment the sudden passion which led him to take the life of his sister's betrayer. For a time this family disgrace seems destined to wreck Agnes's own future, but the issue is in accordance both with our natural desires and with the requirements of artistic effect. The series of events which brings her to the happy betrothal with which the book closes makes no strain upon our credulity and the development of her nature under trial is sketched with unusual insight.

The minor characters are interesting and consistent — if anything, too consistent. The writer lets some of them run away with her until they are in danger of becoming caricatures. Aunt Clare is selfish with a selfishness which we feel sure would have been intolerable and would therefore not have been tolerated. Miss Ellen Briggs is an entertaining specimen of the habitual invalid; but her hypochondriacal anxiety about diet reaches an unimaginable point when she gravely remarks, as a gull snatches away a piece of the cocoanut cake she has herself declined, that the morsel will be "bad for the poor bird." Miss Maria Briggs, her cheerful, kindly, blundering niece, is well drawn until she is overdrawn. When she observes on page 136 that "of course, misfortunes will happen in the best regulated families, as Matthew Arnold says," the collocation is as funny as it was meant to be. But when, on page 211, she remarks that "circumstances alter cases, as Matthew Arnold says," the sensation of amusement refuses to return. Within the next twenty-five pages we find similar banalities ascribed to Matthew Arnold again, to Heine, and to Swinburne, and at each repetition our annoyance waxes. You can overdo a good thing, as Henry James says.

A similar objection does not lie against the representation of Mr. and Mrs. Lascelles, the vicar and his wife, who "belonged to the class of old people who have acquired the prejudices of age without its wisdom and who live like children in a world of their own," of Agnes's grandmother,

¹ London: Methuen.

and of the two American families. The introduction of the last-mentioned into the story gives an opportunity for interesting descriptions of the impression made by American visitors upon Devonshire villagers, and *vice versa*, as well as of the effect of New York in simultaneously bewildering the girl just arrived from England and awakening into fresh activity the American girl returning from a sojourn abroad. It should be added that the marriage in prospect at the end is an international one, but differs from the conventional type in the bride elect being English and the bridegroom American.

In "Paul,"¹ Mr. E. F. Benson shows himself one of the most daring of modern novelists. I do not use this epithet in the cant sense of the term, as denoting that he deals with subjects that it would be more wholesome to leave alone, for we have here no example of tainted or neurotic fiction. He is a daring writer because of his extraordinary presumption upon the confidence and good-will of his readers. He deliberately constructs the first half of his plot in such a way as to produce the maximum of irritation, not to say resentment. Our natural impulse at the end of this section of the book is to throw the whole thing aside and refuse to allow our patience to be abused any longer. The picture of the physically puny but intellectually formidable Theodore Beckwith is too cleverly wrought to be incredible and too subtle to be disgusting, but we feel as though the writer were taking an unfair advantage of us in compelling us to make the acquaintance of so abnormal a creature. If he had not established a claim upon our attention by his previous work, we should ask indignantly whether our imaginations were given us to conceive such a ghoulish figure as this, and should joyfully accept the killing of Beckwith as liberating us from an evil dream and exempting us from the necessity of pursuing the fate of the other characters any further.

But Mr. Benson goes placidly on with his story in the conviction that we shall hear him out, and we do. We then find that the grawsome Beckwith episodes are the fitting and necessary background for a character study of remarkable power and thrilling interest. At first we had thought that the book should properly have been entitled "Theodore," for until the end of the thirteenth chapter he was the outstanding figure and Paul Norris merely one of many victims of his ingenious cruelty; but from this point onward we recognize that what has gone before is preparing the way for the great conflict between inclination and duty that has been fought out in the soul of Paul.

¹ London: Heineman. Philadelphia: Lippincott.

A young man of much personal charm and of habitual gayety of spirit is suddenly staggered by a tragedy in which his own share is so strangely complicated that it is impossible for us who know all to pronounce him either innocent or guilty. It was an accident and no murder, an accident in which Paul even risked his own life to save that of his enemy; yet, paradox though it may be, there was in the deed a sufficient element of murderous intent to plant a sting of ceaseless self-reproach in the conscience of the unhappy cause of it. This agony of the man who cannot acquit himself, though the world holds him blameless and even admires his magnanimity, presents to the novelist a much more intricate problem than that familiar subject, the inexorable remorse of the undetected criminal.

The terror of Paul Norris is not that of Bill Sikes. But the alleviation which is open to the most brutal offender against the laws of society tempts him also. There is one unfailing means of expunging the sense of evil and of removing what its victim persuades himself is a morbid sense of responsibility. The alternate exhilaration and despair, the comfort and the burden, the valorous resolutions and the ingenious self-deceptions of the secret drinker are here portrayed with graphic power. The steady degradation of character that we are watching is the result not of sensual self-indulgence — for Paul does not drink for drink's sake — but of an almost panic-stricken impulse to snatch at anything that promises an anodyne for the poison of remembrance. Until within a few pages of the close, we are kept in suspense as to whether Paul's enemy and persecutor, by the mere memory of the tragedy that cut him off, is to work more havoc after death than in life and is to drive him to utter collapse, body and soul.

It is no small triumph for a writer to make us admit, when so near the dénouement, that we have not the least idea how it will all end and that whether Paul goes to the bad or pulls himself together the conclusion will in either case be entirely credible. The passage in which the crisis is reached and Paul is delivered at one stroke both from his mental obsession and from his debasing habit is, for its dramatic interest, the culmination of the whole story. If we laid the book aside now it would be with the satisfaction that comes from the relief of an almost personal anxiety. Yet the two chapters that remain by no means produce the effect of an anti-climax. For one moment we apprehend that we were over-hasty in our anticipation of a "happy ending," and that though Paul has been saved from the curse that has been dogging him, he is to have but a brief enjoyment of the expected boon. The apprehension passes and the incident that has caused it is found to be the one thing that was needed to complete and assure the happiness that it threatened.

A book which appeals so strongly to the deepest emotions requires a considerable intermingling of lighter elements if it is not to produce at times a sense of unbearable strain. This need is supplied by the cleverness of the dialogue, the variety of the minor characters, and the artistic quality of the descriptions of Italian and English scenery. The figure of Mrs. Mundy shows that a cheerful contribution to the general effect of a story may be made by the introduction of a person who is incurably pessimistic. Such is her habit of mind that as she is engaged on a water-color of the Bay of Salerno she manages to infuse into the radiant Italian sunshine something of her own melancholy. "One felt that it might begin to rain any minute." The Archdeacon's wife also adds much to our pleasure, as does Lady Ravenscroft, who "did not like money in the least — she only disliked the absence of it, which is a far different matter."

In "*The Fighting Chance*,"¹ Mr. Robert W. Chambers advances what on the face of it is a novel prescription for inherited moral disease. Stephen Siward has so far given way to the hereditary vice of drunkenness that most of his intimates regard him as already doomed. Sylvia Landis is alarmed by the knowledge that, in her own words, "in three generations every woman of my race has gone wrong." The means of the salvation of both Stephen and Sylvia is their union to one another.

It must be admitted that this is a crude statement of the motive of the book and needs important qualifications. In the first place, the two cases are really not parallel, for while Stephen has again and again been mastered by his besetting curse, Sylvia cannot reproach herself with more than a few impulsive indiscretions stimulated by the mere joy of living. Then the author himself suggests, in his final paragraph, that Stephen's fight is not entirely over. "Deep in his body, as he stood there, he heard the low challenge of his soul on guard; and he knew that the Enemy listened."

But these qualifications do much to impair the effectiveness of the story. The first of them practically eliminates from the problem any special risk attaching to Sylvia beyond that to which any attractive girl of high spirits, whatever her family history, is exposed amid the temptations of modern society. The author, desiring to win our sympathies in her behalf, has hesitated to picture her as a woman corrupt in grain, and by this hesitation he has made it easy for us to believe that marriage with the man who attracts both her love and respect will secure her permanent happiness. If he had put in Sylvia's place a woman with Agatha Caithness's characteristics, he would have been actually face to face with the difficulty which he now evades. As to

¹ New York: Appleton. London: Constable.

Stephen, the most that can be said is that he receives powerful help in his struggle with the fiend from the devotion of one who calls out the best that is in him. We are not quite convinced that Beverly Plank's support, which has sustained him through part of the conflict, might not have been equally efficacious if it could have been ministered to him as constantly as that of a wife. The net result is that the apparent solution has little practical significance. Mr. Chambers offers only an inconclusive answer to the question of tainted heredity in the case of the man, and does not tackle it at all in the case of the woman.

The various phases of Stephen Siward's fight against his temptation suggest a comparison with the similar struggles recorded in "Paul." Paul Norris, it will be remembered, has no hereditary vice to grapple with, but flies to drink as a relief from unpleasant meditations. In his case we are more poignantly affected than in Stephen's, for we have here nothing of equal power to the representation of Paul's gradual weakening of will and the insidious overgrowth of deceitful tendencies only half recognized by their victim. But while Mr. Chambers's analysis is not as masterly as Mr. Benson's and does not so deeply stir our emotion, it is well proportioned to the scale of the book as a whole. Up to the crisis, Stephen Siward shows stronger traits than Paul Norris; but somehow the tragic note seems less in keeping with the characters of "The Fighting Chance," in spite of the seriousness of its central theme, than with those of "Paul," and a more affecting pathos would have been discordant with the general tone of the society described.

Considered apart from its main theme, "The Fighting Chance" has much to recommend it. One of its principal merits is the admirable study of Beverly Plank, who at certain stages of the story gains our interest to such a degree that we are in danger of forgetting that he is meant to be only a subordinate character. He is, indeed, the least conventional of all the types herein portrayed and stands out prominently against the background of selfish and giddy society folk.

How far Mr. Chambers is correct in his representation of the ways and manners of wealthy and "exclusive" New Yorkers, especially of those who contrive to combine business with pleasure, must be left to the judgment of critics equipped with expert knowledge; but at any rate it is brisk and credible. There are a few delightful side-hits which can be appreciated by any reader of the daily papers, and some of the epigrams, in dialogue and otherwise, are not easily forgotten. That "in New York nothing is really very old except the faces of the young men" is a cynical but memorable saying; and the description of one of the characters as a man who would squeeze a dollar bill till the eagle screams will doubtless help many conversationalists to gain a reputation for brilliance.

Elaborate precautions have been taken by Mr. Arthur Stringer lest "The Wire Tappers"¹ should be left unread. He has remembered most of the demands that can be made upon the modern novelist by various types of readers and has provided within one volume speculations upon moral problems, studies of character, descriptions of some of the most absorbing phases of life in New York, and an exciting plot with a considerable number of adventurous incidents. In the event of the general public failing to respond to this combination of attractions, there remains as a last resort an appeal to the interest of that special class which likes a book well sprinkled with references to box-relays, Bunnell sounders and rheostats, and appreciates a solid block of two pages giving full details of a new electrical invention. One of the leading features of the book would therefore be more fittingly dealt with in the section of "Applied Science" than in that of "Literature."

But there is sufficient movement in the story to carry non-professional readers safely over the obstacles of its technical terminology. The struggle in which Jim Durkin, the former railway telegraphist, and Frances Candler, the ex-governess, are pitted against the resources of the New York detective police is depicted with a style admirably suited to vivid narration. Mr. Stringer's descriptive ability is further shown in his account of the panic in the cotton pit and in other scenes laid in a region of higher respectability than that with which Mulberry Street is ordinarily concerned.

As a psychologist Mr. Stringer is less successful. Both Jim and Frances are intended to appear to us as persons who were not born with especially evil tendencies, but who are prevented by circumstances from being as honest and decent as they would like to be. Frances, in particular, is an incredible character. This associate of the enemies of society, who is compelled to maintain herself by fraud because she has tried in vain to earn a living otherwise, possesses intellectual and educational qualifications which would easily have insured her a professor's chair. When she sees $C_{17}H_{19}NO_3$ on a bottle, she immediately recognizes that it means morphine; she is well acquainted with the literature of modern science, and incidentally mentions in a letter that, in order to discover whether she has the traits of the female offender, she has just been taking her cephalic index, testing her chromatic perceptions and her tactile sensitiveness, and making sure that it corresponds normally to a Faraday current; and as to practical electricity, she knows all that is to be known. Her partner describes her as "unyielding, staunch, clean of mind and life, a woman of stern honor — and through it all an adventuress and a robber!"

¹ New York: Little, B. & Co. London: Laurie.

Our difficulty in conceiving such a blend is not removed by the detailed exposition of her attitude at the critical moments of her career. It is obvious that both she and Jim Durkin have been hardly used, but the deliberate choice of evil plays such an important part in the misfortunes of both of them that our sympathy is not greatly aroused. We rather think them lucky in escaping jail and getting clear of the country, and we have little confidence that the new resolutions with which they start life afresh in England will carry them very far.

For sheer ability there are few recent novels to compare with Mr. Jack London's "White Fang."¹ In this book he returns to the sphere in which he won distinction as author of "The Call of the Wild." Now, however, the development he is tracing is of the opposite type. Instead of picturing the reversion of a dog to the instincts of the ancestral wolf, he shows how a wolf cub with but a small proportion of the dog in its breed may, under civilizing influences, lose its ferocity except for such modicum as is necessary to insure its being worth its keep as a trustworthy protection against burglars. The response is no longer to "the call of the open" but to "the call of the fire and of man — the call which has been given alone of all animals to the wolf to answer, to the wolf and the wild-dog who are brothers."

As an exercise of the scientific imagination, "White Fang" marks a notable advance on "The Call of the Wild." There is something almost uncanny in Mr. London's representation of the successive stages in the cub's education from the moment that it discovers in the "white wall" of its native cave, through which its father has mysteriously disappeared, an opening into the wide world. So brilliant a study in animal psychology might well tempt a reader of superstitious inclinations to wonder whether there may not after all be some truth in the doctrine of metempsychosis, for the easiest theory to account for Mr. London's wonderful knowledge of the inside of a young wolf's mind is that he must be drawing upon recollections of a previous vulpine period in his own existence.

Mr. London's success in this part of the book is so manifest that it has already encouraged some critics to approve the heresy that human characters are unnecessary to the novelist; and the adventures of animals supply an adequate motive for a thrilling story. Actually it affords a strong argument to the contrary. The interest awakened by this skilful study is not of the kind that is aroused by the masterpieces of fiction. It is rather to be compared to the impression left upon us by a first-class

¹ New York: Macmillan. London: Methuen.

popular scientific lecture. Let any reader try to envisage the tale as it would be left if the human complications were cut out of it, and he will understand how utterly incapable it would then be of standing alone, from the novelist's as distinct from the scientist's point of view. Its real dramatic power is confined to those passages in which the adventures of wolves and dogs are clearly subordinate to those of human beings.

In the whole book there is nothing else so effective as the introductory chapter — the picture of the two men carrying the body of their dead companion in a dog-sled across the frozen wild, their pursuit by a pack of hungry and almost maddened wolves, the tension of their nerves as their resources of defence and escape lessen day by day, the collapse of one of them in his desperate attempt at release and rescue of his partner at the last gasp. As a short story this chapter, creating a sense of tragic horror without repulsiveness, would be perfect of its kind. As the beginning of a long novel it turns all that follows into anti-climax.

Throughout the next sections the story moves on a different plane. We are no longer thrilled by that essential element in vital dramatic interest — the feeling that we are reading of something, which, if our own lot had been cast otherwise, might conceivably have happened to ourselves — but we listen with gratified attention while the accomplished lecturer expounds to us the mysterious operations of animal instincts. Just when the exposition is in danger of becoming monotonous, it is relieved by the appearance of prominent human actors. The brutalities of Beauty Smith and the interposition of Weedon Scott bring us once more into touch with our own kind, and as a result the story immediately tightens its grip upon our imaginations.

Further, even the animal-psychology section owes some of its interest to an unspoken suggestion of a larger application. In his record of White Fang's history, Mr. London recurs again and again to two themes. One is the law which he expresses, in full capitals, by the formula "Eat or be eaten." He shows us that in any conflict between wild animals — wolves, lynxes, porcupines, hawks, or whatever they may be — "the way of life for one lies in the eating of the other, and the way of life for the other lies in not being eaten." His other theme is the supreme importance of environment in deciding which out of various inherited tendencies shall prevail.

Had White Fang never come into the fires of man, the Wild would have moulded him into a true wolf. But the gods had given him a different environment and he was moulded into a dog that was rather wolfish, but that was a dog and not a wolf.

But we have a suspicion throughout that Mr. London has a wider

intention than appears on the surface. He does not deliberately tell us that his story has a parabolic significance, but he gives an easily intelligible hint of it toward the close by his introduction of Jim Hall, the convict. This man, like the creatures of the Wild, can only escape from being killed by killing, and he, too, "a human beast, it is true, but nevertheless so terrible a beast that he can best be characterized as carnivorous," derives his enmity to his fellows in large measure from "the moulding he had received at the hands of society."

It would be an exaggeration to call this novel a Socialistic tract in disguise, but it is certainly not the least clever stroke of its author's that he has succeeded in interweaving into a dog-and-wolf story so subtle a reminder of the pressure of feral conditions in the midst of civilized human society.

The publication of "The Dust of Conflict"¹ by Mr. Harold Bindloss shows that there is still a public for the conventional novel of adventure containing a generous allowance of sharp fighting and hair-breadth escapes. The type may be as old-fashioned as the writer pleases, provided that the setting is of our own time. In this instance the "conflict" is the insurrection in Cuba immediately preceding the Spanish-American War. First as a blockade-runner and later as a member and leader of the band of the Sin Verguenza, Bernard Appleby runs enough risks and performs enough exploits to earn the right of settling down quietly ever after. If, for a moment, we think it strange that a New York merchant travelling in the heart of the disturbed district should have been accompanied by his daughter — and her presence at the capture of a Cuban town by the insurgents is essential to the story — the improbability is soon forgotten in the prevailing turmoil. Coincidences offer their assistance to Mr. Bindloss just at the point where they can be of most service, and he escapes the difficulty of working out the characters of his leading figures by frankly describing them to us in detail in the first chapter. But the book, though of little artistic merit, is exhilarating reading.

Any one who wishes a fresh and sparkling tale combining a love-story with exciting but not improbable adventure will be hard to please if he is not satisfied by the novel in which Mr. Eden Phillpotts and Mr. Arnold Bennett have recently collaborated, and which has been published in England and America under the titles of "The Sinews of War"² and "Doubloons"³ respectively. The familiar compliment that "there is

¹ London: Long. New York: F. E. Stokes.

² London: Laurie. ³ New York: S. S. McClure.

not a dull page in it" would really be its most appropriate characterization. The sub-title, "A Romance of London and the Sea," suggests the range it covers.

The London described is the London of the residential mansion and the sixpenny lodging-house, of the maître-d'hôtel and the navvy, of the West-end automobile and the Poplar Street car. Its contrasts are foreshadowed on the second page, where Philip Masters is surprised to find himself, in the midst of a city that spends £12,000 a day on cab-fares, with only a sixpenny-piece in his pocket and no prospect of adding to it. Before the book closes he has won £37,500 and the heart of one of the most charming women in England. He reaches this goal by an extraordinary route, starting from a mysterious crime, and passing through a succession of thrilling incidents connected with such apparently unrelated matters as the merits of jiu-jitsu, the elevation of a sensational journalist to the peerage, the science of dactylography, the popularization of the Encyclopædia Britannica, the dependence of a steam-yacht upon its propeller, the superstitions of West Indian negroes, and the Battle of Tsushima.

Surprise follows fast upon surprise with a stimulating influence upon the reader's wits, which strive in vain to anticipate the next step. The villain of the story is one of the cleverest criminals one might hope to meet in a long course of detective fiction, and his twistings and turnings would do credit to a Prof. Moriarty. And the effect of such a skilful and entralling plot is heightened by the other features of the story, especially by its delightful vein of satire. After all, I had better withdraw my previous opinion that the qualities of this novel are satisfying: on the contrary, they are so appetizing that we eagerly beseech Messrs. Phillpotts and Bennett for more of the same kind.

In "Privy Seal,"¹ the culminating grievance of Magister Udal against Thomas Cromwell is thus expressed. "Me, the first learned man in Britain, he did force to write a play in the vulgar tongue. Me, a master of Latin, to write in English!" One is tempted to say that Mr. Ford Madox Hueffer, the author of this novel of the time of Henry VIII, has set down Udal's complaint with sincere sympathy, for he appears himself to entertain a strong prejudice against the use of a commonly intelligible speech as the vehicle for his ideas. He would no doubt explain that the pedantry of his style is necessarily assumed in order to reproduce the atmosphere of the sixteenth century. The one fact that what is pedantic now would not have been pedantic then is fatal to the success of any such device. The conversation not of Udal only but of the King himself, of Katharine

¹ London: Rivers.

Howard, and even of Culpepper and Hogben, makes hard reading. The very effort to understand it destroys the illusion, for to those who took part in it was certainly not hard hearing.

Mr. Hueffer's imaginative reproduction of Tudor dialogue is a brilliant tour-de-force, and little more. It is an accomplishment of the same type as the writing of clever Latin verses, and deserves the same praise that is due to skill in such exercises. The book, though not a long one, grows tedious by reason of both the difficulty of its style and the large proportion of details of political and ecclesiastical intrigue. These may have been necessary to a faithful representation of the situation; but if so the natural conclusion is that the subject, however important to the historical student, is not suitable for fiction.

Both the merits and the defects of "Privy Seal" are characteristic of a recent development of the historical novel. The "scientific method" is paramount in the study of history no less than in that of chemistry and biology. There was a time when a comparatively small equipment of research entitled a man to begin writing a tale of past centuries. Nowadays any one attempting such a task must be prepared to be warned off the field as an interloper unless the by-products of his experiment would supply material enough for a doctor's thesis. Anachronism has become an almost unpardonable offence.

It is certainly reasonable to expect that the gains of modern historical study should in some measure enrich historical fiction also; that the novelist should benefit by the new light thrown by research upon the motives of great men and upon the conditions with which they had to deal, and especially that he should not misrepresent, through carelessness or ignorance, the main significance of the periods he professes to depict. There is a level of general accuracy which the writer of historical fiction should be required to reach before being taken into account at all — a qualifying entrance examination, so to speak, to meet him at the threshold of his enterprise. But he is to be judged, in the main, not as a historian, but as a novelist; and he forfeits the end for the sake of the means if he allows the interest of exact scholarship to obscure or deaden the imaginative element.

I read the other day, in a complacent eulogy of the progress of historical research, that it would no longer be possible for any one to write "Ivanhoe," and that if by any chance such a book were written its author would not have the "impudence" to publish it. That no contemporary writer is as yet in danger of being mistaken for a second Scott may readily be admitted; but if there should be latent anywhere a genius of this type, he need not stay in hiding from the fear that the achievements of more scientific writers will have spoiled his welcome.

The last and sprightliest book on my table is "*A Midsummer Day's Dream*"¹ by Mr. H. B. Marriott Watson. It points no moral and grapples with no problem. Written evidently as an ebullition of high spirits, it will promote in the minds of readers the temper from which it sprang. Its humor keeps well on the right side of buffoonery, although the scene of the tale is laid at a country house party — a situation that so many writers regard as inseparable from practical joking and horse-play. The central idea is the anticipated performance of "*A Midsummer Night's Dream*" by members of this party for the benefit of a local charity. Actually we do not get beyond the raising of the curtain; but the rehearsals, which take place by moonlight in the glades of Temple Park, supply occasions for the most diverting episodes.

One of the happiest strokes is the notion of securing the village cobbler to play the part of Bottom. His naïf satisfaction at the compliment and his eager desire to utilize the opportunity for the display of his musical talents are very entertaining. The spirit of Puck seems to regulate almost all that happens. Scarcely anything is what it appears to be. "I seem bound to be a mock hero," exclaims Philip Bannatyne; "I save people from all kinds of absurdities — Miss Arden from a bull that's a cow, Miss Latham from a bee that wouldn't bite, and Lady Cynthia from water that wouldn't drown." Philip himself with his "sly audacity" and his "delicate masterfulness" is an entirely delightful person, and we are really somewhat disappointed at the close to learn that he intends to go into Parliament.

One of the great merits of this extravaganza is the cleverness of the dialogue, which is not so uniformly smart as to become monotonous but ingeniously expresses the variety of characters. Altogether, as a provocative of clean and wholesome gayety, "*A Midsummer Day's Dream*" would be hard to beat.

If the novels discussed in this article are a fair sample of the output of the contemporary press — and they have been chosen without bias from the list of such recent publications as seemed most likely to repay attention — it is clear that the old types bid fair to persist in slightly varied forms. One thing is especially notable in the case of the modern "problem novel." The question with which it is mainly occupied to-day is that of heredity and environment. In one instance, we have even found this subject considered in its application to the life of the lower animals.

From a philosophical point of view, the general presentation of heredity in such novels as these is, perhaps, rather one-sided. There is a tendency

to take for granted that it transmits evil qualities only, and to neglect its part in the communication of desirable traits also. But in any case one recognizes with satisfaction that the main drift of recent fiction is not pessimistic. The inheriting of evil is not conceived as equivalent to an inevitable doom: by one means or another it may be fought and overcome. So, too, in "Paul," where the trouble is not hereditary but is none the less degrading, it is shown that what is most to be feared is an attitude of hopeless acquiescence.

The literary style of these novels reaches a higher standard than the average of popular fiction a generation ago. There is little slovenly writing in them and little affectation of "fine language." The most carelessly constructed book in this respect is Mrs. Wilkins Freeman's. Here is a breathless sentence reproduced with the author's own punctuation from the seventh page of "By the Light of the Soul":

Harry Edgham came of perhaps the best old family in that vicinity. Edgham itself had been named for it, and while he partook of that degeneracy which comes to the descendants of the large old families, while it is as inevitable that they should run out, so to speak, as flowers which have flourished too many years in a garden, whose soil they have exhausted, he had not lost the habit of rectitude of his ancestors.

In "White Fang," Mr. London unintentionally supplies a warning to writers who are tempted to an ultra-realistic style. He has occasion to describe many sanguinary fights, and in each case he insists on giving full details. At first this graphic manner makes the painful impression desired; but by the time we reach the tenth fight or so we have grown so accustomed to reading of torn throats, split skulls, crunched bones, ripped-up flesh, and the like that these terms become scarcely more significant than the *x*'s and *y*'s of an algebraical equation. We accept them as belonging to the conventional formulas of conflict and they cease any longer to arouse a sense of either disgust or horror. Mr. London's excess of realism thus defeats its own end.

It will have been noted that in writing one of these books two authors have coöperated with excellent results. It is a pity that the practice of collaboration is so seldom followed in fiction. In reading "By the Light of the Soul," for example, one cannot help reflecting that if Mrs. Wilkins Freeman were to take into partnership some writer of skill and experience in working on a large scale, the combination of talents might be expected to produce a series of novels of much higher rank than anything she is likely to achieve by her independent efforts.

HERBERT W. HORWILL.

RECENT TRIBUTES TO LONGFELLOW.

ALTHOUGH the bi-centenary of one of [the greatest of all British writers, Henry Fielding, occurs this year, there can be little question that for a vast majority of the men, women, and children, who speak and read the English tongue, the chief literary anniversary of this year of grace is the centenary of the birth of the most beloved of modern poets, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. The celebration in Sanders Theatre at Cambridge on the evening of February 27 was a memorable testimonial to the strength of Longfellow's hold upon the hearts not only of his fellow New Englanders, but of his fellow Americans; yet, impressive as it was, the meeting was too local adequately to represent and express the love and veneration and gratitude felt for Longfellow throughout our vast country, which, where he is concerned, forgets that its map is defaced by sectional lines. Certainly no such gathering of Longfellow's personal friends could have been held anywhere else, for Prof. Charles Eliot Norton presided; Colonel Higginson and President Eliot spoke, and Mr. Aldrich and Mr. Howells were represented by a poem and by a paper respectively; but other celebrations were marked by the same note of love for the poet and of affectionate pride in his work, and it is not open to doubt that any village in the land could have furnished a worthy and reverent audience and enthusiastic though perhaps not entirely competent speakers.

But, desirable and gratifying though such celebrations as that at Cambridge are, it is in printed rather than in spoken tributes that in this age of readers we may expect to find the most significant and impressive evidence of the breadth and permanence of Longfellow's fame. Of such printed tributes there has been a variety and an abundance. The New York "Times" issued a notable illustrated supplement; a Southern monthly organ of belles-lettres, "*The Pathfinder*," devoted a small but entire number to appreciations of Longfellow and selections from his works; the magazines and weeklies and dailies teemed with articles, prominent among which were contributions by Mr. Howells, Mr. Bliss Perry, and Mr. Paul Elmer More. But one discordant note seems to have been struck, or at least to have made itself heard, and

that was in an article by a young Englishman which — singular fortune for so poor a performance — was published both on this and on the other side of the water, each time in a periodical of excellent standing. But Mr. Austin Dobson, probably without intending it, made up for this ill-judged utterance by contributing to a London newspaper a sonnet worthy both of his own authentic muse and of his noble subject — a tribute of personal gratitude for Longfellow's achievements as a story-teller in verse, a panegyric none the less attractive because in it the poet seems to have got slightly the upper hand of the critic.

Many of the tributes I have just referred to must, in the nature of things, prove ephemeral; and, indeed, it should be confessed that, despite the wide interest shown in the event, Longfellow's centenary has thus far called forth no very important memorial in the shape of a thoroughgoing study of his life or his writings or a valuable edition of his works, such as the centenary edition of Emerson. But there have been some reprints, and the library of Bowdoin College, the poet's *alma mater*, has issued his inaugural address as professor of modern languages, delivered at that institution on September 2, 1830. This will doubtless fall mainly into the hands of collectors; but it is to be hoped that another small volume recently published will find its way into the hands of thousands of readers.

I refer to a book bearing the imprint of Houghton, Mifflin & Co., on the back of which are stamped the two words "Longfellow," "Norton." The title page reads in part, "Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, a Sketch of his Life. By Charles Eliot Norton. Together with Longfellow's Chief Autobiographical Poems." It can be read through in less than two hours, and can be bought for less than a dollar; but neither of these facts should be of use in measuring the amount and duration of the impression it ought to make upon a receptive reader. The poems chosen number thirty, and include "A Psalm of Life," "The Wreck of the Hesperus," "The Bridge," "The Cross of Snow," and other favorites, concluding with "Morituri Salutamus." Perhaps in a few of the selections the autobiographical elements may not be altogether apparent; but that the pure, wholesome nature of the poet and the genuine and well-sustained merits of his art emerge from them all will be disputed only by Longfellow's detractors, who have been keeping themselves somewhat in the background of late and are, it is to be hoped, decreasing in numbers.

As to Mr. Norton's biographical sketch, I can hardly describe it more adequately than by saying that it is in entire harmony with the poems it accompanies. Mr. Norton's rare genius for forming memorable

friendships has been noted so often as to have become a commonplace, though a charming one, in our literary history; his is also the rarer genius of commemorating with unfailing discretion and with sure instinct for the higher values the friendships he has formed and cherished. He has honored other friends in a more elaborate and impressive fashion, but none, I think, with more true sympathy and reverent poise — for surely to lack poise in our relations with the dead is in a very real way to do them a dishonor — than he has displayed in this brief memoir of Longfellow. The essential facts are given, the right note of praise is struck, there is no meaningless and confusing parade of literary references and allusions. In other words, eulogistic biography has its turn, and criticism is left to take care of itself, as it is abundantly able to do.

Perhaps the most valuable point made by Mr. Norton is to be found in the paragraphs in which he shows how completely Longfellow was the product of a simple and refined New England, which had gently broken with the Puritan régime and was filled with an optimistic belief in the orderly evolution of men to individual and national felicity in a new and favored world. Purity, naturalness, and kindness were the fundamental characteristics of Longfellow, and these were in the main the fundamental characteristics of the people who first welcomed his self-revealing poems. His admirable and extensive culture obscured in no measure his moral excellencies and enhanced rather than limited his appeal to readers eager for a broader horizon. It is an interesting proof of the continuity of our national life that, despite the shock of the Civil War and despite the confusion and the perplexities that have resulted from our colossal expansion during the past thirty or forty years, we still as a people open our hearts to the pure, gentle poet who won the hearts of our grandfathers. Perhaps the most encouraging and significant fact about the Longfellow centenary is the proof it affords that, in an epoch that prides itself on its strenuousness, so many strong, thoughtful men have taken delight in expressing their reverence for a man who in his life and in his writings illustrated the truth that to be entirely noble and inspiring human strength must not be divorced from tenderness and purity.

Another significant and encouraging fact is the comparative absence, in most of the tributes I have seen, of the note of colonial subservience and of the note of provincial assertiveness. In an account of the Cambridge celebration published in "The Evening Post," Mr. William Roscoe Thayer emphasized this fact so far as that meeting was concerned, and it was a fact worthy of emphasis. Half a century ago our poet would have run the risk of having his fame compared with that of Mil-

ton, or, better still, with that of Goethe, because both "Evangeline" and "Hermann und Dorothea" are idylls written in hexameters. Or else some one would have been sure to point out that while the "common people" found solace in Longfellow, the élite read Tennyson and Browning. Even twenty years ago, I fancy, the note of depreciation would probably have made itself heard more sharply than it was able to do in the article of the patronizing young Englishman to which reference has already been made.

As it is, I find in nearly all the recent tributes a manly tendency to praise unextravagantly, but heartily and sincerely, Longfellow's personal charm and the beauty and wholesomeness and artistic perfection and wide range of his poetry. There is a frank admission that his work is not uniformly excellent, that some of his more elaborate performances are read even now with difficulty, and that these and probably not a few present favorites will mean little or nothing to posterity. But, on the other hand, there is a firm insistence upon the value of his services as an interpreter of old-world romance and culture to the new, upon the permanent appeal of such simple and true reflective lyrics as "The Bridge," "Daylight and Moonlight," and a score of equally perfect pieces; upon the power and truth of his sea-poetry; upon his mastery of the art of narrative in verse; and, last, but not least, upon the unfailing felicity of his sonnets.

There is no better sign, I think, of a nation's growth in culture than its attainment of a certain poise, a certain consensus of opinion with regard to the achievements of its representative men. Such a poise is, as I have noted, especially characteristic of Prof. Norton's sketch, and I have found it to a considerable degree in most of the tributes to Longfellow that have come to my attention. There is, of course, no complete unanimity as to the merits of this or that poem — if there were, "The Golden Legend" would have been mentioned more frequently — but there is substantial agreement as to the main qualities of the man and his poetry. Meaningless comparisons of his equable genius with the soaring genius of some mighty master have been, as a rule, eschewed, and I have seen very few misplaced or badly chosen superlatives. It is true that I rubbed my eyes when I read certain encomiums passed upon the "Poems on Slavery," moving though that group of lyrics has seemed to me ever since I first encountered it nearly thirty years ago in a copy of Longfellow's works given me as a prize in a Virginia school. But such laudation — out of place almost in connection with Shakespeare or Milton — has, I repeat, been beneficently rare.

Yet here I am, doing precisely the thing I have been praising others

for not doing — introducing the names of other poets and giving plain proof that I cannot, like Prof. Norton, leave criticism to take care of itself. I own that in this respect my pen is very much like the dyer's hand. It almost gets away from me now in its desire, not precisely to subtract from, but rather to qualify and adjust some of the praise that has been unstintingly bestowed of late on our poet's delightful sonnets. But I have it under control, and the last word it shall write here shall be the word that seems best to express the innermost feeling most of us have for Longfellow, the noble man and the representative poet of his people — the word "gratitude."

W. P. TRENT.

OUR MOST ABUSED SENSE — THE SENSE OF HEARING.

It is strange that our sense of hearing, which has been so pitifully stepmothered by Nature in being left absolutely without any protection against the innumerable waves of sound that break in upon it, should also be that which has received the scantest sympathy and attention from the world at large. Not only has Nature left it unprovided with any means of protection against the torment of noise, but, as has been remarked by Mr. William Dean Howells, it has not even permitted kindly Age, which blunts the keenness of all our other senses, mercifully to relieve the torture of unrestrained sound — nay more, it only seems to render us more susceptible to it.

I think that we all, or almost all, suffer from noise, and that we agree with Comenius who, in his "Labyrinth of the World," describes the earth as being full of "knocking, stamping, scrubbing, whispering, and screaming." Alas! if he suffered so much in the streets and squares of his dear seventeenth-century city of Prague, what would that wise old Philosopher have said of the pandemonium of our present-day City of New York?

Of course, there are a few who claim that racket and prosperity are synonymous, and also others who revel in the barbarity of uncontrolled din.

To legislate noises out of the world . . . would take from it all the exuberance, the effervescence and exaltation of soul that gives it sparkle and snap . . . and dam the current of the world's joy,

exclaims a Western paper, and even a staid New York daily maintains that:

Noise is an organic function of a living city; and a growing municipality, like a growing boy, must scream or take to evil ways.

But this attitude toward one of the greatest banes of our times becomes too serious a matter of public concern to be ludicrous when it is shared by Health-Board officials. "We don't pretend to make this city a suitable place for the invalid or nervous to live in," an officer of the Health Department of a large city is reported to have said. This same medical man, when urged to stop a noise that was clearly under the jurisdiction of his Health Board, a noise so dreadful that it prevented even little

children from sleeping, dismissed the whole subject with a shrug and the careless remark: "In my opinion, a city is no place for children."

The medical profession, however, and the press have, with but few exceptions, been unanimous in protesting against the crime of noise, whenever the question has been raised. The Philadelphia "Medical News" says:

In thousands of cases people are being made ill, are committing slow suicide, or are being slowly and painfully killed by useless noises.

Dr. Tracy, one of our former medical officers, declares:

From the fact that invalids and delicately organized people are distressed by constant noise, it is not an overdrawn inference that the terrible racket which assails the ears of people in our time may be one factor in the remarkable increase of insanity.

Dr. Hyslop, the eminent London physician, believes that:

There is in city life no factor more apt to produce brain unrest and its sequels of neurotism than the incessant stimulation of the brain through the auditory organs,

while Dr. Kempster, formerly Commissioner of Health of Milwaukee, states that:

A certain amount of nerve energy is required to resist noises and when these noises are abnormally large they make a great drain on the nervous system.

Dr. Hyslop, speaking of that class of people who have become so habituated to noise that they suffer from its absence and complain of the "deadly calm" of country-life, says emphatically:

In this particular their loss would be but comparable to that of the alcoholic or morphinomaniac who has developed a habit of mind and body which is none the less baneful because its absence might be felt.

Truly has it been said that this morbid sense of loss is the "measure of the injuriousness of the noises of city life." I think that few will deny that noise and worry are more responsible for "breakdowns" than is overwork, or will contradict the statement that noise is one of the chief agents in the production of neurasthenia.

The "hum of industry" has now made way for the shriek of industry, and it is perhaps well to call attention here to the fact that noise is not an essential part of progress. The Detroit "Free Press" clearly states this fact:

It is not long since smoke was regarded as the greatest evidence of industry and activity, an error that is all but banished. There are those who still crudely think noise to be even more incontrovertible as evidence of enterprise and prosperity. . . . Instead of being any longer a visual warrant of industrial thrift, smoke is now regarded as evidence of waste, sloth, neglect, and economic sin. Noise

is no less a waste of industrial energy. Within ten years the noisy city will be under a ban with the smoky city.

The Rochester "Chronicle" also well brings out the same point:

It is not proposed to prevent all movement of which noise is an accompaniment, but only to stifle sounds which waste energy without effecting anything but the needless disturbance of workers. Mere screaming, like senseless talking, prevents rather than promotes achievement. Men who accomplish results are silent, and talk is a substitute for action. . . . The unpreventable noises will afford sufficient evidence that a city is wide awake without the help of those which spring from wantonness, carelessness, or indifference to the welfare of others.

It is difficult to enumerate the various noises which break in upon the ear of the city dweller of to-day, but those which perhaps cause the most suffering are:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. The blowing of whistles on | factories
trains
boats
trains |
| 2. The clanging of bells of | trolley cars
churches and clock towers |
| 3. Loud advertising of | street-venders with cries, whistles, bells,
etc. |
| 4. Noises of traffic due to defective mechanism: | amusement parlors, etc., with phonograph, etc. |
| A — trolley cars | pounding of flat wheels
grinding of improperly lubricated
motors, etc. |
| B — wagons rattling of loose parts, etc. | |
| 5. Noises due to badly paved streets. | |
| 6. Free exhaust of steam from shunting engines in freight yards. | |
| 7. Cries and street brawls. | |

Let us now take up in detail a few of these noises and see whether they are really necessary. We will begin with the factory whistle.

A physician writing on this subject says:

If there is any one thing proving the unutterable thoughtlessness of man, the stupidity of municipal control, the general idiocy of health boards, it is the shameful permitting of factories blowing piercing blasts in the morning for absolutely no purpose.

Certainly in these days of cheap time-pieces, it is hard to find any reason for blowing factory whistles in the early morning to announce

the hour for beginning work. Our city schools are not equipped with whistles to call the poor little mites of the tenement-house districts to their morning tasks, so why should it be necessary to summon grown-ups to their work? Besides this, it is the starting up and slowing down of the machinery that announce the proper moments for beginning and stopping work. "If the factory whistle is necessary," asks Prof. Morse, of Salem, who for years has fought to suppress it, "why do not all factories sound it? It is never to call men to work, for they are already there: it does not even signify the moment to begin work." Quite recently, Mr. William M. Wood, President of the American Woollen Company of Massachusetts, openly favored abolishing bells and whistles on all the mills in his State, on the ground that great benefit would result to the sick. Prof. Morse has already cited cases of large industrial concerns, like the Pope Manufacturing Company and the Natural Food Company of Niagara, which use neither the whistle nor substitutes for it. Can anything be more pathetically absurd than a case cited of a file factory, employing a man and two boys, where a whistle was blown that not only disturbed the entire neighborhood, but also awakened invalids in the next county?

Prof. Morse has fought the train whistle just as energetically as that of the factory. "One is justified in asking," he says, "why hundreds are denied the comfort of health-giving sleep in order that brakemen may be told to perform some duty at the end of a train. Why shouldn't a hotel have a steam whistle and wake up half the town to inform the porter that a trunk is to be taken up?" The train-whistle nuisance is general, more's the pity, and it would be almost impossible, I think, to find a city or hamlet in the country that was not a victim of this shrieking horror. A Western paper laments:

If smaller communities do not have to hear what the people of New York have to . . . they still have troubles of their own. They may live in a town whose whole area is easily at the mercy of blasts from locomotive engines. They may be compelled to listen to whistles a mile distant which need only be sounded loud enough to warn people a block or two away. They may have to sacrifice their rest that the whole population may know that a train has arrived or that a crossing is being approached.

An idea of the suffering caused by the noise of freight yards was recently given by the testimony of Surgeon Major Balhatche, Superintendent of the Clifton Marine Hospital of Staten Island, before the State Railroad Commission. "I think it likely, though I do not charge it," he said, "that because of these nuisances I have lost patients. I ask you for God's sake to do something." Dr. Balhatche stated that there were almost always three or four engines in front of his hospital, blowing off steam

or tooting, and that in cases of typhoid such noises helped end the lives of patients. That trains are not always run as noiselessly as possible is sometimes recognized by the Railroad Commissioners. In a report of the Massachusetts Commission it was stated that:

Testimony showed the annoyance was increased by the practice of giving long-continued blasts when the shortest would be as effective, and there was evidence of reckless if not malicious noise, the fault, not of the management, but of individual employees.

As regards the boat whistle as generally used, I think that I was able to prove last year that it is a menace not only to health but also to navigation. I contended then that all signals given besides those required by statute were a detriment because they covered or rendered hard to distinguish those necessary for safe navigation, and that there was absolutely no excuse for a tug captain while leisurely making his way up to the pier to whistle loudly for half an hour, in order to summon the scow captain or crew from neighboring saloons or from their sleep below decks. I maintained that signals could be given noiselessly, except in foggy weather, and that the parties leasing the piers could, for a small sum, hire watchmen to summon those attached to the scows so as to be in readiness for the approaching tugs. Sleep would thus not be rendered impossible for a large part of the city's population, to say nothing of the relief thus afforded to the sick and suffering inmates of our municipal institutions along the East River. At that time it was declared that this being a local nuisance on a federal waterway could be suppressed by neither municipal, State, nor federal authorities. In other words, there was no one in all the United States who had authority to regulate the size of a whistle nor the manner in which it might be blown, no one to forbid the smallest tug carrying the largest whistle and shrieking it just as madly as possible. This fight has within the last few weeks been happily terminated by the passage of the Bennet bill, the purpose of which is to give the Supervising Inspectors of Steamboats the right to regulate the whistling done by boats on the waters under their jurisdiction. This bill of Congressman Bennet is, I believe, the only one ever passed by Congress the purpose of which was the suppression of noise.

I believe that the ringing of church bells causes more suffering to the sick and nervous than is generally imagined. Bernard Shaw said that the worst of all noises were the "state-aided" ones, such, for instance, as church bells and military bands. Dr. Hyslop, in his little pamphlet, "Noise in its Sanitary Aspect," mentions a letter sent to the London "Daily Mail" which says:

The doleful and horrible sound of "Big Ben" at midnight and more was answerable for the early departure of more than one soul from its bodily fabric.

The Brooklyn "Times" concludes an editorial on church bells as follows:

Church bells in a city are a nuisance with their noisy clatter or doleful tolling. There can be nothing cheering to a victim of a sickbed in the mournful tolling of some immense bell, apparently prophesying an early parade to the grave.

Another item in this connection is one mentioned by Julius Chambers, which relates to the uproarious ringing every Sunday of a big bell. The sexton was appealed to, but refused to stop the nuisance, replying that "his mission was of God's appointment and that man hadn't any consideration in the matter." Sentiment may demand that bells ring for church services, but it is really difficult to account for the desire that many people experience to hear their lugubrious tolling, which must continue for three-quarters of an hour before they are satisfied. "If my people won't come to church after my bell has rung for three minutes, they may stay away," stoutly declared an English minister whom I recently met abroad, "I don't approve of this long-continued tolling, and I won't have it in my church." Many accounts of the injury that has resulted from the frequent ringing of church bells reach our Society. One relates the agony caused by the clangorous ringing of a church bell while the writer was ill with an attack of typhoid fever, and concludes with the statement: "that bell did more to make me a heathen than anything else in the world." Evidently few of our correspondents think that a movement directed against the excessive ringing of church bells would "remove all the poetry that is left in metropolitan life," as a Trenton daily laments.

Even more unnecessary than the protracted ringing of church bells is the striking of clocks in church towers, for they disturb sick and well, every quarter of an hour, night and day, with their clangorous warning that fifteen more minutes have flown. Of all unnecessary noises, this is perhaps the most wanton and cruel and insistent and indefensible.

Trying to all, but particularly so to those in humble circumstances because they are more exposed to them, are the noises of street venders. From morning till night their cries and noise-making devices resound, while in their incursions they spare no part of the house or yard. An ordinance relating to hucksters, enacted in 1897, declares that no one shall, between certain hours, be allowed to cry his wares within 250 feet of school, court-house, church, or hospital, but this ordinance is certainly a dead letter. Peddlers not only swarm around hospitals to the great detriment of the sick, but they also shout so noisily directly in front of our schools that, at times, even in the warmest weather classes are con-

ducted with closed windows.¹ It certainly seems as if our ordinances relating to street venders required revision. Is there any reason why peddlers should be allowed by ordinance to stand and shout out their wares for a period of thirty minutes on a block? Is it not likely that within a few minutes everybody residing on a block will have been apprised by the vender's harsh cries of the opportunity that is offered, and will have been able to arrive at a decision as to whether a purchase is to be made or not? Why, therefore, should the annoyance be continued for half an hour? Then, too, why should a peddler be allowed by ordinance to stand no further than ten feet away from another peddler who is likewise hoarsely shouting his wares? There is also a peculiar omission in our city ordinances, in so far as no protection (such as it is), is vouchsafed our hospitals between the hours of four and nine P.M. The churches are provided for, because no peddling is allowed on Sunday; the schools are likewise protected because no peddling is allowed, in principle, near a school house between the hours of eight and four; but our city fathers forgot to forbid noise near our hospitals between the hours of four P.M. up to which time it is restricted, and nine o'clock P.M. when a preceding section of the same ordinance declares that all peddling must cease. In the name of our sick hospital inmates we should ask for a revision of this ordinance — and then, after enactment, insist on its enforcement.

Regarding junkmen and ragmen, a recent letter to the Newark "News" justly says:

There is no reason why ragmen should be accorded privileges which in the nature of things would be denied dealers in much more necessary commodities such as meat, bread, etc. The number of ragmen and junkmen is out of proportion to the population. In Newark, for instance, in 1906, with a population of about 287,500, there have been issued about 219 licenses. The license granted ragmen and junkmen is not a license to make nuisances of themselves. It merely allows them the privilege of buying and selling rags, etc.

In this relation, an interesting experiment has been tried at the village of Arverne by the Sea where they have been quite successful in restricting noise by means of taxing hucksters and junkmen for the privilege of making it. Ordinance 37 of this village charges a license fee of five dollars to junkmen, unless the licensee cry or shout or employ one or more bells or other noisy devices, in which case the fee shall be fifty dollars. In the second section of this Ordinance a sum of five dollars is required for each wagon, and for each pack, handcart, or basket-peddler two dollars;

¹The subject of quiet for the school child is one which certainly receives less attention than it deserves. Dr. Hyslop, whom I have already so often quoted, lays stress on the subject of ear-strain and backwardness due to defective hearing.

but if the licensee cry, shout, or use bells or other noisy devices, the license is trebled. The experiment works excellently, and junkmen on entering the village detach their bells from their carts rather than pay the extra license fee necessary to enable them to keep them ringing.

About noises of trolley cars due to defective mechanism a timely illustration is afforded by the D. U. R. which is now causing such distress to the inhabitants of Detroit. This line is said to be superlatively bad even among the trolley car lines of the twentieth century. According to reports that have reached us within the last few days, it is not only ruining health but property as well. Houses shaken and loosened and brick work cracked are the results of wretched rolling stock and loose-jointed tracks. A large railroad train would make less noise, they say, than one of these pounding trolley cars. A letter to the *Detroit "Free Press"* cites the vigorous action recently taken to remedy a similar state of affairs in Sydney, Australia. The car system there is owned by the government, and when it became outrageously noisy, the people insisted on taking a hand in the matter, especially as the management asserted that conditions could not be improved. A couple of cars were forthwith carried off into the shops, where a committee, including several experts, housed in the motors, and overhauled the bearings, gearings, worn parts, and flat wheels. After that the cars ran noiselessly and the others were brought to the same degree of perfection which they have maintained ever since.

Concerning automobile noises, many believe that horns are unnecessary and only of use to the chauffeur by allowing him high rate of speed. Prof. John Bassett Moore has said that by abolishing the horn one would not only abate a most annoying noise, but would also do away with speeding. Marcel Prévost in the *"Figaro"* writes:

The only noises that serve as useful warnings are those sounded at a short distance from the person to be warned. As perpetrated to-day, the hoots and honks of motor cars in Paris are chiefly useless save to allow the chauffeur a madder license of speed.

One need only read some of the enthusiastic advertisements in our automobile publications to feel that indeed the time is ripe for an organized protest against the curse of noise. For instance, a siren horn is lauded to the skies because it has a "voice of thunder," a voice that can be "heard from three to five miles!" Think of that! An automobile which is generally limited by law to a speed of eight or ten miles an hour, is allowed to announce its approach half an hour in advance! Another advertisement reads: "The shows won't let us exhibit unless we promise to *muzzle our horn*. Everybody has to get out of business while it is blowing." But we must not conclude that a horn that an-

nounces its approach five miles away is an unrivalled noise freak. Alas! no, for East St. Louis boasts of a monster whistle whose sound spreads over a radius of twenty miles, and reaches a hundred thousand people every time it blows; and a well-known eastern college has a giant bell, weighing seven thousand pounds, whose disturbing power is reported to be no less than St. Louis's great whistle.

The twentieth century may well be termed the Age of Noise. Noises are multiplying everywhere, as regards both number and intensity, and we give a dissenting shake of the head as we read in our Milton:

Midnight brought on the dusky hour
Friendliest to sleep and silence.

Alas! we have no longer any hour that is friendly to sleep and silence.

And now why should all these noises — and these are but a fraction of the many that beat in upon our ears — be permitted slowly but surely to wreck the health of so many thousands of city dwellers? "We all suffer from noise," so many have said to me, "but then it seems such a hopeless task to protest against it!" Yes, it does seem almost hopeless now, but I firmly believe that the day is not far distant when an awakened public sentiment will firmly demand the abatement of the crime of noise. As Marcel Prévost says in speaking of cities:

The majority of their inhabitants make no noise. They are the rasped or submissive victims of an impudent minority, and that minority loves noise, produces it with glee, and inflicts it upon the rest of the population as a sign of its suzerainty, as the mark of its right through might.

That public sentiment must be awakened before much can be accomplished in the suppression of noise, is the point on which our Commissioner of Health laid stress in his recent address before the Society of Medical Jurisprudence. Dr. Darlington insisted then that the only hope of making cities more tolerable to the ear was by urging the public to demand the suppression of unnecessary noises, and the enforcement of existing ordinances. The "Journal of American Medicine" some time ago spoke of the indifference shown by many officials to enforce the laws that they were sworn to execute and then remarked: "the officials seem to prefer to execute the people."

And now a few words about our newly organized Society, so new — being only a few weeks old — that as yet but little is known about it. The idea of forming the Society occurred to me a few months ago, just about the time that the tug-whistle fight was terminated. It then seemed to me that, if an individual could carry through what had appeared from the first foreordained to failure, much could certainly be accomplished by a regularly organized Association composed of

representative men, all banded together to abate what they considered one of the crying evils of the times. The Society which has since resulted from this idea is controlled by two Boards, an Advisory Board and a Board of Directors, constituted as follows:

ADVISORY BOARD.

Prof. Felix Adler, Congressman William S. Bennet, Dr. John Winters Brannan (President of the Hospital Board), Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler (President of Columbia University), Sir Caspar Purdon Clarke, General James S. Clarkson (Surveyor of the Port of New York), Samuel L. Clemens (Mark Twain), Dr. Charles L. Dana, Dr. Thomas Darlington (Commissioner of Health), Robert W. DeForest, Dr. Francis Delafield, Captain Luther B. Dow (American Association of Masters, Mates and Pilots), the Most Reverend John M. Farley (Archbishop of the Diocese of New York), Dr. John H. Finley (President of the College of the City of New York), Richard Watson Gilder, William D. Guthrie, Dr. William Hirsch, Prof. Henry H. Howe, William Dean Howells, Dr. Thomas Hunter (Ex-President Normal College), Dr. George W. Jacoby, Prof. George W. Kirchwey (Dean of the Faculty of Law, Columbia University), Dr. Ernst J. Lederle (Ex-Commissioner of Health), Dr. John H. MacCracken (Chancellor of the University of New York), Prof. John Bassett Moore, DeLancey Nicoll, Captain George L. Norton (Editor "Marine Journal"), Congressman J. VanVechten Olcott, Congressman Herbert Parsons, R. A. C. Smith, Dr. Thomas L. Stedman (Editor "Medical Record"), Prof. William H. Thomson, James T. Woodward, Rev. Merle Wright, and Dr. John A. Wyeth (President Academy of Medicine).

BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

Dr. S. T. Armstrong, Superintendent Bellevue Hospital, Fordham Hospital, Gouverneur Hospital, Harlem Hospital), Rev. G. F. Clover (Superintendent St. Luke's Hospital), Egon Egghard (Superintendent Sydenham Hospital), S. S. Goldwater (Superintendent Mt. Sinai Hospital), Dr. Arthur H. Harrington (Superintendent New York Eye and Ear Hospital), Dr. Charles H. Hornby (Superintendent Flower Hospital), Louis Kortum (Superintendent German Hospital), James D. Lamb (Superintendent City Hospital, B. I.), James R. Lathrop (Superintendent Roosevelt Hospital), Dr. William Mabon (Superintendent Manhattan State Insane Asylum), Reuben O'Brien (Superintendent Manhattan Eye and Ear Hospital), Dr. George T. Stewart (Superintendent Metropolitan Hospital, B. I.), Richard H. Townley (Superintendent J. Hood Wright Hospital), Dr. M. S. Gregory (Resident Alienist, Bellevue Hospital), Dr. Luther B. MacKenzie (Resident Physician, Minturn Hospital), Dr.

George H. Ryder (Resident Physician, Sloane Maternity Hospital), Morton Arendt, Dr. John H. Girdner, Frances E. Hamilton, T. C. Martin, Dr. L. M. Michaelis, Isaac L. Rice, Mrs. Isaac L. Rice, John J. Rooney, Rev. George M. Searle (Superior General Paulist Order), Prof. James T. Shotwell, Father John Talbot Smith (President Catholic Summer School of America).

On the directorate are therefore the Superintendents of sixteen hospitals and their 8,500 patients. No stronger argument could be adduced for the need of activity in the suppression of noise in the interest of the sick and suffering.

As for the specific aims of the Society, probably the best way to set them forth here is to reprint the text of our first appeal to the public:

THE SOCIETY FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF UNNECESSARY NOISE

earnestly appeals to the public for support. It trusts that it will receive it for the following reasons:

FIRST—It believes that those who contribute so liberally to our hospitals will aid a society whose first efforts will be directed to relieving the intense suffering of our sick poor from the noise-evil. The presence on our Board of Directors of the superintendents of sixteen hospitals speaks eloquently for the need of activity in that direction. The number of hospital patients so represented is over 8,500, their recovery being retarded, rendered difficult, and sometimes altogether prevented by loss of sleep due to unnecessary noise.

SECOND—It believes that those whose sympathies and efforts are devoted to ameliorating the condition of our congested tenement-house districts will willingly aid a work which will strive to render conditions there more durable. To the sensitive, noise, even amidst spacious surroundings, is disturbing, in confined quarters it is torture.

THIRD—It believes that those public-spirited men and women who are interested in improving civic conditions in general will help on a movement which has for its object the removal of one of the greatest banes of city life, unnecessary noise, which first wrecks health and then is chief torment of illness.

The eagerness with which the first steps toward checking the noise-nuisance were greeted by press and public indicated that the time was indeed ripe for an energetic, organized protest against this curse of city life. From the Atlantic to the Pacific there came a hearty response and a general demand for the enactment or reinforcement of ordinances for suppressing useless clamor.

It is needless to say that much noise in a great city is unavoidable, therefore we have not organized an Anti-Noise Society, but one which will confine its efforts to the suppression of unnecessary noises. Some of these are forbidden by statute, others by city ordinance, but in the rush of city life the enforcement of these statutes and ordinances is generally overlooked.

To be on the alert in the suppression of unnecessary noise, to enforce the existing ordinances and laws, to urge the enactment of others when needed, and to act for the Public in all matters of public complaint against noise, our Society has been organized. It will work along broad though conservative lines and is assured of the hearty support and coöperation of the Department of Health.

Only four weeks have passed since the first directors' meeting, but it may be of interest to give the encouraging results already obtained. At this meeting it was decided to carry on our first work along three different lines.

Believing that our city lines could operate their cars more noiselessly, we appealed to the management to take up the matter. A few days later, the following answer was received:

NEW YORK CITY RAILWAY COMPANY.

*Mrs. Isaac L. Rice, Villa Julia, Riverside Drive,
89th Street, New York City.*

DEAR MADAM: Referring to our recent conversation regarding the operation of cars in the vicinity of hospitals, I take pleasure in transmitting herewith copy of special order dated February 25, 1907, issued to motormen, in this connection.

Yours truly, OREN ROOT, JR.,
Vice-President and General Manager.

The order ran as follows:

775 Seventh Avenue, }
 }
 NEW YORK, February 25, 1907. }

To Motormen: Your attention is again called to Rule 202 in the Book of Rules for conductors and motormen, viz., when passing a church during the hours of service and at all times when passing a hospital run slowly and do not ring the gong unless necessary. Motormen should appreciate that patients in hospitals should not be subjected to any more noise than is absolutely necessary; their position is sufficiently unfortunate without adding to their discomfort unnecessarily.

A strict enforcement of this rule is required and motormen who fail to comply with instructions in this regard will be severely disciplined.

(Sgd.) T. A. DELANEY,
Superintendent of Transportation.

The second step was to enlist the assistance of the Police Commissioner of the City of New York, to whom I wrote the following letter:

NEW YORK, February 26, 1907.

*Honorable Theodore A. Bingham, Commissioner of Police,
Police Headquarters, 300 Mulberry Street, New York City.*

DEAR SIR: I beg you to kindly consider an appeal that I make to you in the name of thousands of our hospital inmates who are suffering from want of rest, due to unrestrained noise.

Appreciating as I do, the absolutely inadequate force of men with which you are compelled to safeguard the city, I do not ask you to assign any patrolmen for the purpose of specially watching the hospitals, although it is the earnest desire of many of the superintendents of our municipal institutions that such assignment should be made. Perhaps, later, it may be possible to grant our suffering poor that relief from preventable noise, but at present we ask for nothing that may not easily be accorded.

What we hope for, what we earnestly beg you to grant, is the assurance that orders shall be issued from Police Headquarters to the officers on guard near our hospitals to do all in their power to silence unnecessary noise.

(Here follows a list of complaints received from hospitals.)

I believe that if orders were issued to our police officers to insist on all possible quiet near the hospitals, that they would be glad to help in this humane work.

We have received so much encouragement from those to whom we have appealed for help, that we trust you, too, will graciously lend us your coöperation and assistance.

Respectfully yours,

JULIA BARNETT RICE.

(Mrs. Isaac L. Rice.)

The answer to our request was prompt and courteous:

POLICE DEPARTMENT OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK,

Office of the Commissioner, 300 Mulberry Street, New York,

Mrs. Isaac L. Rice, 346 West 89th Street, New York.

DEAR MADAM: Yours of February 26 has been received and given careful consideration.

I can and will do what you ask.

I am so glad that you appreciate the inadequate force of men, because, if we had men enough, it would be possible to make each hospital a special post, but in order to do this it must be remembered that every special post means three patrolmen.

Very truly yours,

THEO. A. BINGHAM,

Police Commissioner.

Our third line of work was to endeavor to interest those owning and operating automobiles in our plans, and an appeal for all possible quiet was sent around to various Automobile Associations. At the moment of going to press, the first answer has been received. It is from the Association of Licensed Automobile Manufacturers and records a motion of the Executive Committee passed February 13, 1907.

Whereas, the Society for the Suppression of Unnecessary Noise requests this Association to assist in its movement, it is voted: That we approve of the purposes of this Society and will, so far as our influence extends, assist this movement in the City of New York, and hereby authorize the proper officer to signify such approval.

The notice issued by this Association runs as follows:

NOTICE.

The Society for the Suppression of Unnecessary Noise earnestly requests all owners and drivers of automobile cars in Greater New York, if possible to avoid passing any of the Hospitals or Churches and Public Schools while exercises are being conducted in the same; and further requests that if imperatively necessary to pass either Hospital, Church or School, it may be at reduced speed, and without any sounding of the horn.

It is submitted that the use of the horn should at all times be confined to cases of actual emergency, and then only used in a moderate manner.

The above notice is hereby endorsed by the

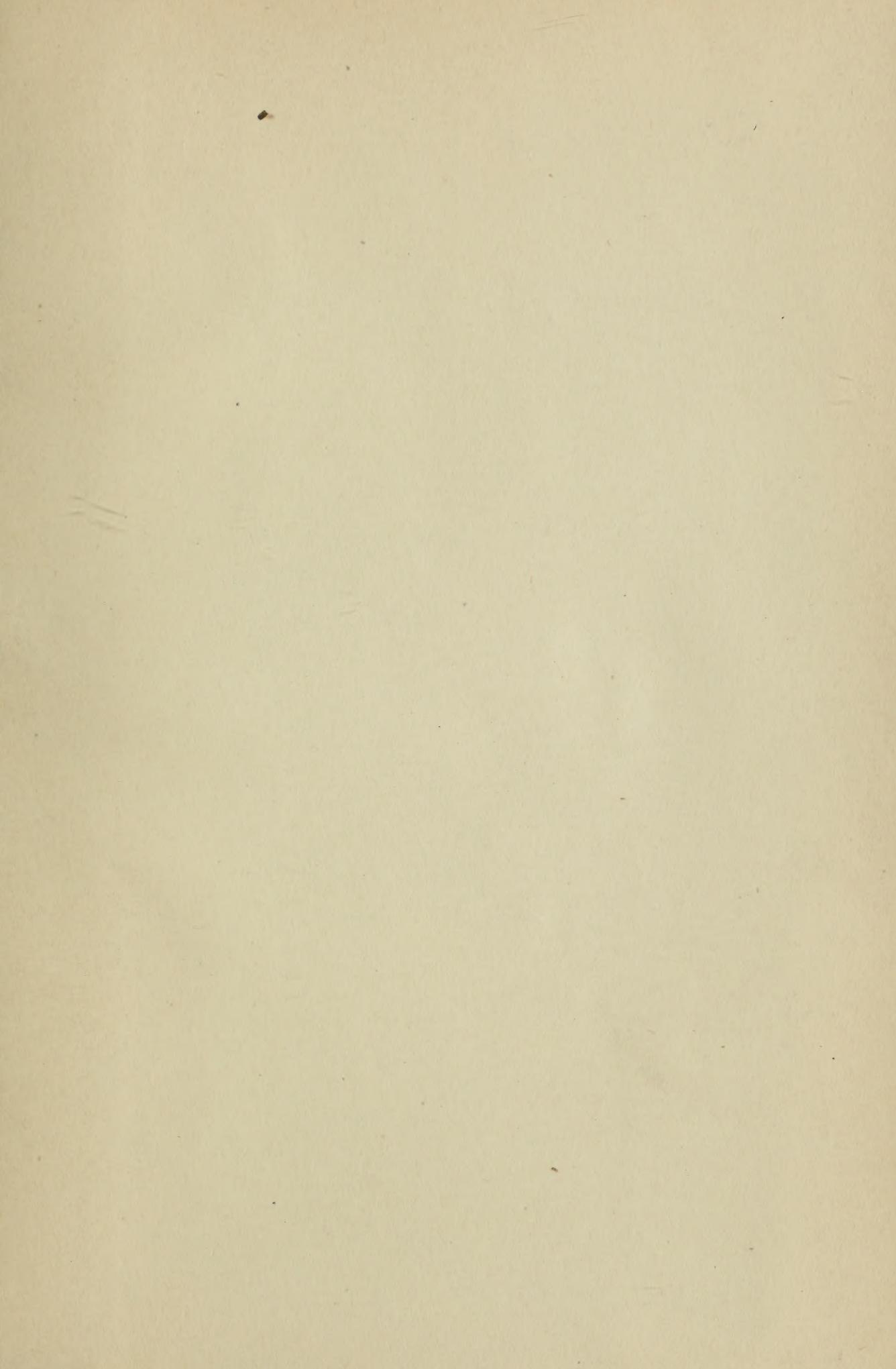
Association of Licensed Automobile Manufacturers.

MARCUS T. BROCK, *Assistant General Manager.*

February 19, 1907.

It will thus be seen that the results of the first month's work are most encouraging, and no less so are the accessions to the list of membership. As for the press, it is giving the movement all possible aid, and has sent us an enthusiastic welcome from the remotest corners of the Union.

MRS. ISAAC L. RICE.



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